WORLD HISTORY

THE GROWTH OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION



THE DEPARTURE OF THE POLOS FROM THE PIAZZETTA, VENICE

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WORLD HISTORY

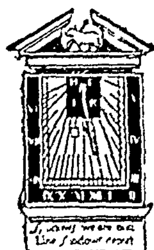
THE GROWTH OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

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AND OVER 300 ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

THIS volume traces the development of mankind from the earliest stages to the present day Beginning with a brief general account of early man, it then describes how civilizations arose in the Five Lands, from Egypt to the Punjab, and in China In so doing it makes use of recent archaeological discoveries The story then moves on to the classical world, and so to the origins and growth of the western society to which we belong, and which has in recent centuries done most to shape the course of world history. This growth it follows through modern times, expanding in scale as our own day approaches But whilst thus concentrating on western civilization, we have attempted to show how other civilizations developed, and how they have been brought into contact with western civilization to make modern world history Hence the double title We have also tried, so far as space allows, to co-ordinate the various causes responsible for change in human affairs, religious and scientific, as well as political and economic So complicated is the story of world history, and so zealous have men been in recent years in the accumulation of knowledge about the past, that such a volume can contain but a small portion of the evidence available This we have tried to present clearly, and have illumined it with many carefully chosen illustrations and maps, it should be stressed that, wherever practicable, the modern form of place-names has been given in order to avoid confusion We have added a few, a very few, references for further reading The first three parts are written by W. N Weech, the remaining nine by R Flenley

R F
W N W

1935.

NOTE

Mr Weech wishes to acknowledge the great help he has received from Messrs J. P V D. Balsdon, R. H Barrow, B H Garnons-Williams, Sir Leonard Woolley, and Professor de Zulueta, the untiring industry of Ronald Marsden and Robert Swann in proof-reading, and the sympathetic assistance of the Controllers of *The Cambridge Ancient History* The Publishers make their grateful acknowledgments to the many firms and individuals who have given their permission for the reproduction of various illustrations, especially to the proprietors of *Punch*, Bradbury Agnew Ltd , to the proprietors of the *Illustrated London News*, to Sir John Marshall for the illustrations on pages 7 and 10, and to the Cambridge and Oxford University Presses for courteously supplying a number of blocks from their publications

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PART I

THE KINGDOMS OF THE EAST

Ex Oriente Lux

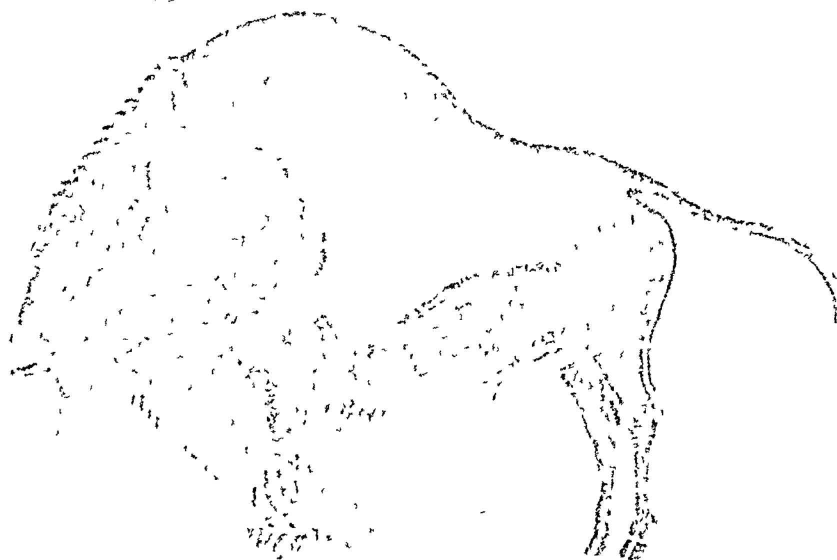
INTRODUCTORY

THE BEGINNINGS OF MANKIND

No one knows how old the earth is, or how long man has lived on it Skulls dug up in Java, Palestine, Pekin, Heidelberg, and Piltdown seem to show that near-human beings may have begun their struggle for existence half a million years ago But there can have been little hope of survival and far less of triumph in their dour fight against the hostile forces of nature Many of the larger animals had the advantage over them in strength, savagery, and even cunning If they survived those onslaughts, a tilt of the earth's axis might bring down the glacier-ice from the north to grind out their habitations, freeze the weaker, and drive the stronger to some distant, kindlier climate But man had two great physical advantages for his ceaseless struggle in his hands and his tongue With the former he made himself tools, chiefly of wood, stone, horn, ivory, bone, and sinew, the latter enabled him to communicate with his fellows, to work in co-operation with them, and to plan for the future

For man is hardly man, unless the old dream dreams and the young see visions Most of his energies were necessarily devoted to securing food, lodging, clothing, and warmth He learnt to flake and chip and grind flint axes, arrows, spear-tips, and fish-hooks, which provided him with food from plain and river In cold climates he dressed skins and wrapped himself in them He strengthened the cave which gave him refuge from animal and human enemies He guarded the red miracle of fire, which served body and mind in countless ways But very early he began to have some feeling for beauty, and to wonder about himself and the multiform world in which he lived Probably the Cro-Magnon man, who covered rock-faces and cave-walls with vigorous animal pictures, lived about thirty-five thousand years ago. It may have been even earlier that some tribes began to think about God, and to imagine a future life Dreams of dead kinsmen may have given a disconsolate hunter the idea that death was not the end of all things From the visions of the night he came to picture another life to be lived by the

brother he had seen slain in struggle with the beasts So, when he buried his dead under a pile of stones or in a shallow trench, he put alongside the mangled corpse such things as would help in the dimly guessed future The blurred vision of life beyond the grave might blend with curious ideas of powers greater than himself, which controlled tempest and flood, frost and warmth, light and the fruits of the earth. So might arise the thought of gods who ruled sun, rain, and wind,



A CRO-MAGNON BISON

A reproduction of one of the paintings in four colours that have made the cave of Altamira, Spain, famous

stirred the waters, kindled the fire, and ripened the green grain Man fashioned some gods in his own image, and pictured them as possessing needs like his own, he made offerings of fruit, like Cain, or of slaughtered animals, like Abel

By the time that man had reached what is called the Neolithic or New Stone Age, he had advanced far on the path to civilization, though he had lost some of the artistic skill of his Palaeolithic or Old Stone predecessor He had speech, tools, fire, clothing, the custom of working with others and the gift of speculating about himself and his world. When he learnt to tame animals and cultivate grain, his progress quickened astonishingly He ceased to be merely hunter, trapper, and fisherman, and entered on the life of the herdsman and the farmer It was no longer necessary to be moving continually from place to place, as berries and

grass were eaten up and game disappeared Man still went after some animals; but others stayed with him, and he nourished himself with their milk and flesh He planted seed and settled on the spot till the grain ripened In fact he had a choice of three kinds of life, nomad, pastoral, and agricultural; the first wandering, the last stationary, and the second a mixture of the two It was the agriculturist who brought stability into human life, and showed how the gifts of nature might be improved to satisfy man's needs

The progress made through countless centuries was not continuous, nor was it distributed uniformly over the earth's surface Even during the last two hundred years explorers have found stagnant peoples, whose life has not advanced beyond that of the Stone Ages There were set-backs to the most active communities from natural or human agencies Prolonged changes of temperature inevitably affected the life of mankind, as grass-land withered and waste land became fertile The last descent of the Ice Cap from the North Pole encroached on vast tracts of both hemispheres, while smaller districts were covered by glaciers from such mountain ranges as the Pyrenees, Alps, and Caucasus Under this influence the Atlantic rainstorms passed eastward along a course roughly defined by the twenty-fifth and thirty-fifth parallels While northern Europe was covered largely by ice and loess, these winds brought fertility to the Mediterranean basin as far south as the Sahara, and to Arabia, Mesopotamia, the Iranian plateau, and north-western India



W N W

APSE OF NEOLITHIC TEMPLE AT MALTA
The priest addressed the people through the oracle hole

This favoured belt stretched from the Atlantic to the line of the Oxus and Indus, and was traversed in its eastern half by the three great troughs of the Nile, Red Sea, and Persian Gulf Its climatic conditions were

favourable, and man could move easily from place to place. There were land-bridges from Africa to Europe, uniting Tangier with Gibraltar, and Tunis with Sicily and Italy. The two tideless inland seas may have tempted man to become a seafarer in very distant days. Over most of this area there seems to have been spread a small-boned, long-headed, 'dark-white' race, which has been called Mediterranean. These men found everywhere abundant vegetation which sustained many types of



PREHISTORIC GRAVE FOUND AT HALSTATT, AUSTRIA

animals. They have left pictorial records of rhinoceros, buffalo, elephant, zebra, deer, bear, panther, lion, and hippopotamus carved on rocks dotted over the Sahara, Sudan, and Arabian plateau. But much of the area lost its fertility when the Ice Cap retreated and, in its wake, the Atlantic winds shifted their course to the north. Drought succeeded abundance in the Sahara, central Arabia, and the Iranian uplands. While the northern shores of the Mediterranean still had enough rain, most of its southern coastland dried up. There were a few fertile strips along the shores of Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya, but on the high plateaux only small groups of men and animals remained.

In the east of the once prosperous belt there were five lands which escaped the desiccation, the Nile valley, Syria, Mesopotamia, the western coast of Arabia, and the Indus valley. They were separated by desert

areas, but the first three formed a nearly continuous stretch of fertile land. As the Atlantic winds brought back rain and fruitfulness to countries which had been icebound, the rivers which once watered the North African and Arabian tablelands dried up; man deserted his old haunts, or eked out an uncertain existence, wandering from one oasis to another, But the inhabitants of the Five Lands escaped these calamities, and, by wise use of nature's gifts, began to build up a better life for their momentous career

There were two other lands where mankind made progress The inhabitants of India outside the Indus valley enjoyed a climate which gave them plentiful food supplies Like the Chinese, they were cut off from the Five Lands, and did not influence the main lines of human development. China evolved its own way of life in its two great river valleys, where rice was easily grown to sustain a large population In the western hemisphere, southern Africa, and the Australasian lands man was sluggish He remained content with the stone tools which had served his ancestors Few tribes in the western hemisphere advanced beyond the nomadic stage, though some of them learnt to cultivate maize, which lent variety to the beasts they slaughtered and the salmon they speared Tribes of red-skinned hunters wandered over the vast spaces of North America, changing their homes when game grew scarce or the climate drove them away In Mexico, Yucatan, and Peru civilizations arose thousands of years after the men of the Five Lands and China had developed a settled life. There were many points of interest in all three, but they were comparatively shortlived, and they collapsed speedily when they were confronted by invaders from the eastern hemisphere

The islands of the Mediterranean and its northern shores enjoyed a climate which encouraged human activities Many of the inhabitants were apparently sprung from the same stock as those across the water, but their development was comparatively slow Beyond the barriers of the Pyrenees, Alps, and Balkans were mountain and forest tribes East of these from the Carpathians past the Pamirs to China there roamed loose swarms of nomads, who depended on their animals and nourished themselves on flesh and milk. When they discovered that the horse is more useful for transport than food, the eastern tribes became a menace to Chinese civilization In speech and physical appearance there grew up a marked difference between these eastern nomads and those west of the Pamirs Many of the latter moved north and west across Europe, absorbing the weaker forest tribes, or pushing them towards the sea and the mountains Others were to drift down the shores of the Caspian and Black Seas, invigorating or subduing the older inhabitants But

their time was not yet. While they pursued an existence which has left few records outside the kitchen-middens formed by their food-refuse, the men of the Five Lands were discovering and creating the heritage of the future.

CHAPTER I

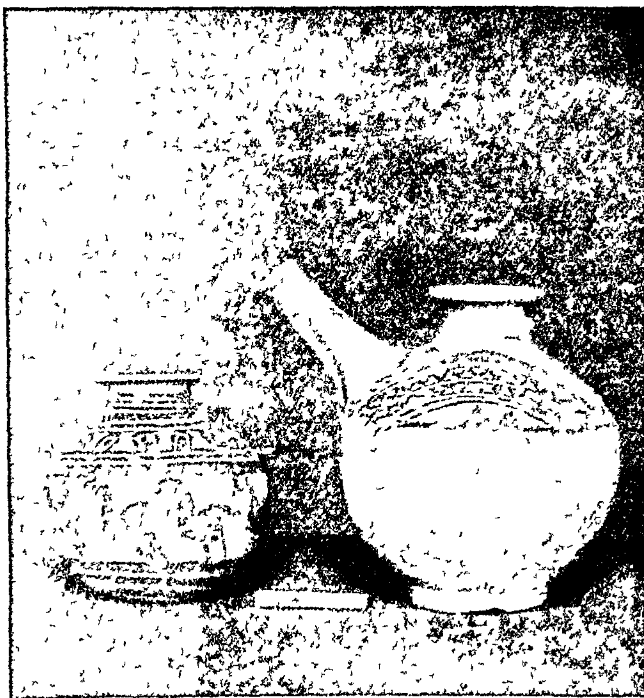
THE FIVE LANDS AND CHINA

ANTHROPOLOGISTS and archaeologists are not yet agreed as to the order of the various steps which led to human progress in the different countries. Numberless relics have been discovered during the last three generations, largely through the skilful use of the spade, but it is difficult to interpret the facts correctly, and still harder to fix their sequence. Geology, botany, anatomy, art, architecture, and the study of language all help us to understand part of the puzzle. Yet, even when we have fitted together what these sciences have to teach us, some new discovery may alter our views. We know that it is not easy to write the history of the last fifty years of our own country, with a mass of printed records and material objects before our eyes. Naturally it is far harder to discover the truth about the distant past, with disjointed scraps of haphazard evidence to guide us. Many of the results we reach must be doubtful. We must always be prepared to modify or discard our views, as fresh evidence is brought to light.

Early Discoveries. We know that in the Five Lands, Egypt, Syria, coastal Arabia, Mesopotamia, and the Punjab, certain improvements took place during the Neolithic stage of man's development. But we do not know whether they arose independently in each country, or whether they spread from one to the others, or, if the latter view is true, which people was the pioneer. The cultivation of grain and the domestication of wild animals were vital improvements, but we cannot assign the honour of their discovery with any certainty. So, too, with the potter's wheel, the building of the first ship, and the use of metal tools instead of stone. Possibly the first came from Elam, the boat from Arabia, and metal tools from the Cappadocian uplands or Sinai. The difficulty increases when we pass from material things to the thoughts and beliefs of the prehistoric world. Yet we must make an effort to understand them, if history is not to be merely a dry record of disjointed facts, useless except as a test of memory.

Intercommunication. Though the evidence is disappointingly scanty, it seems probable that from very early days there was communication, both landborne and waterborne, between different parts of the Five

Lands A new discovery would not be confined for long to a particular area, and, though the spreading of some fresh idea may well have taken longer, it would pass in time from one people to another and modify old-fashioned beliefs gradually The objects disclosed by the archaeologist's spade show that many of prehistoric man's material possessions were common to the Five Lands Future discoveries in places barely explored as yet may assign the credit of leadership to Syria, Elam, or the Punjab.



ELAMITE POTTERY
Vases unearthed at Susa

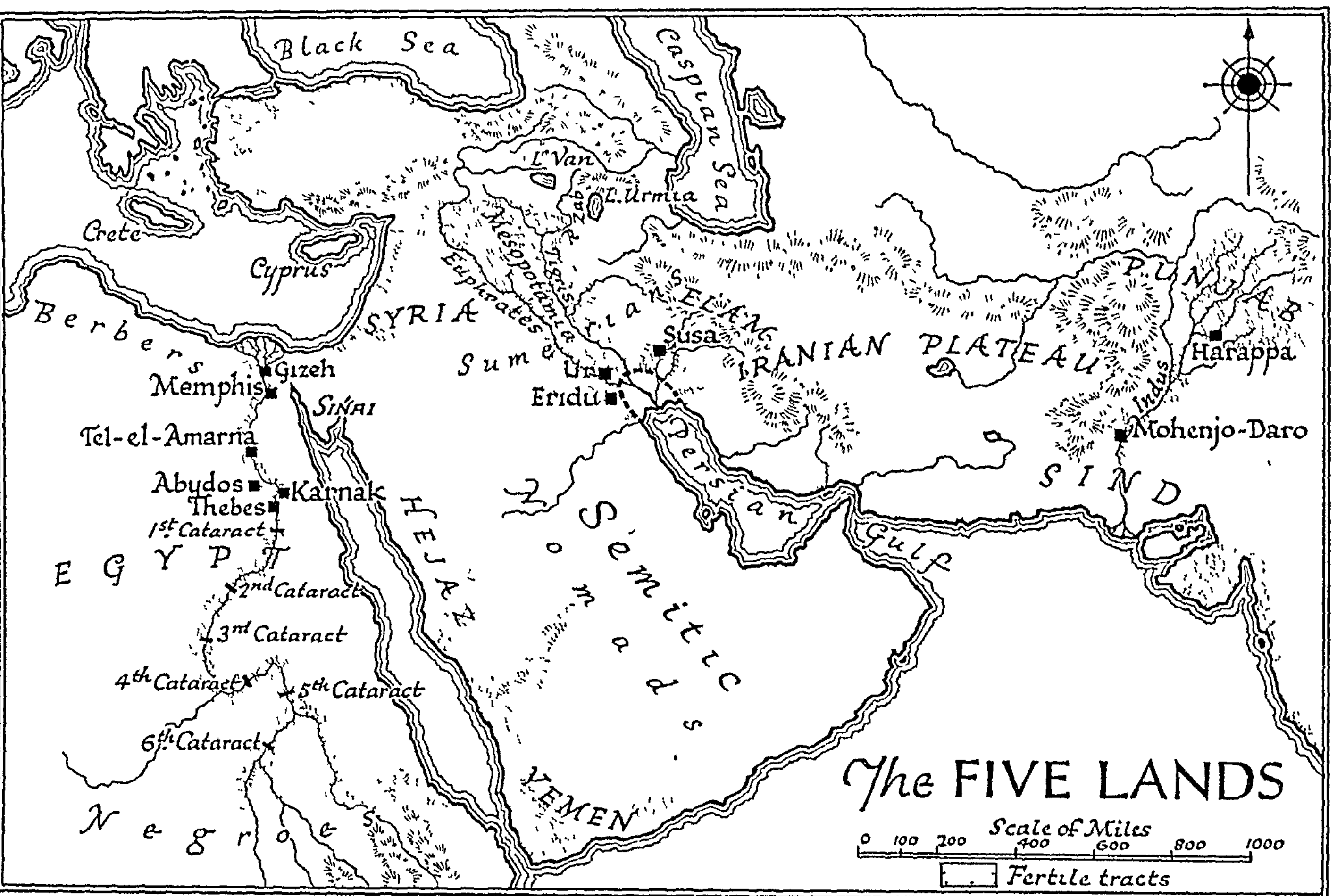
But in the light of present knowledge our first attention must be given to Mesopotamia and Egypt

Mesopotamia or the Valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris For most of us history begins with the Flood. Next to the story of Noah's voyage to Ararat we remember the journey that Abraham made overland from Ur of the Chaldees It is by their work at Ur that archaeologists have revived our interest in the story of the Flood Digging down through the layers which compose the modern mound of Tell Muqayyar, they have reached and passed the deposits left behind by the great inundation which once overwhelmed southern Mesopotamia That fertile land is bounded by the Syrian and Arabian deserts on the west, by the Taurus and

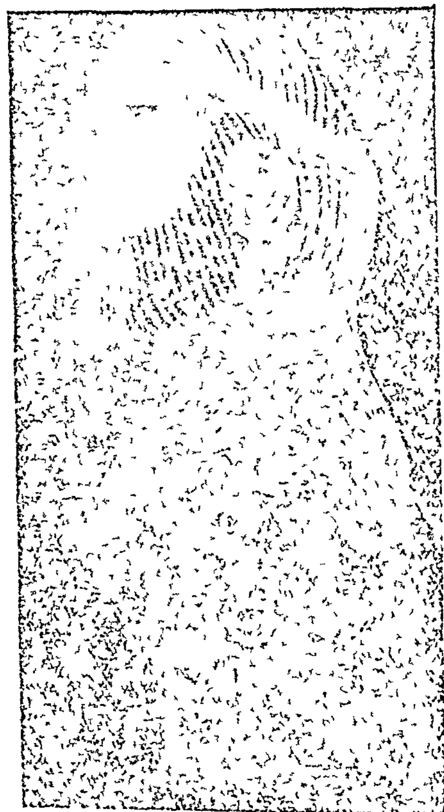
Armenian ranges on the north, and by the Iranian plateau on the east. It has been formed by the rich alluvial deposits brought down in the course of ages by the Euphrates, Tigris, Zab, and their tributaries from their snow-fed sources in the mountains. As the habitable area spread south-eastward and encroached on the Persian Gulf, families and clans invaded it from east, north, and west. After friendly or hostile contact, they combined to form an active, intelligent people, quick to take advantage of nature's bounty.

Growth of Village Life. As the land was parted from the water and the marshes dried or were drained, villages were formed on the hillocks which stood out from the surrounding plain. At first they were composed of rude hovels, made of mud-daubed wattle. Next, men learnt to heap mud together to be dried by the sun into hive-shaped huts. Then they fashioned rectangular bricks, baked them in the sunshine, and laid them layer on layer to form the first houses. From the same material they made and ornamented pottery for storing food. The date-palm, which ripened rapidly in the hot winds of autumn, furnished them not only with fruit, bread, and cakes, but also with wine, honey, and fuel. Its stones were used to provide charcoal and cattle fodder. Its many varieties were as important as the rich harvests of barley, split wheat, and other grain, which the villagers reaped. Domesticated animals helped to increase supplies. The old-fashioned hoe was replaced by the ox harnessed to the plough. Cows, sheep, and goats furnished milk, cheese, meat, and clothing. The donkey gave quicker and easier transport. It was a welcome relief for man when he could unship the loads he carried, and sling them in panniers across the back of his patient drudge. His labours were lightened still more when he taught the ass to haul as well as to carry. The sledge was useful on hard, flat ground, but it failed where the land was hilly or waterlogged. Its day was over when some genius noticed that round objects rolled more easily and rapidly than angular. He applied this knowledge practically and roughed out a circular wooden disk, wagons with solid wheels made fast to revolving axles began to rumble over the tracks which the pack-animals had beaten out with their hooves. Transport was even easier along the moving highway of the Euphrates, first with rafts or round coracles of skins stretched over wooden ribs, and then in narrow boats, built with pointed ends, first of reeds and then of bark. Here, too, genius was at work, the paddle was not discarded altogether, but the more intelligent watermen soon recognized the obvious advantages of the oar.

Specialization. These improved means of transport helped man to acquire more of the things he needed for a fuller and easier life. He learnt to use bitumen and gypsum, and he imported obsidian, metals,


The FIVE LANDS
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
L. Van
L. Urmia
Crete
Cyprus
Berbers
SYRIA
Mesopotamia
Euphrates
Tigris
Sumeria
ELAM
Susa
Ur
Eridu
IRANIAN PLATEAU
PUNJAB
Harappa
Indus
Mohenjo-Daro
SIND
Persian Gulf
Semitic Nomads
Gizeh
Memphis
SINAI
Tel-el-Amarna
Abydos
Karnak
Thebes
1st Cataract
EGYPT
2nd Cataract
3rd Cataract
4th Cataract
5th Cataract
6th Cataract
HEJAZ
YEMEN
Negroes
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 400 600 800 1000
Fertile tracts

ivory, cedar wood, and good building stone, as his tastes grew more luxurious Crafts multiplied when stone tools were first supplemented and then displaced by wrought metal In the old days every one, male and female, had been jack of all trades and master of none Now the specialist began his agelong task of creating and satisfying fresh needs Woman withdrew to the home, and settled down to grapple with the two problems which have been her chief burden ever since, food and clothing, families were large, and her energies were fully occupied in tending her numerous children and keeping the house decent for her husband Man ceased to be a handyman He became instead ploughman, herd, carrier, sailor, potter, brickmaker, builder, coppersmith, wheelwright, jeweller, armourer, trader As specialization grew, farmer and craftsman began to feel that they must have some guide to make life run smoothly among the different groups and to deal with troubles as they arose

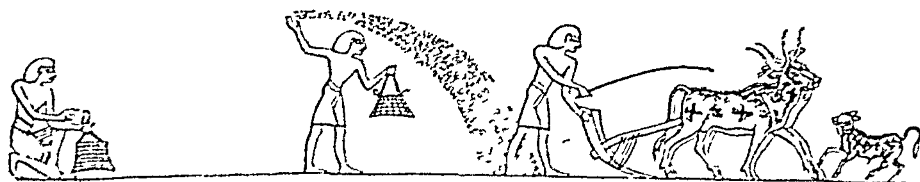


STONE STATUETTE FROM MOHENJO DARO

The Chieftain. Man is a quarrelsome animal Enjoyment of the good things of this earthly Paradise did not destroy the fighting instincts which he inherited from his bloodstained past He quarrelled with his neighbours, and he joined with them in quarrelling with the next village Someone was needed to keep him contented with the former and protected from the latter To meet these two needs the ruler or chieftain came into existence He settled disputes among his villagers If his word was not law at first, it speedily became so, generally there was a reason behind his decisions, and from a series of such decisions there arose gradually some rational principle, which could be applied to other disputes He led his men when they fought the next village, in time a clever chieftain learnt to train them so that they could fight better He saw to the safety of his traders Most important of all, he looked after the irrigation channels, on which the life of the villagers depended

Besides safeguarding their material needs, the ruler was their leader in things of the spirit. He offered prayer and sacrifice to the gods, who were the givers of all good gifts He stood closer to the divine powers than his subjects, and in time they began to think of him as half divine

The Punjab and Egypt. Much the same seems to have happened in the Indus and Nile valleys The men of Sind and the Punjab domesticated the Urial sheep in early days, they bred cattle, they made red and black pottery; they grew cotton; they were within easy reach of useful metals Excavations at Harappa in the Punjab and Mohenjo-Daro in Sind have



EGYPTIANS PLOUGHING AND SOWING

produced material evidence of a very old civilization in which the city may have replaced the village before this happened in Mesopotamia It is possible that Indian wares were carried to Elam and up the Persian Gulf, to be imitated by less advanced communities In Egypt the dryness of the air and the friendly blanket of the sands have preserved an abundance of old memorials, which have made such names as Gizeh, Karnak, and Tel-el-Amarna familiar to everybody The land received its life as the gift of the Nile The regular rise and fall of the river deposited over the flooded plain a rich sediment which formed excellent food-bearing soil throughout its long and winding valley The men who inhabited its banks had ready brains and nimble fingers Village communities flourished in the narrow strip of fertile soil, which is hemmed in by arid cliffs till it broadens into the fan-shaped Delta The villagers grew crops, tended flocks and herds, and built houses of brick From the river reeds they learnt to build rafts and boats which gave easy transport up to the First Cataract The river gave them another gift, which they put to excellent use, from papyrus they fashioned a writing surface, and on it they painted pictures and made records of their ordinary lives and the great deeds of their rulers. These records were invaluable alike to farmer and trader, no less than to the ruler who safeguarded both They gave the fortunate Nile villagers a feeling of stability which less favoured peoples lacked If the chieftains could secure the irrigation channels, which carried the fertility of the river to the distant parts of the valley, human progress was bound to be rapid in this richly dowered land

Arabia and Syria. There is evidence of communication between

Mesopotamia and the Punjab and Egypt in very early days With the former traffic must be waterborne, and with the latter it may be The rich lands of Yemen and the Hejaz may have bred the first deep-sea mariners, who brought the wares of the Indus valley to the dwellers at the north-west of the Persian Gulf They may also have carried the products of the mysterious land of Punt to the shores of the Red Sea, whence caravans took them to the Nile valley Other caravans, traversing the fertile lands of Syria, linked up Mesopotamia and Egypt, and enabled the river countries to enjoy the products of each other's craftsmanship Much of Syria is mountainous, but its valleys then bore good crops and sustained a population of prosperous farmers and artisans, bazaars grew up in the villages, and the Syrian was in the forefront of eastern traders Probably the inhabitants of all the Five Lands influenced one another profoundly in prehistoric days, before they made those records with which history begins

China China was a land apart It seems hard to believe that immigrants from Mesopotamia and Elam began the work of civilization in the great river valleys of the Far East The immense difficulties to be overcome in crossing the huge mountain barriers between the two countries make this theory incredible Recent excavations show that the Chinese went through much the same stages of development during the Neolithic period as the western peoples, but they soon showed a genius for pottery work which surpassed the efforts of their contemporaries in the Five Lands When copper came into use, there may have been intermittent trading with Turkestan, whose inhabitants passed on Chinese products to the Iranian plateau, whence they drifted south and west, jade in particular may have found a ready market But the sturdy, yellow-skinned, slanting eyed, small-nosed peasants of the Yangtze Kiang and Yellow River basins worked out a life uninfluenced by the communities of the west They cultivated their small farms, lived largely on rice, and found the bamboo as useful as the Mesopotamian found the date palm It was employed in building houses and boats and in making furniture, sunshades, musical instruments, agricultural gear, candlesticks, and drains, its softer parts furnished footwear, pickles, and medicine An industrious peasantry, supporting itself on the ricefields, exchanged its surplus food for the many useful objects which the workman made from the bamboo The silkworm and the mulberry tree were another source of livelihood Family life was an even more important factor in China than in the Five Lands or the spaces where the nomads roamed From early days the Chinese seem to have treated their ancestors with a reverence which developed into worship. They felt that it was essential that the continuity of family life should not be broken and that there should be many sons to carry on the worship of their ancestors

This led to the growth of a large population, supporting itself mainly on the produce of small farms by unremitting labour The two great rivers supplied them with a livelihood, but their floods were more destructive than the great inundation which overwhelmed Mesopotamia

CHAPTER II

THE CIVILIZATIONS OF MESOPOTAMIA, THE NILE, AND THE AEGEAN

I Sumer and Akkad

By the fourth millennium most of the vital discoveries had been made From one standpoint history is the record of how these early discoveries were improved, how they spread over wide areas, and how this advance was checked and turned back from time to time Mesopotamia took a leading part in this material progress If transport is not the whole of civilization, it is at least the mainspring of a comfortable life The Euphrates valley offered easy transport by land and water As trade grew, the trader was no longer satisfied with the village He needed a larger and stronger dwelling-place for buying, selling, and protecting his wares He built cities Erech, Ur, Larsa and Lagash arose on the alluvial lands at the head of the Persian Gulf, above them on the plains of the Euphrates stood Kish, Nippur, and Borsippa, farther north were Asshur and Nineveh in the narrow Tigris valley

The Rulers of the Mesopotamian Cities In these walled cities the ruler was called Issaku or tenant-farmer of the city god He owed his position to his personal abilities, and he led his people in peace and war To him the trader looked for the safeguarding of his property, the farmer for the certainty of his water-supply, the criminal for the punishment of his crime The Issaku drilled his soldiers, and commanded them in battle, when a neighbouring city seized outlying strips of good land or raided the palm-groves For these services he was rewarded with payments in kind Custom fixed what each class should pay him, and this taxation supplied him with a revenue He devoted part of his wealth to the city god, building him a shrine and equipping it with attendants and offerings With the rest he rewarded friends who served him, and beautified his own dwelling The land had no clear natural boundaries, some cities became stronger and annexed more territory, others dwindled and became subject to powerful neighbours In spite of warfare the general conditions of life improved, and, as frontiers expanded, the tenant-farmer became the Lugal or possessor. This new type of ruler was strong enough to bequeath his power to his son, and the cities were ruled by hereditary kings.

The Kings of Ur. Some idea of the civilization of the early Mesopotamian rulers can be formed from the burial chambers of King Abargi and Queen Shubad, which have been excavated recently at Ur. The king lay surrounded by those who served him in life. Courtiers and their ladies, soldiers and servants, draught-animals and wagons were grouped round Abargi's corpse. Their vestments have perished, but



HARP COLLECTED FROM THE GREAT DEATH-PIT, UR

some ornaments have survived. There are still traces of the headbands worn by the court ladies; one of them, in the excitement of the ceremony, forgot to put hers on, and left it in her dress. The men and women who were willing to perish with their rulers in this way had a genuine belief in a future life, where their services would be required once more. It may seem a cruel custom which decreed their death, but it is impossible not to admire their loyalty.

Slavery. The earliest warfare was often sheer butchery. As man's needs multiplied and he realized that a captive was more valuable than a corpse, greed or intelligence triumphed over ferocity. Slavery began as a merciful innovation, and it increased speedily the prosperity of the victorious city, which profited by the skill of captured artisans and craftsmen. King, nobles, farmers, and merchants all found great advantages in the institution. As free men, they shared the dangers of

their city as well as its comforts, slavery was another incentive to face the perils of battle The conquerors returned to enjoy temple worship, solid houses, abundant food, decorated pottery and well-woven clothes There was always the chance of some ornament or precious stone to bedeck themselves or their womenkind War was frequent, but not devastating Destruction was made good rapidly in a land which relied largely on baked clay for its conveniences Ample food supplies favoured a high birth-rate, which filled gaps in the fighting line or among the slaves


A LADY OF UR

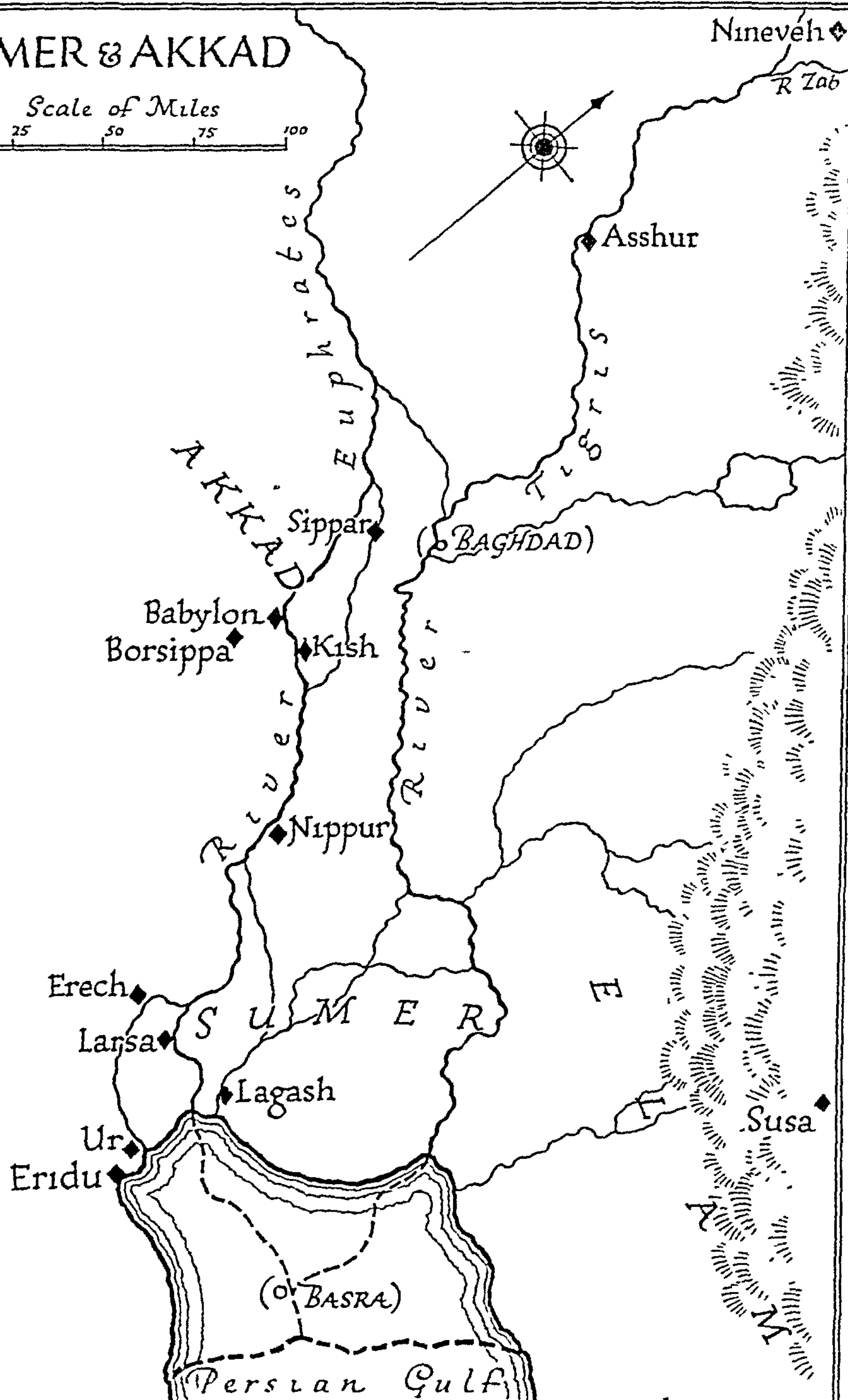
The Sumerians. The first rulers of the Mesopotamian cities who have left records were called the Sumerians. They were invaders, but their place of origin is uncertain They may have come from the northern hills, or from Central Asia across the Iranian uplands, or, if their own legends are trustworthy, from the Persian Gulf They were a sturdy, moderately tall race, with prominent noses and sloping foreheads Some were bearded, others shaved the face, and some wore their hair in a top-knot, like the men of Mohenjo-Daro Their ordinary costume was a woollen kilt, reaching from waist to knee, which was sometimes covered by a plaid hanging from the shoulders Their infantry wore copper helmets, and carried large shields, pikes, and daggers, a few were armed with maces and possibly bows They fought in close formation, with pikes projecting in front of their shields, thus forming that military hedgehog which later ages perfected as the phalanx With their flanks protected by warriors in chariots they were too strong for enemies who fought individually or in shifting groups

The Nomads of Arabia The Sumerian kings and nobles had little to fear from the conquered Mesopotamian population, but they had hard

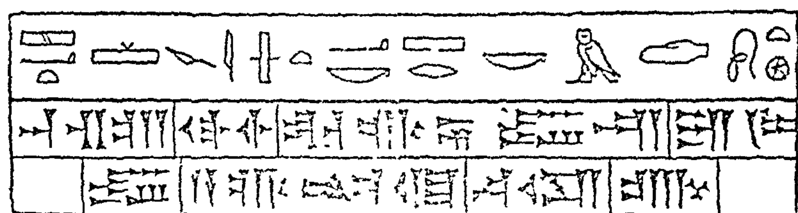
fighting with tribes which began to drift into their territories from the west These were Semitic shepherds, who had led a wandering life in Arabia or had occupied the northern grasslands which curved from Syria round the desert to Mesopotamia They spoke various dialects of the guttural Semitic tongue, but there may have been different racial stocks among them If they were like the modern Arabs, they were spare, sallow, dark-eyed men, with aquiline noses and straggling beards Some of the earlier invaders were of sturdier build, particularly those who entered the Euphrates valley from the north-west The Semites filtered continuously into the prosperous Sumerian lands Some came along the caravan routes in the course of trade and settled peaceably in the villages Others made raids and seized the lands they conquered. They adopted the civilized life of the Sumerians and learnt their military skill If they had practised any form of religion under the desert stars, they changed it for the beliefs of the Sumerians; they worshipped the gods of the cities they occupied and sacrificed in the old temples

The Kingdom of Akkad. The Sumerians held their own in the south, but the Semites grew strong in the northern cities Mesopotamia came to be divided between Semitic Akkad round Kish, Nippur, and Borsippa, and Sumer, the district north of the Persian Gulf to which the old conquerors were slowly confined In the first quarter of the third millennium Sargon founded a powerful dynasty in Akkad. His soldiers had learnt discipline from the Sumerians, while preserving the fiery energy of desert warfare Legend says that Sargon was a gardener's son, whose mother committed him to the river in a boat of reeds; later he served as a cup-bearer to the King of Kish, who traced his descent from a tavern keeper Whatever his origin, Sargon succeeded in usurping the throne of Kish and carrying his rule west, north, and east He defeated the armies of Elam and the Sumerian kings The records suggest that he reached the shores of the Mediterranean and ruled Cyprus, whose copper mines were a bait to ambitious warriors But revolts broke out in his old age, and it was left to his grandson, Naram-Sin, to restore the greatness of Akkad He recovered and extended the dominions of Sargon, taming the Elamite mountaineers, protecting the northern caravan routes, leading his troops to 'the Sea of the Sunset' and creating a reputation which lasted for centuries His Semitic soldiers and his Sumerian scribes united in exalting the warrior-king they served He was worshipped as the Divine Naram-Sin, and the Mesopotamian cities began to think of their great rulers as gods

Sumerian Civilization. It was not yet easy to maintain a single rule over distant lands, unless the monarch possessed great force and ability.


SUMER & AKKAD
Scale of Miles
0
25
50
75
100
Nineveh
R Zab
Asshur
Euphrates
Tigris
AKKAD
Sippar
(BAGHDAD)
Babylon
Borsippa
Kish
River
River
Nippur
Erech
SUMER
Larsa
Lagash
Ur
Eridu
E
L
A
M
Susa
(BASRA)
Persian Gulf

After Naram-Sin's reign Akkad grew weaker, and supremacy passed southwards to the Sumerians of Ur in the middle of the third millennium War did not destroy the prosperity of Mesopotamia Crafts flourished, the farmer reaped abundant crops, and more caravans passed along the trade-routes which knit together the hostile cities In place of Naram-Sin men learnt to pay obeisance to the King of Ur, 'the Divine Dungi, conqueror of foreign lands, establisher of the Land of Sumer, that tirelessly causes anarchy to depart' Apparently Dungi won Cappadocia, whose mines furnished valuable armament for his troops There he came into contact with a new power, the Hittites In the south-east

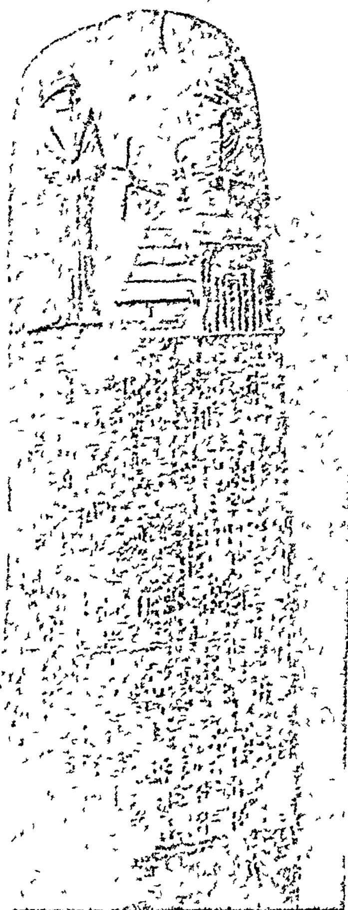


EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING (*above*) COMPARED WITH BABYLONIAN CUNEIFORM WRITING (*below*)

he conquered the troublesome Elamites and captured Susa He was the last great King of Sumer, but, though other races ruled Mesopotamia after his dynasty fell, it was the Sumerian civilization that survived Centuries earlier the race had discovered that trade needs some visible and permanent security, if it is to be strengthened by confidence They baked tablets of clay, and on them they recorded their business in picture-signs From these was developed in course of time the form of writing called cuneiform from the wedge-shaped signs which men imprinted with a metal spike on the damp tablets They sealed the tablets as their own by rolling an engraved cylinder across them before they were baked These records were useful to priests as well as merchants; on them were commemorated the king's military skill and religious zeal The priests also set down the intricacies of the calendar to guide the farmer with its division of the year into lunar months and seven-day weeks Each city worshipped its own local god, but it welcomed other divine powers, who ruled sun, moon, earth, and water, and victorious monarchs brought the idols of conquered cities to their capitals The priests studied the stars from their ziggurats or temple-towers, and tried to learn the secrets of the future by inspecting livers and entrails of the animals they sacrificed The liver omens given to Sargon were recorded on baked clay, and were still studied in Dungi's reign and for centuries afterwards

II Babylonia

In the last quarter of the third millennium supremacy passed again from Sumerian to Semite The Golden Age came when Hammurabi reigned in the new city of Babylon or Babel, 'the Gate of God' His letters show that he controlled a highly organized system of government which dealt with the military, political, social, and economic needs of his wide dominions The royal scribes dispatched his orders to the city governors, they gave instructions for clearing the water-channels, protecting flocks, punishing fraudulent tax-gatherers, or repulsing raiding tribes

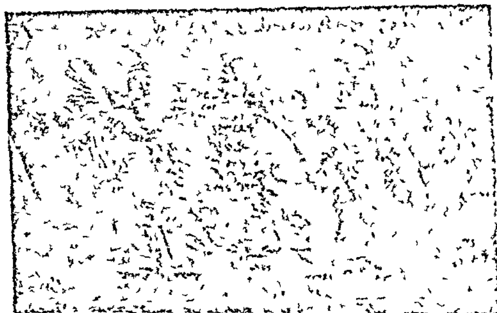


Mansell

HAMMURABI RECEIVING THE CODE OF LAWS FROM THE SUN-GOD
Beneath are the laws themselves

Hammurabi the Lawgiver The most famous memorial which has survived from Hammurabi's days is his code of laws A sculpture shows him receiving the code from the sun-god, on it are inscribed the ordinances by which, like Dungi before him, he tried to do justice through his realm The laws reveal a complicated civilization in which women enjoyed a position of great freedom There was an elaborate system of courts for hearing appeals and retrying cases, helped by an organized city police Death was the penalty for many offences, but it was not always inflicted Probably the priestess who entered a wineshop and the wife who was incurably extravagant escaped more frequently than the builder whose house collapsed and killed its purchaser, or the philanthropist who harboured a runaway slave Technically all four were liable to the extreme penalty, together with brigands, temple thieves, and sellers of bad beer. There was an elaborate scale of payments for surgeons, brickmakers, boatmen, and other classes Marriage was controlled by a civil contract and was usually for life Women might carry on professions or trades, but their highest honour was to be one of the priestesses

who managed the wealth of a great temple The staff which served the higher gods can be guessed from the list of a small, single-priest temple, three brewers, two musicians, a boatman, and a shepherd. The great ziggurat, dedicated to Marduk, was a conspicuous landmark in the flat Mesopotamian plain, and Semitic wanderers told their children of the impious tower of Babel which was built to reach the heavens Its rectangular bulk rose into the sky, stage on stage, surrounded by a path, which the priests climbed to study the stars Babylonian religion was largely occupied with examining the heavens by night and animal livers by day But it busied itself also with worldly matters Religion and trade were allies, and the temples owned large estates. Their priests drew wealth from agriculture and merchandise, and gave sanctity to the contracts which the merchant honoured with bars of silver and other metals



Louvre

TWO WINGED CREATURES PERFORMING A MAGIC CEREMONY WITH ASSHUR OVER THE SACRED TREE

The Kassite Invasion Hammurabi's dynasty disappeared at the beginning of the second millennium before the attacks of the kings of 'the Sea Country,' the Hittites, and the Kassites The Hittites raided down the Euphrates valley from Cappadocia The Kassites were highlanders from the country north-west of Elam They possessed a great military advantage in the horse, which the amazed Babylonians called 'the ass from the mountains' They began with raids and went on to conquest Like previous invaders of the river valley, they adopted Sumerian customs, their leader proclaimed himself. 'King of the Four Regions, King of Sumer and Akkad, King of Babylon' They worshipped Marduk and the other gods they found in possession, and won the good will of the conquered sufficiently to rule the land for six centuries Their fall was due to the attacks of Assyria and Elam

Assyria The northern soldiers who overthrew the Kassites were Semites Their ancestors had crossed Euphrates and settled in the narrow Tigris valley south of Lake Van and the Armenian hills Their territory had no frontiers which could be defended easily, and they could only maintain their independence by the discipline and courage of their armies Their first capital was Asshur, later Nineveh was built higher up the Tigris valley, and Arbela close to the Iranian hills. On several occasions neighbouring tribes overran their territory, but they

recovered their freedom by hard fighting They borrowed cuneiform writing and many other customs from Sumer and Akkad, but there were differences between them and their less warlike kinsmen of the south Unlike the brick-users of Ur and Babylon, the Assyrians built in stone They worshipped many gods, the chief were Asshur, the city god of their old capital, whose symbol was the winged disk of the sun, and Ishtar, the mother goddess of fertility, who also inspired them in battle

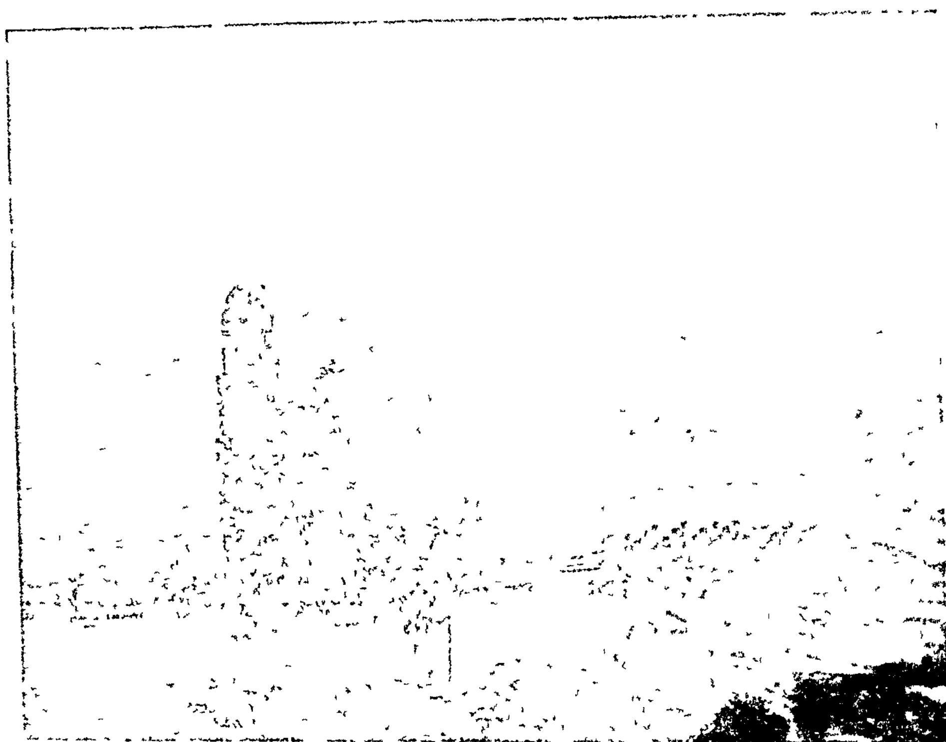
The Hittites. The Assyrian kings aimed at close contact with Cappadocia in order to share its mineral wealth Their traders handed on to their northern customers the cuneiform they had learnt from Babylonia, and influenced their speech. But early in the second millennium Cappadocia fell under the rule of the Hittites, who established their capital at Boghaz Keui in the north-west of the country In spite of numerous documents which have been unearthed there, the origin of the Hittites is still unknown, it is suggested that they were Aryan-speaking invaders from beyond the Caspian They had a code of law, which resembles Hammurabi's in some points They seem to have known how to use the horse earlier than the Mesopotamian peoples, and they were vigorous fighters, their raid on Babylonia was a foretaste of their power in the middle of the second millennium

III Egypt

The Nile valley resembles the broad plains of Mesopotamia in its fertility, but there are marked differences between the two countries Except at the Delta the valley is narrow in proportion to its length, it is not easily accessible by land Its peoples were divided from the inhabitants of Syria by the Gulf of Suez and the Sinai desert The few oases on the west only supported a handful of possible enemies The sole danger lay in the north-west, where wandering herdsmen had a broad passage into the Delta From early days they seem to have mingled with the earlier population of farmers by warlike or peaceful settlement The original Nile dwellers appear to have been a small, slender, dark-haired race, with narrow heads and oval faces, a wiry breed of men, endowed with clever fingers and considerable muscular development In spite of the many invaders who overran their land, their blood is probably the main element in the modern Egyptian race In comparatively early times eastern immigrants intermarried with the original stock to produce a shorter, sturdier type with broad faces and thick skulls

The Union of Upper and Lower Egypt. We cannot say how long it took the inhabitants of the villages to form clans under the rule of chieftains The clans grew gradually in strength and struggled with their neighbours. Each went into battle bearing its totem-standard, adorned with animal

emblems, hawk, vulture, crocodile, or bull In time two large groups formed, one in the broad lands of Lower or northern Egypt, the other in the narrow valley of Upper Egypt, which stretches to the First Cataract The country was united after the victory of the Falcon clan, whose god was Horus But the old division was still typified by the double crown

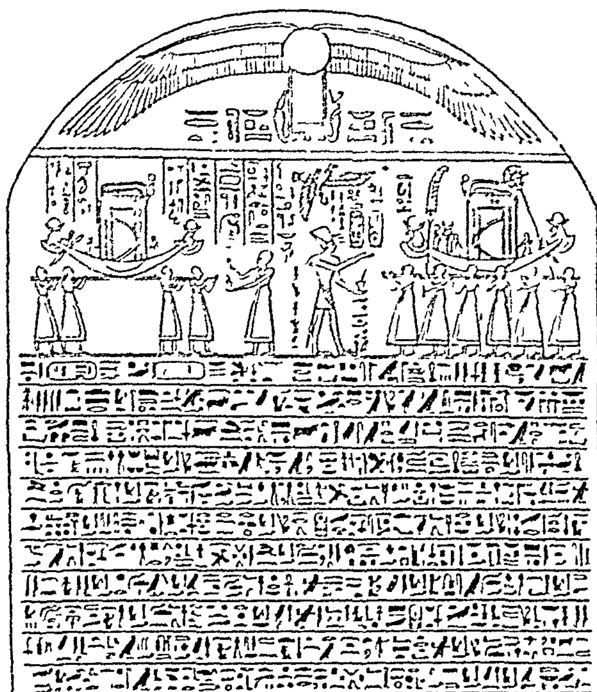


TRANSPORT IN ANCIENT EGYPT
(From a diorama in the Science Museum, South Kensington)

of the king, the white of Upper Egypt and the red of the Delta The southern monarch conquered Upper Egypt, but did not absorb it into his own kingdom, he wore the vulture of Hieraconpolis, side by side with the uraeus-serpent, worshipped by the northerners of Buto He was not called tenant-farmer or possessor like the Mesopotamian kings, but Pharaoh or the Great House

Egyptian Civilization The union was accomplished in the second half of the fourth millennium, and it lasted as long as Pharaoh kept the loyalty of his subjects Under weak monarchs the old division reappeared, and in more disastrous times there were many rulers in the land To hold his straggling dominions together Pharaoh employed nomarchs or governors for the nomes or local divisions To control them he needed a civil

service, which should convey instructions, receive reports, and keep accurate records of the vitally important taxes Fortunately nature provided the right materials for correspondence, and the Egyptians were quick to use them. They wrote on a surface of split papyrus with a sharpened reed dipped in a mixture of vegetable gum and water From drawing pictures to represent material objects they passed to using

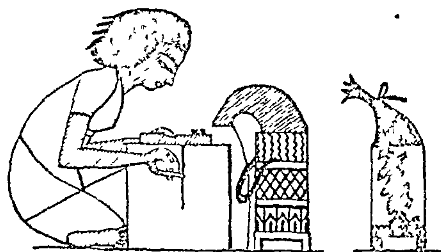


EGYPTIAN PICTURE WRITING

picture signs for sounds, from this they worked out the hieratic script, which had some alphabetic signs and could be written quickly by the trained scribe As far back as the fifth millennium they made an excellent calendar, which was superior to the Mesopotamian, the year was divided not into thirteen lunar months, but into twelve months of thirty days each, with five extra days for festivals Helped by this accurate measure of time and accurate means of writing, Pharaoh's civil service carried on the peaceful work of government efficiently For protection there was an army, capable of repulsing raids and suppressing risings in the nomes The Egyptian was not a ferocious warrior, but he had the advantage of discipline to make good his somewhat inferior equipment of broad-bladed spear, feeble bow, hatchet, and dagger Most campaigns involved the use of a river flotilla Egypt had good sailors, who convoyed troops up

the Nile valley, and faced the Mediterranean and the Red Sea They fetched cedars from Lebanon for the Pharaohs of the early dynasties, and they sailed to Crete, Cyprus, and the western coast of Arabia

Villages and Cities. The first duty of Pharaoh and his governors was to guard the irrigation channels Egyptian life, like Mesopotamian, depended on the right use of the river, which secured an ample food supply for the peasant, and enabled him to raise crops or tend herds for himself and his lord The peasant's simple wants were easily supplied in a sunny climate, and he and his ass were the props on which the State rested Life was different in the cities, where craftsmen made astonishingly rapid progress in perfecting their work They built cool, bright, attractive houses for the nobles, using wood and sun-dried bricks They wrought graceful couches and chairs, on which their masters reclined to dine under painted ceilings, while jugglers, acrobats, and musicians displayed their skill between the delicate columns Potters, weavers, carpenters, and gardeners worked to gratify the Egyptian love of colour and beauty The nobles were scrupulously careful of their bodies and their linen clothing, they delighted in music and flowers, life was pleasant for the rich under the cloudless sun of the Nile



AN EGYPTIAN SCRIBE AT WORK
The cases in front of him contain his writing materials

Tombs and Temples The Egyptians believed firmly in a future life, and took great care to preserve their bodies after death They began by burying their dead in shallow pits, encased by bricks When they learnt the use of metal tools, they made extraordinary progress in a very short time The discovery may have been due to some traveller in Sinai, who happened to heat rough ore and liberate copper The quick Egyptian brain appreciated the advantages of metal as a cutting edge, and used it on the stones of the plateaux which flanked the Nile valley The architect Imhotep showed how stone could be employed for building a tomb worthy of Pharaoh, and in less than two centuries after he had reared his first terraced tomb the pyramids were built They are more than five thousand years old and are still the best known memorials of the ancient world The Great Pyramid is a huge mass of masonry, formed of more than two million limestone blocks, and covering a dozen acres, a hundred thousand men are said to have laboured on its construction for twenty years The royal bodies were disembowelled and carefully preserved in spices, jars containing heart and entrails were

placed in the pyramid-tomb alongside the richly ornamented coffin, which contained Pharaoh's mummy or embalmed body, all this was done to serve the ruler in the life he was to live beyond the grave in fellowship with his ancestors, the gods In front of Khafre's pyramid lay the Sphinx, an enormous figure with Pharaoh's face and a lion's body The royal resting-place was encircled by the flat-topped tombs of his nobles, and

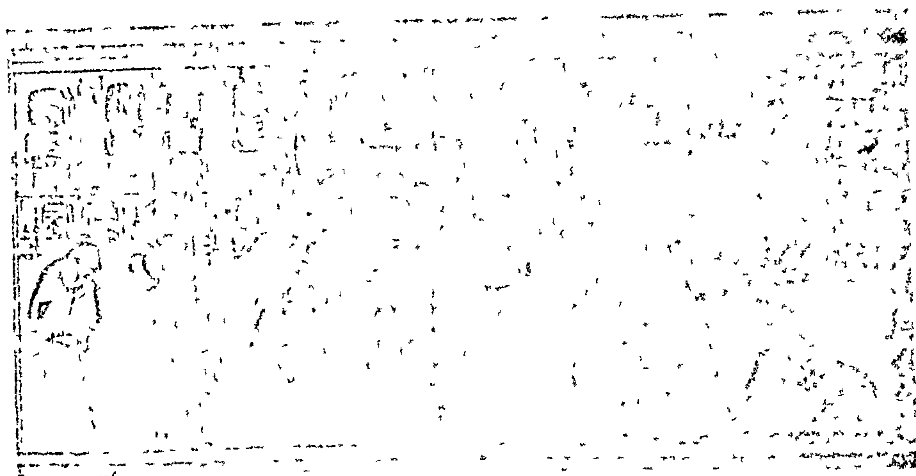


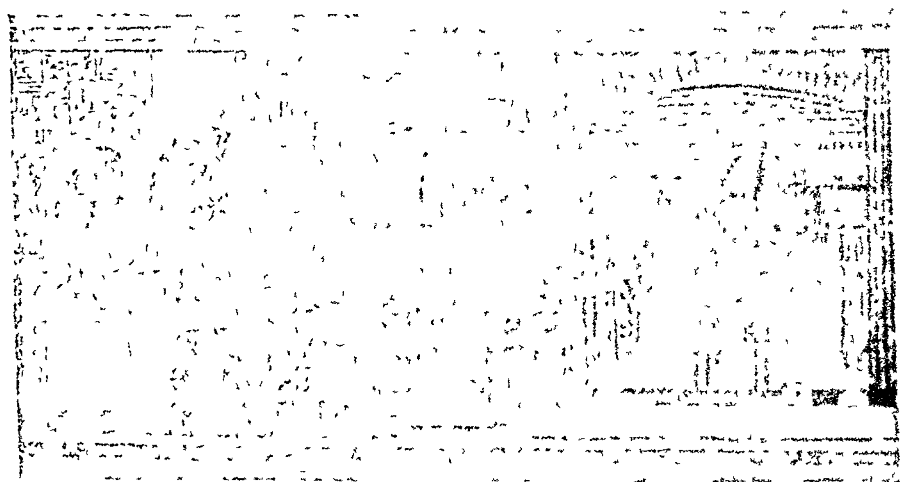
THE SPHINX AND A PYRAMID

on the river-bank was a temple, surrounded by houses and palm-groves Other temples were built throughout the land, the greatest was at Thebes They were adorned with colonnades, obelisks, and statues of the Pharaohs

Egyptian Religion. The two chief divinities of the Nile valley were Osiris and Re. The former was the god of life, like all things to whom he gave life, he was subject to death, in the next world he judged the souls of the departed in the scales of truth On their journey from the present to the future life, the Egyptians took many possessions to comfort their mummified bodies, and rolls of prayers to help them in Osiris's judgment Re was the god of the sun, which gave fertility to the Nile valley, Pharaoh was his son, and Re formed part of the royal name, as the example of Khafre shows When the twelfth dynasty ascended the throne, the worship of Amon became prominent, he was identified with Re, and the temple of Amon-Re became the centre of Egyptian religion There

were many other gods in the different cities. At first the animals that represented them were merely symbols, but in time the common people came to worship the animal shapes of their divinities. The best known



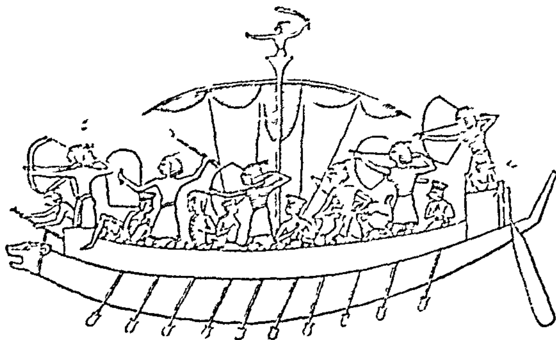


THE JUDGMENT OF OSIRIS

A husband and wife are here passing through various stages of the judgment. Anubis can be seen weighing their hearts.

was the sacred bull of Apis at Memphis. There were many others, Anubis the Jackal, Isis, goddess of the moonlit sky, Thoth, the ibis-god who ruled the moon, and the crocodile god, Sebek. Under the earlier dynasties king and nobles performed the acts of worship. As temple ritual became more elaborate, priests began to form a class distinct from the laymen

The Old Kingdom. Egypt's remoteness from other powerful states allowed her civilization to develop without interruption from outside for ten centuries Pharaoh's power grew greater, and showed itself in magnificent buildings, which needed an inexhaustible supply of slave labour All the stone for tombs and temples had to be manhandled, and a single limestone block for the pyramids weighed over two tons By the time of the sixth dynasty Egyptian fleets were bringing goods from Phoenician and Red Sea ports, cedars from Lebanon, and gold, ebony, spices, and ostrich-plumes from the south The Old Kingdom reached its greatest prosperity under Pepi I, who was a contemporary of Naram-Sin of Akkad, possibly the merchants of the two rulers interchanged wares in the Red Sea, and there are signs that Egyptian and Mediterranean craftsmen influenced one another's work. Pepi's soldiers conquered the uncivilized Nubian tribes south of the First Cataract, and curbed the Berbers of the west But after his death the governor who was 'Keeper of the Door of the South' found his task increasingly difficult, when vigorous negro tribes began to press northward along the river Some were captured and enrolled in Pharaoh's army, but many negro chieftains occupied Egyptian territory, when the royal power was weakened by the ambitions of the hereditary nomarchs These local rulers became independent of the central authority at Memphis Rival dynasties were established at Heracleopolis and Thebes, while the Delta nomarchs threw off their allegiance to Pharaoh The ancient unity was lost, and by the middle of the third millennium the first period of Egyptian greatness was over



AN EGYPTIAN WARSHIP
The sail is furled for action

The Middle Kingdom. At the time that Babylon was rising to greatness, the princes of Thebes restored a strong monarchy, and reunited the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt Men had learnt how to produce bronze by fusing copper and tin. Though the poorer classes continued to use stone and copper tools, the richer craftsman and the soldier employed bronze for industry and warfare Bronze weapons increased the fighting power of the Egyptian army The Pharaohs of the twelfth dynasty, who were descended from Theban nomarchs, may have owed their energy and ambition to a touch of negro blood. But they were

The ANCIENT EGYPTIAN KINGDOM

BERBERS

Heliopolis

Gizeh

Memphis

Libyan Desert

Heracleopolis

SINAI

Hermopolis

Tel-el-Amarna

Abydos

Karnak

Thebes

ARABIA

RED SEA

Assuan

1st Cataract

2nd Cataract

Kemmeh

NUBIA

3rd Cataract

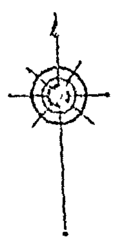
4th Cataract

5th Cataract

6th Cataract

NEGROES

PUNT



Scale of Miles

0 50 100 200 300

patriotic Egyptians, who not only reduced Lower Egypt, but also conquered the negroes who had overrun Nubia Under them Amon became the chief god of Egypt, his worship was conducted with careful and stately ceremonial, and the priestly class, now distinct from the laity, encouraged king and nobles to make rich offerings to Amon's temples But, as the Egyptian's main preoccupation was always his life in the next world, Osiris, the northern god, was as powerful as Amon of Thebes The Pharaohs recognized that it was their duty to see with their own eyes the needs of their straggling dominions They were busy travellers, and kept in touch with their local governors, who had replaced the independent princes and were strictly responsible to 'the Great House' at Thebes



British Museum

SENUSRET III

Egyptian Life. Under the twelfth dynasty the art of ancient Egypt reached perhaps its highest point as regards the work of jewellers, sculptors, wood-carvers, and painters The country was self-supporting and bartered the surplus of its granaries and the gold of its southern provinces for the timber and wine of Syria The peasantry lived much the same life as their successors to-day, unless there was a bad Nile, they were sure of a sunwarmed livelihood Pharaoh appointed officials to see that they obtained justice, and, if we may believe the legends, the 'Eloquent Peasant' could win his suit against an unjust judge There was an end of the private war which had been waged by the nomarchs in the bad times that ended the Old Kingdom On the whole the lower orders were well off under the rule of such vigorous Pharaohs as Senusret III, the contemporary of Hammurabi. The prosperity of the country attracted peaceful settlers from Syria and northern Arabia The mines of Sinai were worked vigorously, and Egyptian merchants sailed to

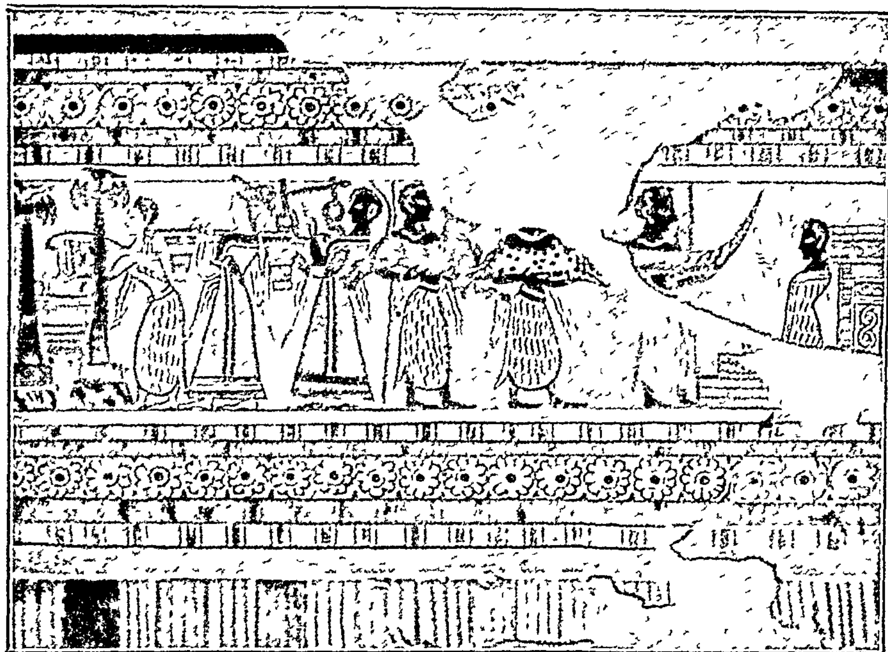
Crete, where a rich civilization had developed Senusret led his armies south and north-east He fortified the Second Cataract, where his inscription says that he set up his statue 'not that ye should worship it but fight for it' His campaigns in southern Syria were successful, and he left a peaceful country to his son, during whose reign wealth increased and all power lay with Pharaoh and his court

The Hyksos Invasion A centralized government like Senusret's depends entirely on the abilities of the ruling monarch The old trouble of disunion reappeared under weaker Pharaohs, who took their throne-names from the crocodile-god, Sebek The Delta drew apart from the south, and was divided by civil war The first quarter of the second millennium was a time of unrest over western Asia, and the pressure of northern tribes brought destruction to the old civilized kingdoms About the time that Kassites and Hittites were overthrowing Babylon, a horde of invaders, called Hyksos, pressed down from Syria towards Egypt They crushed the north-eastern defences and defeated the Delta nomarchs. Thebes rallied the southern provinces for a time; but the horses and bronze scimitars of the invaders proved too much for the native Egyptian infantry Resistance collapsed, and the rich land was given over to fire and plunder The Hyksos cared nothing for the decencies of life or the religion of the conquered They profaned temples, looted homes, and, when tired of destruction, placed their leader on the throne and crowned him with the uraeus of Pharaoh

IV CRETE, MYCENAE AND TROY

We should have the key to many problems of ancient history, if we knew when man first quitted the coastal shallows of the Mediterranean and trusted his frail craft to the truculent sea That great event may have come by accident or design An inshore fisherman, borne out into blue water by some sudden squall and then, when hope was lost, brought back to the familiar coast, would have a rare tale to tell The landsman was even more impressed, when the sailor set out deliberately to learn the secrets of some island, dimly seen over the waters under a clear sky. Possibly the seafaring tradition was handed down to the scattered tribes of the Mediterranean race from the days when the two great inland lakes were still separated Even after the wrinkling of the earth's surface had broken down the land-bridges at Gibraltar and Sicily, the Mediterranean was an attractive school of seamanship The rise and fall of the tide did not exceed a foot, there were no tidal currents, reefs, or shoals, the summer months were nearly always free from storms, the sailor was not blinded by the terror of clinging fog

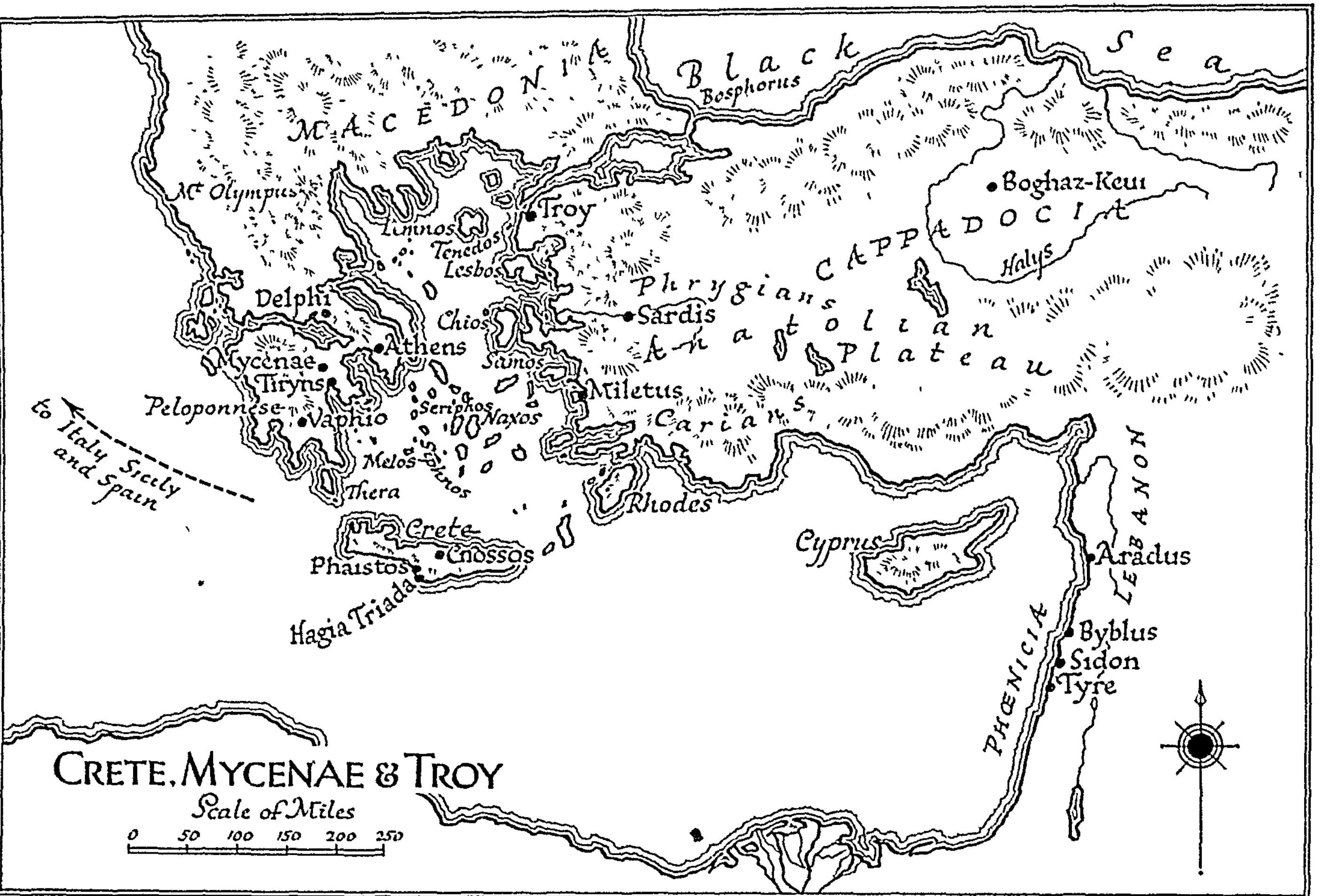
The Eastern Mediterranean. Conditions were even more favourable in the east of the inland sea than in the west There was good timber close to its shores, and there were flint and obsidian to hollow canoes or hack out timbers for a raft Paddle and oar came into use, when it was necessary to traverse water too deep for the punt-pole Animal skins furnished early mariners with sails and the tackle necessary for their



PAINTED SARCOPHAGUS, HAGIA TRIADA
On the left can be seen symbolic double-axes

management Distances from cape to cape and island to island were short, and tempted the seamen in cloudless summer weather to venture far from home There were lots of good fish in the sea, and best of all the tunny This excellent fish, which often turns the scale at five hundred pounds, was a rare prize, especially when there had been a poor harvest It has been suggested that it was no Golden Fleece, but the tunny, which first led Mediterranean sailors to the Dardanelles and beyond.

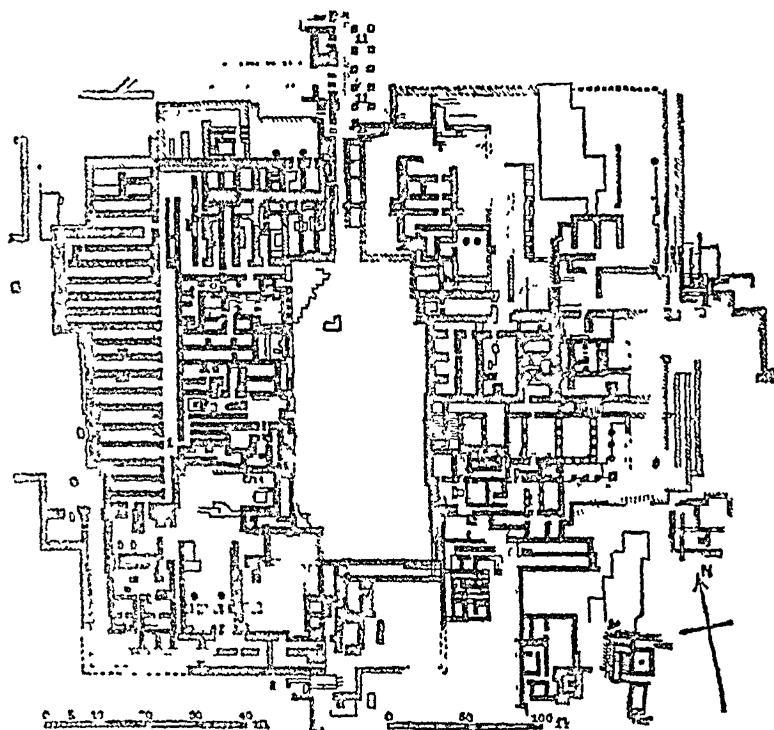
Crete. The earliest evidence of maritime activities is not in the Aegean, where conditions are most favourable, but in the southern part of the eastern Mediterranean Greek traditions, which told of the mighty sea-power of King Minos of Crete, have been confirmed strikingly by archaeological excavations, the legends of the Minotaur and the Labyrinth have been shown to rest on fact The people which left the



CRETE, MYCENAE & TROY
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200 250
Black Sea
Bosphorus
MACEDONIA
Mt Olympus
Troy
Boghaz-Keui
CAPPADOCIA
Halys
Phrygians
Sardis
Anatolian Plateau
Carians
Miletus
Limnos
Tenedos
Lesbos
Chios
Samos
Naxos
Seriphos
Delphi
Athens
Mycenae
Tiryns
Peloponnese
Vaphio
Melos
Thera
Rhodes
Crete
Cnossos
Phaistos
Hagia Triada
Cyprus
Aradus
Byblus
Sidon
Tyre
LEBANON
PHŒNICIA
to Italy Sicily and Spain

C

enough is known to show that Crete had an organized government, which controlled the island and gathered taxes in kind from its inhabitants The various chambers and offices were linked up gradually into large palaces by kings who were contemporary with Hammurabi and Senusret Their greatness outlasted the dynasty of Senusret, but in the early part of the second millennium disaster overtook Cnossos, Phaistos, and the other pros-

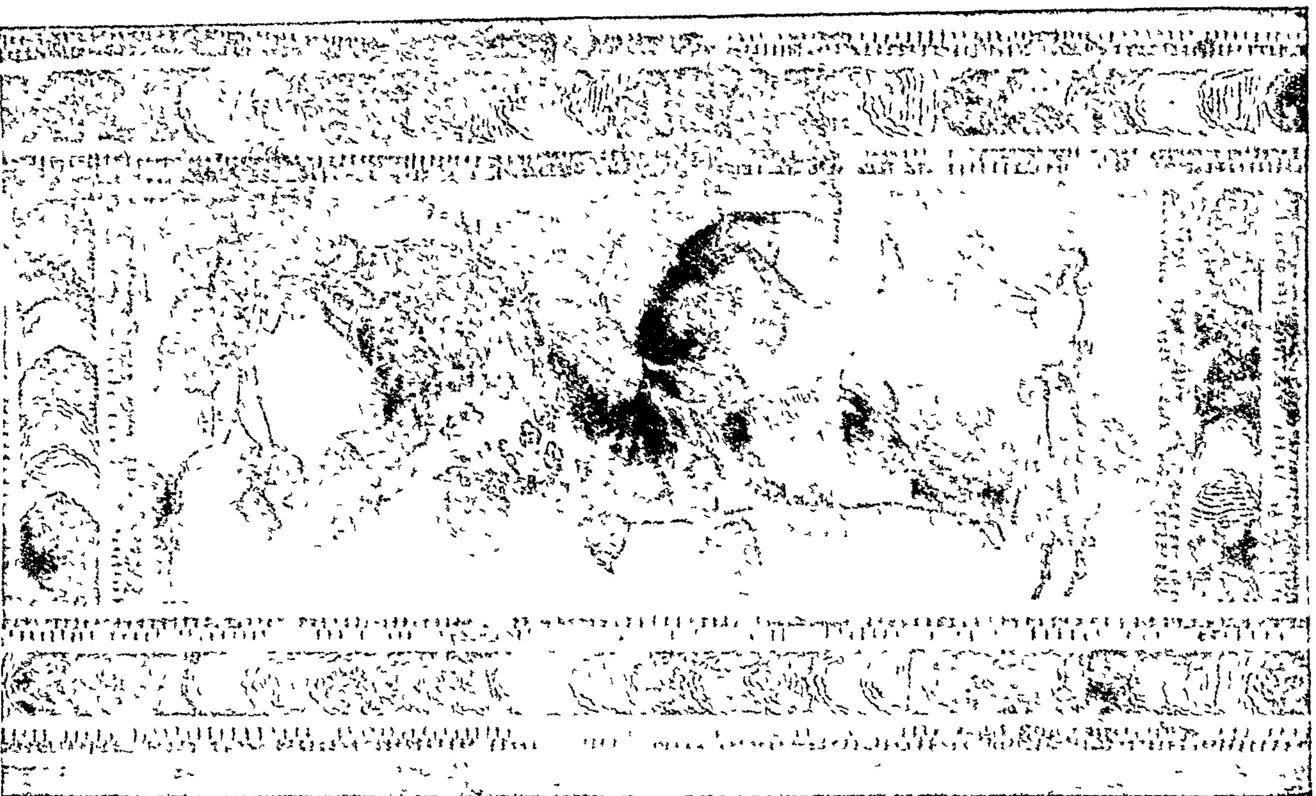


Cambridge University Press

THE PLAN OF THE PALACE AT CNOSSOS

perous cities of Crete This may have been due to the same natural causes which brought about the calamitous eruption at Thera Possibly the island was swept by civil war, which overthrew the old rulers There is no sign of foreign invasion, and after an interval Cnossos recovered its prosperity, together with Phaistos and Hagia Triada Cretan influence and probably Cretan rule spread over the Aegean islands and mainland Greece But at the end of the fifteenth century raiders from overseas sacked and burnt the palace at Cnossos, and, though life went on in the maimed cities, the great days of Crete were over

Life in Minoan Crete. The inhabitants of Cnossos were slim-waisted, lithe-limbed, and swarthy The men usually wore loin-cloth, kilt and leather boots, presumably a cloak was added in winter The women



Wasmuth. 'Altkreta.

A MINOAN FRESCO OF BULL-LEAPING

showed a genius for elaborate fashions, favouring high head-dresses, full flounced skirts, and sashes They must have appreciated the skill of the Cretan gem-cutters The long peace, which the sailors ensured, enabled the craftsmen to develop their skill, and they showed great taste in pottery and frescoes Like the Egyptians, they had a love of colour

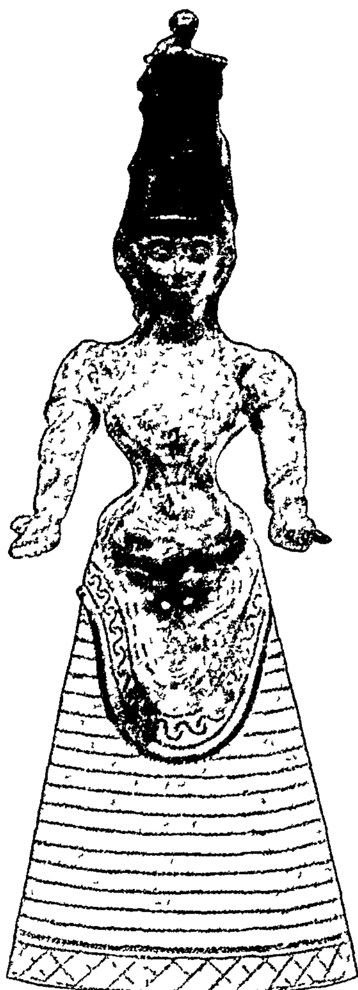


MINOAN VASE WITH CUTTLEFISH ORNAMENT

and used it to beautify houses and palaces Little is known of their religious beliefs, they seem to have worshipped a nature-goddess, whom the Greeks, in later days, claimed as the mother of Zeus, her symbol was the double axe Many of her shrines were on hill-tops or in caves. Doves, snakes, and pillars were also objects of reverence, and the bull played an important part in religion and popular amusements The legend of the Minotaur may have arisen from the stories of captives, who were trained to delight the men and women of Cnossos by their skill in bull-leaping.

Mycenae Minoan civilization spread to the Aegean islands and thence to the mainland Something of the same life prevailed, but it did not reach the same artistic level, and left no signs of any real skill in crafts-

manship Houses were smaller and cruder, and cities were fortified Probably the Cretans came first to trade and then to settle But in northern waters they were without the permanent protection of their ships, as seafaring depended on the mild breezes and the bright skies of summer The handful of traders who settled down in Melos or Thera was safer behind a city wall Fortified posts grew up on the mainland also, and Cretan traders taught their customers to appreciate good wares. The lesson was well learnt, and the inhabitants of such cities as Mycenae and Tiryns in north-east Peloponnese became prosperous Possibly invaders came down from the Balkans and intermarried with the inhabitants, or the original Cretan settlers may have asserted their independence, when the cities of their homeland suffered their first great disaster Whatever the cause, Mycenae grew in power, and developed on the mainland a civilization almost as interesting as that of Crete itself Her influence seems to have spread over the northern Aegean, and her rulers extended their power on the mainland by a carefully devised system of roads with causeways and primitive bridges The nobles enjoyed bull-baiting and hunted big game Whether it was Mycenaean sailors who brought about the downfall of Cnossos is uncertain, but there is no doubt that the mainland city rose to its greatest power when the Cretan kingdom fell



Candia Museum
CRETAN SNAKE GODDESS

Troy. At the top of the Aegean another city began to come into prominence, when Sargon was raiding Cappadocia Troy was well situated for trade Close to its hill the caravan route from Asia Minor to the Danube lands crossed the narrow waters of the Dardanelles, its inhabitants may have levied toll on this land traffic as well as on the sailors who braved the waters of the Black Sea A second city was built on the ruins of the first, with well-planned fortifications of baked brick, resting on foundations of wrought stone Paved ramps led through the gates to the narrow streets which climbed the central height, we may well

believe that the passing traffic sometimes annoyed 'the sunning housewives at their wheels' But the carts brought in good merchandise and Troy grew rich She had none of the Cretan potter's art, but she knew how to work metal, possibly because she controlled mines in Europe When the second city of Troy fell, her inhabitants left behind them bronze moulds, silver jars, and golden diadems, earrings, and cups to bear witness of their wealth The site continued to attract settlers, after three more destructive raids the sixth city of Troy was built and bred princes and warriors whose legends have made the epithet Trojan familiar to the modern world

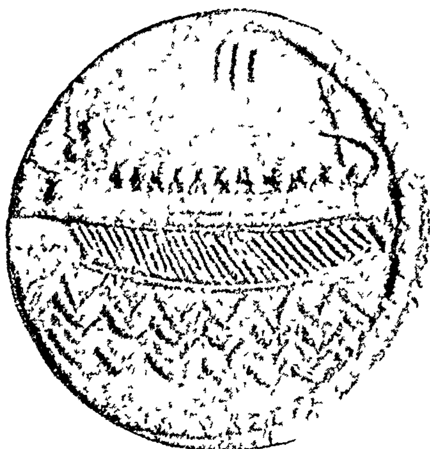
Mediterranean Trade. Doubtless there were other seafarers in the Aegean besides the mariners of Cnossos, Mycenae, and Troy Tradition places the earliest home of the Etruscans or Tyrrhenians in Asia Minor, and tradition has lately developed the habit of being confirmed by archaeological discoveries Future diggers may prove that the sombre race, which gave its name to the Tyrrhenian Sea in the west, was once equally powerful in the eastern Mediterranean A similar name appears in the list of sea-peoples who harried wealthy Egypt in the thirteenth century The ancestors of these savage raiders must have served a hard apprenticeship along the coast of Asia Minor, though they threatened little danger in the palmy days of Cretan sea-power The change from stone to metal tools and weapons must have stimulated maritime competition and encouraged daring sea-captains to challenge the monopoly of Cnossos When men recognized the immense superiority of bronze to copper, the struggle became keener Tin was a necessity for progressive peoples, and there was no tin in the eastern Mediterranean To secure supplies the sailor had to go farther afield, to north-west Italy, to Spain, and possibly even to Cornwall It may have been Tuscan tin mines which first drew the Etruscan from the east It is certain that the Cretan sailed to Sicily and farther west with his wares, and he probably brought back tin with him He would find many seafaring rivals in the coastlands and inlets of Asia Minor

V. Phoenicia

East of Crete on the narrow plain which divides Lebanon from the sea was a nation of traders who were destined to outstrip and outlast all the early maritime races The men who called themselves Canaanites and were nicknamed Phoenicians or Red Men by the Greeks, said that they came to their Syrian homes from the shores of the Red Sea They spoke a dialect of the Semitic speech, and they may well have served their apprenticeship in the distant past, acting as middlemen who grew

rich as carriers of the products of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Punjab When they passed into the fertile lands which curve round the Syrian desert, they built cities on a coast which had plentiful timber within easy reach and an unfailing supply of the murex to make purple dye They were jealous of their independence, and preferred an island site, where they would be safe from attacks by land.

Rise of Tyre and Sidon. The chief Phoenician cities were Tyre, Sidon, Byblus, and Aradus They were ruled by kings, who never showed any wish for union with their neighbours In particular Tyre and Sidon were always rivals, and the eclipse of the one usually increased the prosperity of the other Like the inland Canaanites, each city worshipped its city god, whom the inhabitants called Baal or Lord, he was the sun, who gave increase to crops In later days they worshipped Taanit, the moon-goddess, who was the Face of Baal, Astarte, the goddess of fertility, Melkarth, and Eshmun, god of healing They were a stubborn, taciturn race, who have left few records of their long mastery of the sea They were not natural boasters, like the rulers of Nile and Euphrates They traded with both lands, and were usually successful in maintaining their freedom against the great kingdoms which lay to south and east of them In particular Sidon and Tyre, each built on an islet off the coast, proved difficult to subdue by the methods of primitive warfare The Phoenicians lacked the artistic skill of the Cretan or Egyptian or Sumerian craftsman, but their artisans could copy the ideas of Thebes or Cnossos or Babylon and their merchants made voyages to barter these second-rate wares to distant peoples, who supplied a profitable cargo for the homeward voyage They learnt the value of records in trade, and in time worked out an alphabet, which served their merchants better than the clumsier scripts of Egypt and Mesopotamia



EARLY PHOENICIAN WARSHIP
(From a coin of Sidon)

Long-distance Voyages. Aegean sailors liked short runs from island to island, with the ship drawn ashore in the evening and a comfortable night's rest on land There were few good harbours on the coast of southern Syria, and the Phoenicians were forced by their geographical position to attempt harder tasks Short voyages brought small profits The favourable eastern breeze, which blew for most of the year, tempted

them to venture the run to Cyprus, where there were good supplies of copper In time the journey to the Delta became comparatively easy; a favourable current helped them home along the Syrian coast This triangular voyage taught them to trust the good pine oars, which Lebanon provided, even in distant seas In Cyprus they came into contact with the skilled mariners of Phaistos, they bought their wares by barter, as they bought the wares of the Delta Later they learnt something of their northern and western trade routes When Crete grew weak, they passed northward to the islands of the Aegean, and found the journey rather easier than the coastal trip past Syria. They ventured westward along the African coast, and learnt the way to Spain. In time they saw that trade would be increased by founding small settlements among the uncivilized tribes, who came to barter raw materials, especially minerals, for the goods the Phoenicians had copied from their more artistic neighbours The sailors of Tyre and Sidon and Byblus found out how to steer by the stars at night, and they were ready to take risks, always provided that the risk was worth taking By the last quarter of the second millennium they were far advanced on the path which made them the greatest long-distance seamen of the world for a thousand years.

If you want to know more of the Sumerians, read Leonard Woolley's Ur of the Chaldees *You will find much that is interesting about Egypt in J H Breasted's* Ancient Times *Holland Rose's* The Mediterranean in the Ancient World *will tell you about the Phoenicians and other early seamen G Glasgow's* The Minoans *deals with Crete*

To fix times and dates in your head, consult the Time Chart at the beginning of the book

CHAPTER III

THE WANDERINGS OF THE PEOPLES

THE civilized life of Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, and the Aegean lands did not develop without interruption There were frequent wars, which checked the arts of peace, and occasional invasions, which destroyed the progress of many years The official records of monarchs like Naram-Sin, Dungi, and Senusret suggest that most human activity was devoted to fighting Even the lawgiver Hammurabi recounted his victories at length, and was proud to have hymns written to him as 'a very storm in battle, breaking his enemies like dolls of clay ' Invaders are often described as exterminating the inhabitants of the land in which they

settled. This view has produced many false ideas about racial origins, it ignores the woman's side of the picture Even when most conquered males were massacred, the women were spared, to serve the victors and bear them children The populations of Sumer and Akkad, Egypt and Crete, probably remained of much the same racial type from the beginning of the fourth millennium to the middle of the second Ruling classes were proud of their distinctive blood, but the original stock formed the bulk of the population.

I Semites and Aryans

Two great centres threatened the civilized lands The peoples we call Semites overflowed continually from the Arabian plateau The Indo-European or Aryan tribes of the north were slower to move, but they produced more lasting effects Both terms, Semite and Aryan, are misleading, unless it is remembered that they refer to language, not race. Semitic tongues differ sharply from Aryan, among other points they employ only two tense forms, and they use gutturals which are beyond the powers of any Aryan throat But there are many groups of Semitic languages, and possibly these distinctions of speech spring from differences of race The divergence in Aryan languages is far greater. They are spoken by representatives of two clearly marked racial stocks, the Nordic, tall, long-headed, light-skinned, with blue or grey eyes; the Alpine, with shorter bodies, round, domed skulls, darker skins, and brown eyes Among the Aryans there were also probably members of the dark, long-headed, slightly-built Mediterranean race. These stocks lived together long enough to develop the characteristics which are common to the various Aryan tongues They retained after their dispersion similar words for cow, sheep, pig, dog, and cart, and for agricultural products and processes In their early home, wherever it was, they were shepherds with a rough knowledge of primitive farming

Characteristics of the Semites. The Semite is generally regarded as a desert wanderer, but from the earliest days Arabia had its settled inhabitants, who cultivated the fertile lands of Yemen and Oman These were ruled by merchant princes, and it was this type of government that the shepherds of the grasslands took with them, when they filtered into Syria and Mesopotamia They have left records of their presence in the city states which stretched from Ur to Nineveh, and from Aleppo and Damascus past Tyre to Gaza and Askalon They created little themselves, but they copied the art of others successfully, whether the models were Egyptian or Sumerian The patriarch had been their leader when they were nomad herdsmen, they were ruled by kings in the

which the Aryan-speaking wanderers invaded. But it was a lengthy business, learning to use him to the best advantage Harness was clumsy, hampering his breathing and preventing him from employing his full strength It was a long time before he was shod No nation in the ancient world seems to have tackled the problem on the right lines Men could ride the horse, and they learnt gradually to manage him in war, so that the warrior fought on horseback, instead of from a chariot. But inefficient harnessing prevented the full development of horse-power for haulage, and much of the heavy work of transport continued to be



ASSYRIAN HORSEMEN

done by man-power Consequently the introduction of the horse to the civilized world did not decrease the demand for slaves, and the rough work of the world still rested on the shoulders of captives and their children

The Homeland of the Aryans A great belt of steppe and waste land stretches from the Carpathians, north of the Black, Caspian, and Aral seas to the Pamirs, and thence to the mountains of Manchuria For many millennia the wandering tribes who ranged over its immense spaces developed their speech and customs untouched by any influence from the Mediterranean world Their life was changed by the shrinking of the sea area, the drying up of the steppe, and contact with other wanderers West of the Pamirs they created gradually the group of languages which are called Aryan; east of the dividing range their environment produced a different speech and physical appearance. Mongolian is the name given to the tongue of the eastern nomads, men with smooth faces, broad

pasture He has no need of a stable habitation, but makes his dwelling out of the skins, which also provide him with clothing. In good seasons he is contented with comparatively short journeys, but, when pasture fails, he covers immense distances in search of nourishment for his animals In such times of stress there may have been occasional intercourse between Aryans and Mongolians over the mountain passes But such meetings were rare, and the two stocks developed on different lines Probably the different Aryan-speaking tribes changed their habitations frequently between the fifth and the second millennia, as climatic conditions altered and food supplies increased or dwindled, one group would break away from the rest to seek fresh pastures, and possibly rejoin them on their wanderings later By the beginning of the second millennium the great bulk may have occupied lands on either side of the fiftieth parallel from the Hungarian plain to north of the Aral Sea To the animals they had domesticated they added the horse through contact with some Mongolian nomads Towards the end of the second millennium they acquired a knowledge of the working of iron, which provided far more efficient tools than the older minerals, particularly for the business of war. These two acquisitions made them formidable foes when they moved against the civilized peoples

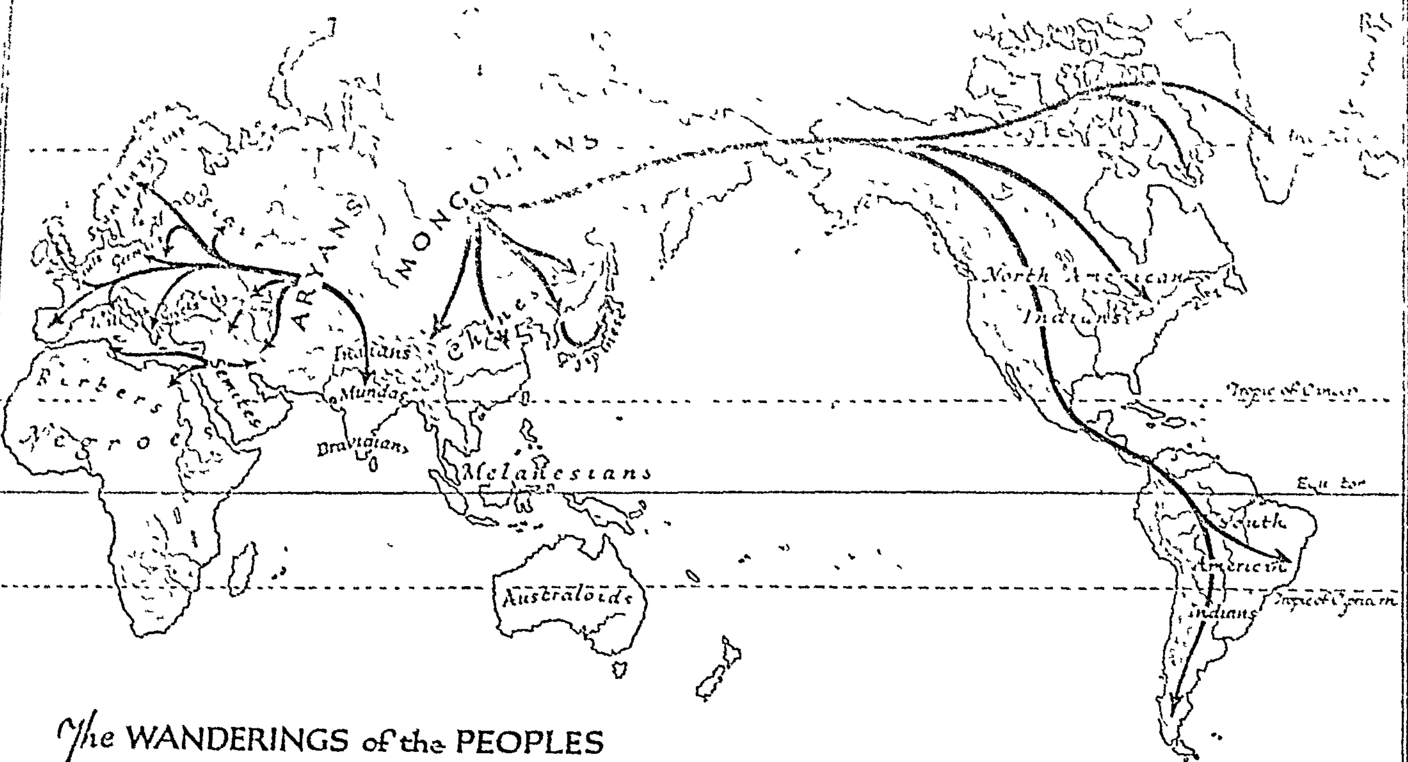
Aryan Movement to the South-east. A large body of Aryan-speaking tribes seems to have moved into Asia by the middle of the third millennium, either across the Dardanelles or along the shores of the Caspian Probably their advance was spread over a long period, as they filtered gradually into the uplands of Asia Minor and its south-eastern extension. It is to this body of nomads that the term Aryan in its strictest sense belongs The clans remained in touch with one another for several centuries, when they split into two big divisions, each had a language containing many words that testified to their common origin Before they separated, they had reached a higher stage of life than they had known on the northern steppe, in particular they had improved their means of transport and acquired considerable skill in the working of metals

The Indians One division of the Aryan-speaking tribes crossed the Himalayas with their flocks, herds, and wagons They may have destroyed the towns which shared the civilization of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, or that civilization may have fallen into decay before their invasion in the second millennium When they passed to the Ganges valley, they made an easy conquest of the small, dark, rice-eating farmers who cultivated the well-watered plains The Aryan invaders had to adapt themselves to the hot climate of their new home, they discarded their leather garments and wooden platters for the textiles and pottery which the old inhabitants of Harappa had brought to a high

degree of excellence They were a small minority of the total population, and by refusing to intermarry they kept apart from the conquered peasants, whom they used to perform all the hard and menial tasks, while they enjoyed the delights of hunting and fighting The patriarchs, who had ruled the different clans during their migrations, became kings of the small city states which grew up after the conquest The Aryans seem to have had little difficulty in conquering the Mundas, the original inhabitants of northern and central India, though the process took time; later they won the south, but the original Dravidian tribes still formed the vast majority of the southern population. The Aryan Indians worshipped the gods of the open sky, which they brought from their northern home, and they composed Vedas or sacred hymns and liturgies to express their adoration of Vishnu or the sun, Indra, the god of thunder and war, and Siva, the god of fertility The priestly class of Brahmans, who recited the ritual prayer or Brahma, made elaborate sacrifices to the many different deities whom the conquerors learnt to worship in their new home In course of time, they became more powerful than the warrior class, to whom the conquest was due The third class of husbandmen settled down to reap a rich harvest in the fertile river-valleys Some of the farmers intermarried with the Mundas, but the great bulk of the Aryans remained a race apart from Mundas and Dravidians, whom they reduced to a condition of inferiority and slavery

The Iranians. The other half of the Aryan-speaking hordes, which had crossed the Caucasus into Asia, occupied gradually the sparsely inhabited mountain plateaux which flanked Mesopotamia on the east They kept much of their earlier pastoral life in the uplands, and continued to worship the old gods of the open sky, which they had shared with their Indian kinsmen Their language is called Iranian, and they gave their name to the broad plateau, where they first appeared in history The leading tribes of the Iranians were called Medes, a small, but vigorous kindred folk, who pressed on into the southern gorges, were called Persians Life was harder on the Iranian plateau than in the valleys of the Indus and Ganges For centuries the clans remained disunited under their separate chieftains, and carried on the struggle against their neighbours in Armenia, Assyria, and Elam with varying fortunes While retaining many of their own customs, they learnt much from the civilized cities which lay to the west of the mountain valleys As the Iron Age dawned, it was clear that the Medes would be formidable rivals to the monarchs of Mesopotamia, once they were united under a powerful leader

The Invaders of the Balkans. While the ancestors of the Indian and Iranian peoples moved south-east, the bulk of the Aryans travelled west and north But some tribes traversed the Carpathians, and slowly



The WANDERINGS of the PEOPLES

drove their flocks and herds into the Balkan glens. Others passed south of the Black Sea into western Asia Minor Both groups mingled with the earlier inhabitants. It is possible that they took to the water and are among 'the Peoples of the Sea,' whose ships raided the Delta towards the end of the thirteenth century and gave trouble to Rameses II and his son Some of them may have been responsible for dealing the final blow to the civilization of Cnossos and Phaistos In the Balkan peninsula they found backward peoples inland and on the western coast, and a high level of civilization in many cities on the east In the early days of their invasion they used bronze weapons, but by the end of the eleventh century they were armed with iron

Italians and Kelts. Another band of Aryan-speaking tribes passed round the head of the Adriatic and entered Italy from the north-east They crossed the Po valley, and, while some settled in Umbria, others passed the Apennines and took possession of the fertile country of Campania. Other tribes, who spoke a different dialect from Umbrian and Oscan, overran the Tiber valley In language the invaders of the Italian peninsula were closely allied to the Kelts or Gauls, who were in some ways the most vigorous of the Aryan peoples They passed north of the Alps into the fertile country which took from them the name of Gaul Apparently they encountered little resistance from the original inhabitants After seizing the best lands, some of them crossed the Channel and settled in Britain and parts of Ireland, others marched over the Pyrenees and occupied most of northern Spain, many of these intermarried with the earlier inhabitants and produced the race which was called Keltiberian If the later description of the Kelts and Gauls as tall, blonde, blue-eyed warriors is correct, it is clear that they were a conquering aristocracy, ruling smaller brunette races, who came to share their name In Gaul and Britain they pushed many of the original inhabitants into the west and north-west parts of the country, in Spain and Ireland they appear to have driven their predecessors in a south-westerly direction The Gauls were a vigorous race with strong and keen minds, they were not content with a humdrum life, but loved fighting and hunting and listened gladly to tales of the great deeds of their forefathers and themselves Their invasions of Italy, the Balkans, and Asia Minor will be related in subsequent chapters

Germans, Scandinavians, Scythians, and Slavs. It must have taken a long time for the north of Europe to recover completely from the effects of the ice-cap which once covered its surface It provided a poor livelihood to scattered communities in its extensive forests and fens As the Aryans grew in numbers some of their bands pressed northward to the Baltic They established themselves in the great European plain east

of the Rhine with their flocks and herds and their primitive agriculture. They liked ample elbow-room The different groups preferred to keep a wide belt of land between themselves and their neighbours From time to time the tribes set out on their wanderings again, as their numbers increased, or storm and flood devastated their poor homes Some of them crossed into Scandinavia and formed settlements along the fjords The original inhabitants were pushed into the remotest and least desirable places The Aryan-speaking peoples of Germany and Scandinavia were a tall, strong, vigorous stock, whose women took a prominent share in the tribal life and held the respect of their menfolk The western tribes were closely akin to the conquerors of Gaul, and ancient writers describe Kelts and Germans in the same terms Their northward drift left vacant the lands above the Danube and the Black Sea, which were filled by Aryan-speaking races, known later as Scythians and Slavs Some of the latter spread over central Russia The western Scythians were a menace to the inhabitants of the Balkan lands, their eastern kinsfolk moved down to the Caucasus, and threatened the civilized nations south of the mountains

II Mongolians and Chinese

Much of what has been said of the Aryan nomads applies also to their Mongolian neighbours to the east The habits of the tribes who wandered over the vast plains that cover most of northern Europe and Asia were formed by the conditions of their vagabond life As time went on there was intermittent contact between Aryan and Mongolian, and there was probably intermarriage which produced some tribes of mixed race But there were sharp distinctions of speech and physical appearance between the two stocks The Mongolian was shorter and squatter than the Aryan, he had a yellow complexion, slanting eyes, prominent cheekbones and a hairless face, his legs were thin and bowed He was the horseman of history, and his habits and appearance were due to the way he stuck to the horse Mare's milk provided much of his nourishment, and it has been suggested that his flat face and oblique eyes may have been produced in the course of ages by the habit of sucking the mare's udder Except when he was asleep, he was generally on horseback, and he grew broad in the shoulders and narrow in the flanks

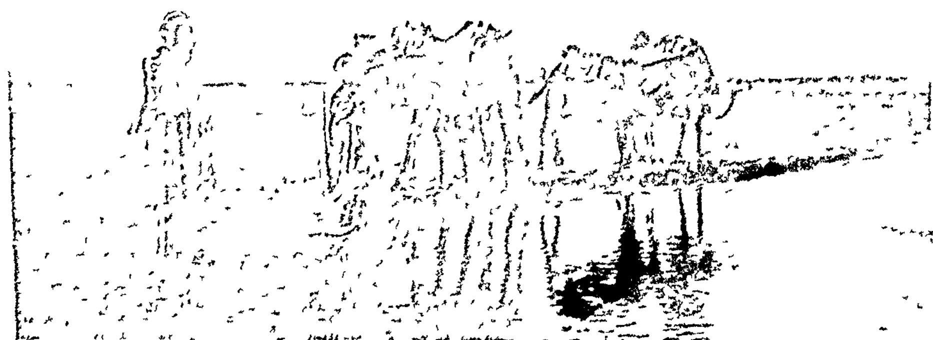
The Mongol Tribes Few archaeologists have explored the steppes over which the Mongol tribes wandered in ancient times There is little material evidence for the understanding of their early history Something can be gathered from the records of the civilized races they raided When Scythians terrorize western Asia, the bas-reliefs of their victims

sometimes show warriors of Mongolian appearance Early Chinese history alludes to them, but it is impossible to construct a clear picture from the accounts of civilized peoples, who regarded the Mongol as something inhuman and obscene In later days men spoke of Tartars, Tunguses, Hiungnu, and Turks These were different groups of the Mongol stock, formed by the union of smaller tribes under a powerful leader Sometimes they fought one another for the possession of good grazing grounds More often they moved against the lands of the civilized peoples. The Mongol tribes were not creative, except in so far as they improved weapons of war They clung fiercely to a life of freedom and movement, and progress had no appeal to them, unless it furnished a stronger lance or better harness for their horses But they were always ready to plunder their neighbours, and they found that it was easier to leave their kinsfolk alone and find their loot in the cities and plains of China

Development of China Most of early Chinese history is full of legends of marvellous kings, whose recorded deeds have little to do with what actually happened It is clear that the civilization which had grown up in the valley of the Yellow River passed gradually to the communities which inhabited the Yangtze Kiang basin Larger states were formed in the lands watered by the Yellow River towards the end of the third millennium, but none of them seems to have been powerful enough to unite its rivals into a strong and peaceful kingdom The craftsmen of the towns produced skilful work, charming furniture, beautiful pottery, bronzes, silks, and jewels made the houses of the richer classes pleasant places But there was constant warfare, and in the early days of the Chou dynasty towards the end of the second millennium life was insecure and full of brutality In later times Chinese pride rebelled against the plain record of their ancestors' black deeds and composed a fanciful account of distinguished monarchs But it seems true that 'It was a cruel and complicated feudal society, still crushed beneath the terrors which haunt the primitive mind, living amid the miseries of a bloodthirsty system of law, a permanent condition of private war accompanied by an unprecedented indulgence in mass murder' The frequent appearance of dragons and other monsters in Chinese art may well be due to a sense of horror, engrained in the victims of centuries of brutal warfare The insecurity of human life certainly made the Chinese callously indifferent to death, and this characteristic still marks them off from the European Yet warfare did not check material progress There were skilful workers in pottery and bronze, and writers who fashioned their monosyllabic speech into the beginnings of Chinese literature Warring kings and nobles were proud of their achievements

and looked with contempt on other peoples. They spoke of northern and southern 'barbarians' centuries before the Greeks thought in the same way. This pride endured throughout Chinese history, and was still vigorous when the nations of Europe attacked its possessors in the nineteenth century.

Nomad and Citizen. It was the 'northern barbarian' who troubled the rulers of the Yellow River region. In appearance, manners, and speech they were disgusting to the civilized Chinese. Later, the Mongol invader



MODERN AFRICAN NOMADS

was to settle down in the lands he overran, acquire the beliefs and habits of the conquered, and give the Chinese vigorous dynasties. But in the early days he was purely destructive. He took advantage of the internal quarrels which separated the different kingdoms, raided their cities and retired to his trackless steppes with his loot. The Chinese infantry was no match for the Mongol horseman. He could not be touched, as long as he kept to his nomadic life. Much of China's development was moulded by the swift forays of the Mongolian tribes. But their influence was not confined to the Far East. They taught the Aryan tribes of the west the use of the horse, and they seem to have joined them in some of their raids into south-west Asia. There was an agelong struggle between the nomad and the citizen. It took many centuries for the Aryan-speaking nomads to settle down and adopt the ways of the city communities whom they had mangled. Except in China, the Mongol tribes remained true to their wandering tradition far longer than the Aryans. When China was weak they directed their attacks eastward, but when she became a formidable military power and expelled them from her territories, the Mongols set

their faces towards the west At first they drove the Aryan-speaking tribes against the barriers of western civilization, later they attacked the western lands themselves Many of the great changes in subsequent history were due to the fighting power of the Mongol and his horse

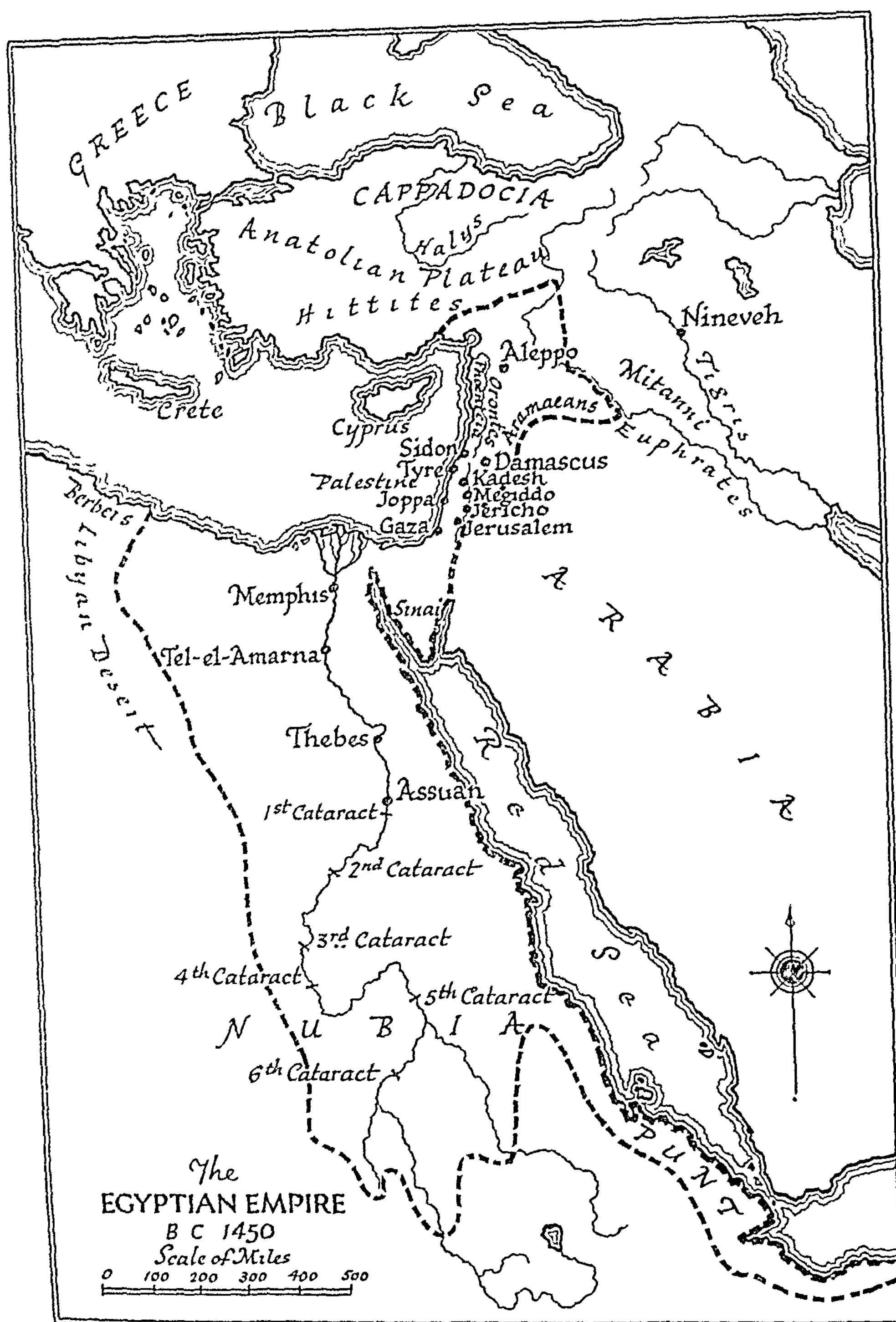
CHAPTER IV

THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN EMPIRES

I EGYPT AND HER RIVALS

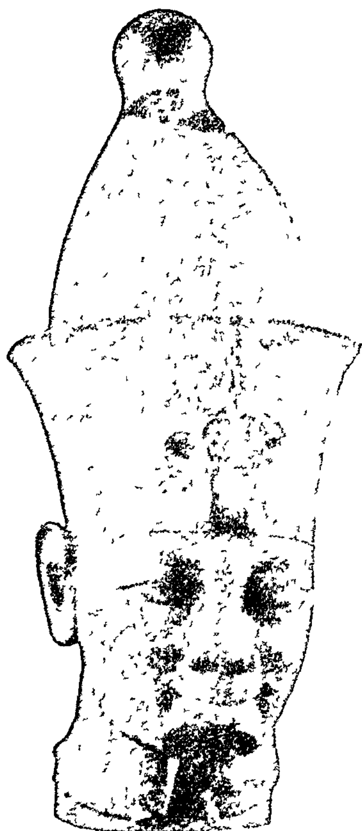
THE bulk of the Hyksos hordes, who overthrew the Middle Kingdom of Egypt, was certainly Semitic, but some Aryan-speaking tribes may have shared the risks of battle and the joys of plunder Whatever their race, there is no doubt of their effect on the native Egyptians Their desecration of the temples and their contempt for the decencies of life left a lasting feeling of loathing in the conquered Their chieftains might reign as Pharaohs and conquer the land down to the First Cataract, but the better Egyptian noble never acknowledged them as his lawful rulers After two or three centuries of turbulence Ahmose, a tributary prince of Thebes, rallied the native forces and drove the aliens back to the east He campaigned successfully between the First and Second Cataracts and in Syria, and bequeathed to his successors a vigorous and united kingdom, inspired by a fierce longing for revenge on the Asiatics who had troubled its immemorial seclusion

Organization of Egyptian Empire. Bitter experience taught Ahmose and his nobles the necessity of a strong and disciplined army. The Hyksos had shown them how to use the horse and the scimitar Henceforward chariotry supported infantry, and speed in pursuit converted a defeated enemy into a flying rabble The infantry were organized into two divisions, attached respectively to the Delta and Upper Egypt They were armed with bow and spear, the Egyptian archers adopted the use of the quiver from their Asiatic foes and became a formidable fighting force The traditional indifference to a military career disappeared, the nobles were glad to serve as officers, and the middle classes, realizing the rewards of a successful campaign, enlisted in the ranks With this powerful army at his back, Ahmose had little difficulty in destroying all checks on the absolute rule of the Pharaoh His two chief ministers were the vizier, who controlled district officials and judges, and the treasurer, who dealt with taxation, which was still paid in kind, cattle, oil, textiles, and grain Under them were the district governors and town rulers Most of Egypt was crown-land, worked by Pharaoh's slaves


GREECE
Black Sea
CAPPADOCIA
Halys
Anatolian Plateau
Hittites
Crete
Cyprus
Nineveh
Aleppo
Orontes
Mitanni
Tigris
Aramaeans
Euphrates
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Kadesh
Palestine
Megiddo
Joppa
Jericho
Gaza
Jerusalem
Berbers
Libyan Desert
Memphis
Sinai
ARABIA
Tel-el-Amarna
Thebes
Red Sea
Assuan
1st Cataract
2nd Cataract
3rd Cataract
4th Cataract
5th Cataract
NUBIA
6th Cataract
PUNT
The EGYPTIAN EMPIRE
B C 1450
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500

To carry out the countless details of administration a multitude of educated scribes was needed, the middle classes took the opportunities offered by an official career, and many of them rose from small local positions to be important officials in the State

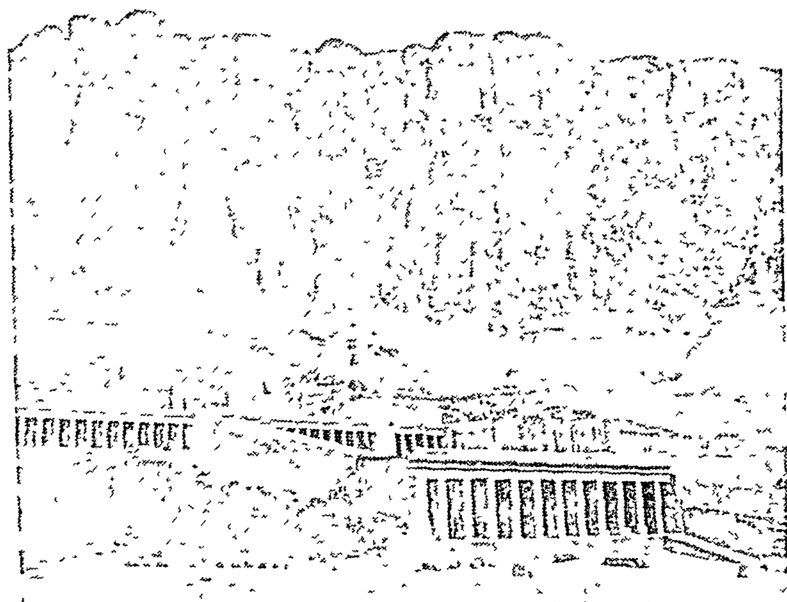
The Priesthood. Beside soldiers and officials the priests formed a third great class Patriots had rallied to the native gods during the Hyksos domination, when the aliens were expelled, those who had served the temples became a powerful body, united under the leadership of the high priest of Amon-Re at Thebes Ahmose and his successors brought back rich booty from their foreign conquests, and paid a liberal share into the temple treasuries This wealth produced sumptuous ritual, which attracted all classes The poor brought their petitions to Amon-Re and, like the rich, strove to secure happiness in the future life by means of the magical formulae which the priests supplied All men believed that prayers, charms, and ritual could free them from the toils and punishments which awaited them in the other world, as this belief hardened, greater power accrued to Amon's priesthood, who controlled the means of averting the fate every Egyptian dreaded



British Museum
THUTMOSE III

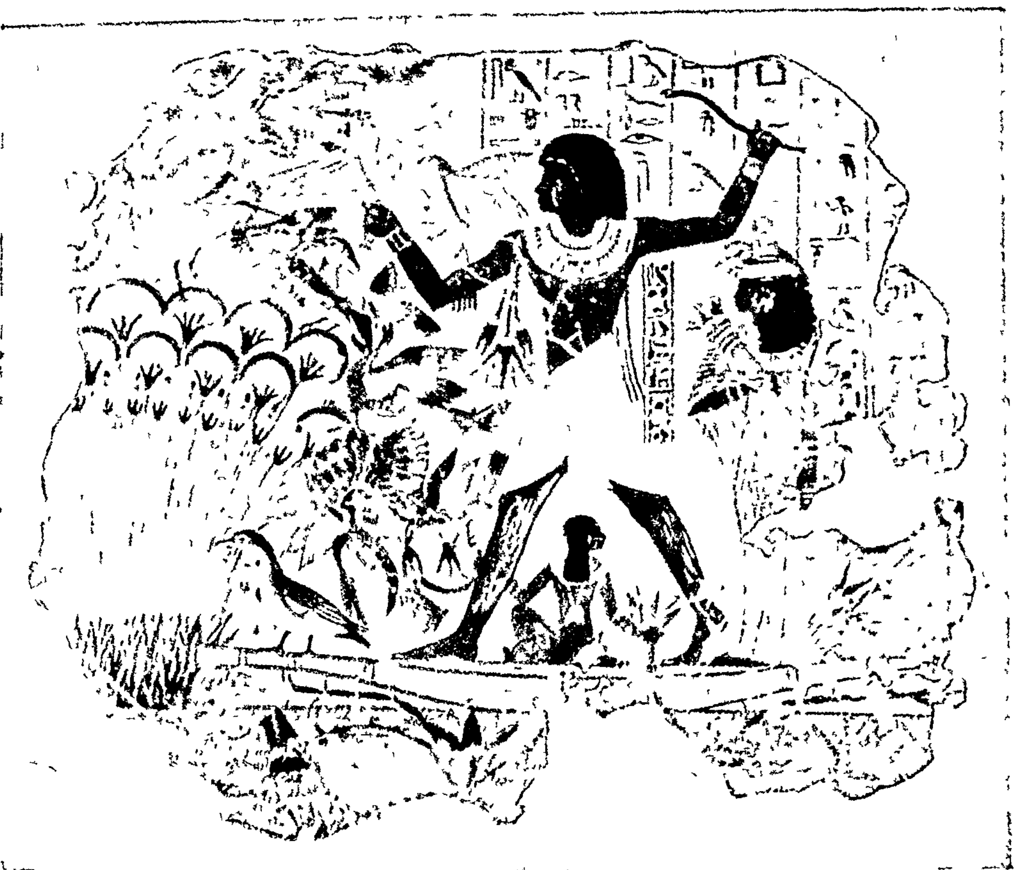
Expansion of Egyptian Rule The eighteenth dynasty, which Ahmose founded, led the country brilliantly in the war of revenge against western Asia Syria was cut up by mountains into small districts, which failed to combine into a united state, the Aramaean cities of the north and the Canaanites of the south lived each under its local ruler, and made little resistance to Ahmose's immediate successors When they had dealt with the Berbers on their western frontier and advanced their dominion through Nubia to the Fourth Cataract, the Pharaohs moved their armies eastward and secured the submission of the inland Canaanites and Aramaeans as far as Euphrates This career of conquest was interrupted by the reign of Hatshepsut, a remarkable woman, who devoted her energies and her subjects' labours to great buildings and maritime trade Subsequently her husband, Thutmose III (Thoth is Lord) became

the greatest of Egypt's soldiers His first Syrian campaign was marked by a brilliant victory at Megiddo, which broke the last remnant of Hyksos supremacy and was followed by the capture of their capital, Kadesh, in his sixth expedition He reduced the Phoenician cities on the coast and won such booty that 'the army of His Majesty was drunk and anointed with oil every day, as at a feast in Egypt' After subduing the smaller states Thutmose came into touch with the bigger powers to the north



THE GREAT TEMPLE OF DIER-EL-BAHRI
This belongs to the age of Amenhotep III and is in the valley of the Tomb of Kings near Thebes

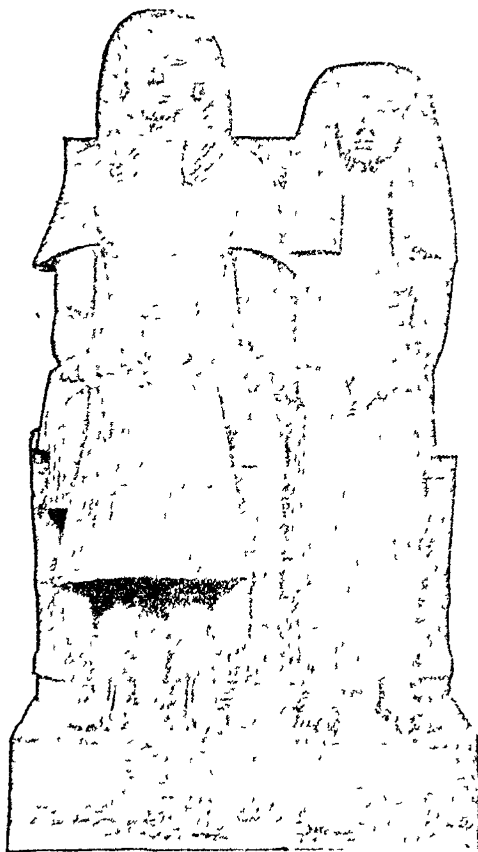
and east He received costly gifts from the Mesopotamian kingdoms, and silver and precious stones from the Hittite monarch The Mitanni withstood him and were beaten at Carchemish Thutmose allowed his troops to reap the harvest east of Euphrates before returning to conquered Aleppo, where he had good sport, hunting a herd of a hundred elephants One of his generals took Joppa by hiding picked men in the panniers of a donkey caravan and sending them into the unsuspecting city Thutmose travelled swiftly through all parts of his empire, helping the rulers he had placed over conquered cities, and keeping a vigilant eye on possible enemies The docks he built at Thebes received wares which proved the wideness of his power precious bowls wrought by Tyrian craftsmen, fabrics from the looms of Sidon and Byblus, beautiful pottery from Crete, minerals from Cyprus, and the products of distant Mesopotamia and



A NOBLEMAN FOWLING, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER

Reproduced from a wall painting from a tomb at Thebes, now in the British Museum, XVIIIth Dynasty, about 1500 B.C.

Asia Minor By his vigour and grasp of detail Thutmose not only created the best fighting force of his day, but held together the far-flung empire which his army conquered 'His Majesty was one who knew what happened' He saw to the discipline and equipment of his soldiers, and organized their supplies and transport His treasurer collected the taxes and tribute, which provided their pay and adorned Thebes and other cities with great buildings His governors in distant lands reported the doings of their subjects and their neighbours, and every ruler in western Asia recognized him as the greatest power in the civilized world

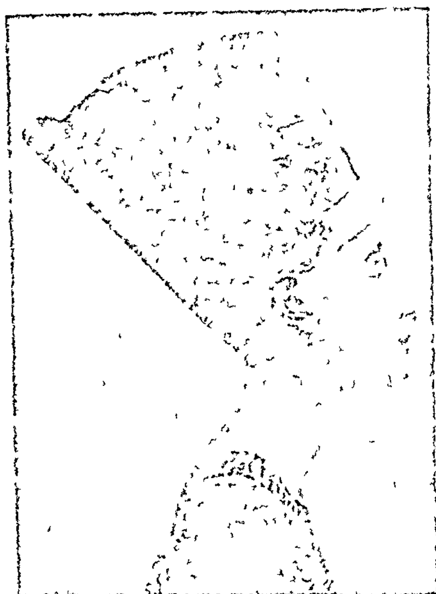


British Museum

EGYPTIAN NOBLE AND HIS WIFE c 1425 B C

Prosperity of Egypt under Amenhotep III. After two more vigorous reigns the Egyptian Empire reached its zenith under Thutmose's great-grandson, Amenhotep III The country established close relations with the great Asiatic monarchies, and letters were constantly passing between Thebes and the Mitannian, Hittite, and Babylonian courts Marriages were arranged between the various royal houses The rulers of the small Syrian states had been educated in Egypt, and were loyal to the power which supplied them with disciplined troops The caravans enjoyed a security unknown before, and brought increasingly valuable merchandise to the Delta bazaars Egyptian, Cretan, and Phoenician sailors took their cargoes up the river, while eastern wares came in from the Red Sea along the canal which linked it with the Nile Thebes became cosmopolitan, a city to which all the known world sent its wealth The influx of captives from Asia and Nubia not only placed unlimited labour at Amenhotep's disposal, but also changed the native stock by intermarriage As life grew richer and more luxurious, the simpler customs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms disappeared Fashionable nobles wore elaborate

wigs, long, flowing, sleeved robes, and fantastic sandals with curved tips They lived in charming mansions, surrounded by gardens, palms, and summerhouses Architects built majestic colonnaded temples, cool, dignified, and well-proportioned Goldsmiths, sculptors, and painters added to the ornamentation of these buildings, whose glitter and colour were bathed in the Egyptian sunshine Temples and palaces were





R B Fleming

IKHNATON (right) AND HIS WIFE NEFRETITI

furnished with the products of weavers, potters, and glassworkers, who reached a high degree of artistic skill Musicians played on the twenty-stringed harp, and learnt to blend its notes with lute, pipes, and Asiatic lyre Amenhotep encouraged his subjects to share his magnificence by the shows and pageants he gave. Like his forefathers, he was devoted to Amon, and by his liberality increased the priesthood's power and wealth

Ikhnaton's Religious Revolution. The son who succeeded Amenhotep found much that was evil and corrupt in the worship of Amon and the countless animal-gods, who had their shrines throughout the land In his father's reign men had begun to revive an old name, Aton, to denote the divine sun which shone on worshippers of many races and tongues, from the ziggurats of Babylon to the Libyan desert The new Pharaoh repudiated his Amon name, and called himself Ikhnaton (Aton is satisfied) He wished to unite all the peoples of his empire in the worship of

the One God, and chose as symbol the sun's disk, stretching out beneficent hands to all living things In his hymns he praised Aton as caring for the birds and beasts, and providing for the wants of all men, whether they dwelt in Syria or beyond Nubia Ikhnaton hated Thebes and its Amon-worship, and built another capital to the north at Tel-el-Amarna. There he gathered his followers and tried to create a new way of life which showed itself not only in the services of the Aton religion, but also in artistic reforms, that aimed at going back to nature instead of following lifeless conventions With the logical sincerity of the idealist he became a religious persecutor, he attacked Amon and the other gods, seized their wealth, forbade their worship, and tried to destroy their very names But he failed to convert his countrymen from the corrupt worship of many gods to the adoration of the one divine Aton After his death the priests of Amon triumphed, his son-in-law changed his name from Tutenkaton to Tutenkhamen, and the cult of Aton was destroyed Unsuccessful persecution had invigorated the priesthood, and the people returned gladly to the worship of the old, familiar gods.

The Hittite Kingdom. Ikhnaton tried to hold his Syrian subjects by establishing the worship of the One Gcd, Aton But religious bonds proved powerless against the material weapons of enemies from north and east. The Hittites of the Halys basin worked the iron mines south of the Black Sea, and gradually armed their soldiers with weapons which were immensely superior to their opponents' bronze spearheads and daggers At the beginning of the fourteenth century Shubbiluliuma built up a strong state in the eastern half of the Anatolian plateau He attacked the Mitannian kingdom, which was in alliance with Egypt, and broke its armies. The Aramaean chiefs offered little resistance, and the empire which Thutmose had conquered began to crumble Shubbiluliuma captured Aleppo and Damascus, and secured recognition of his conquests in a treaty with Pharaoh Correspondence found in the ruins of Tel-el-Amarna contains piteous appeals from the Syrian friends of Egypt for military aid against the invaders and the disloyal kings and governors who were helping them Tutenkhamen's troops seem to have won some successes, but the Egyptians proved too weak to check Shubbiluliuma's successors

The Hebrews While the Hittites established their influence in northern Syria, Egyptian governors in the southern Canaanite cities suffered continually from the tribes who raided from the Arabian desert Prominent among these were the Habiru or Hebrews, who had won a reputation as fighting mercenaries under the Babylonian kings centuries before Hebrews and Hittites do not appear to have acted in concert, but their campaigns brought them into contact The two invading

the Orontes and Euphrates Rameses fought successfully at Kadesh, and made a 'good treaty of peace and brotherhood' with the Hittite king, whose daughter he married His son also fought in Syria and boasted: 'The Hittite land is pacified. Plundered is the Canaan Carried off is Askalon Israel is desolated, her seed is not Palestine has become a widow for Egypt' But he had other foes to face. Strong Berber clans invaded the Delta, and from across the sea came raiders to join them They were defeated, but, after Egypt had been weakened by internal struggles, the enemy from the north Mediterranean and Asia Minor overran Syria and advanced towards the eastern Delta by land and sea Rameses III's archers broke their onset, and he recovered parts of Syria, where the Hittite monarchy had been weakened by the invaders from the north But after his death the Pharaoh's power declined The priests of Amon owned more than a seventh of the whole land, through their temple guards, officials, scribes, and slaves and their command of the treasury, they made themselves stronger than the king The high priesthood of Amon became hereditary in an ambitious family, which controlled Pharaoh through Amon's oracle Lower Egypt again became independent and proclaimed its own king The high priest of Amon gained command of the army and the southern provinces, at the end of the twelfth century he took the uraeus and ousted the last feeble Ramesid But he reigned over a shrunken kingdom The native Egyptians ceased to be a serious fighting force, Berbers and negroes settled with little resistance in the territories they had long coveted The Berber dynasty which reigned at Bubastis in the eleventh century maintained the old claims to Syria, traders from Phoenicia and Greece trafficked with the Delta, mercenaries from Greece and Asia Minor enlisted in Pharaoh's armies There was still wealth and comfort in the Nile valley, but the greatness of the Egyptian empire had passed for ever

II ASSYRIA

During the whole of the second millennium there had been much prosperity in the towns of Syria, and trade flourished in the bazaars which lay on the great trade routes, connecting Mesopotamia and Asia Minor with Egypt and Arabia But neither Canaanite nor Aramaean could oppose the great kingdoms which attacked them. Tyre, Sidon, Byblus, and Aradus grew rich from their maritime trade, but they had no ambition to extend their rule inland across Lebanon Damascus, Kadesh and Aleppo held broader territories, but they were never strong enough to beat off Mitannian, Hittite or Egyptian attacks, or to withstand the

kings who crossed the northern Euphrates on their path to 'the Sea of the Sunset.' In the twelfth century Tiglath-Pileser I led his Assyrians against the countries once ruled by the Hittites, and exacted tribute from Sidon and Byblus Though he received gifts from Egypt, he does not seem to have attempted to press south, where a new power had recently established itself. The Philistines, whose name appears among the seafaring enemies of the earlier Ramesids, may have emigrated from Crete, possibly they were refugees from the disaster which destroyed Cnossos. They were hard-fighting warriors, who wore body armour and feathered head-dresses They fought successfully with the old Canaanite



Petrie Racial Portraits

HEADS OF PHILISTINE WARRIORS

inhabitants and the Israelite tribes west of Jordan They captured Gath, Gaza, Askalon, and Ekron, and gave their name to the land of Palestine.

Revival of Assyria. Tiglath-Pileser I's plans proved too ambitious for his immediate successors They lost his western conquests, and were penned into the districts round Nineveh, Asshur and Arbela. Assyria had no natural frontiers, and it was hard work to defend the home country against the new powers which arose at the beginning of the Iron Age. Aramaean tribes overran the middle of Mesopotamia, and in the south the 'bitter and hasty people' of the Chaldaeans raided continually. Material prosperity declined for several generations, the loss of important caravan routes stifled the trade of Nineveh and other cities But Assyria had two great assets: the people were loyal to its kings; the army was the fiercest fighting force in western Asia. The road to the Cappadocian mines was recovered, the troops were rearmed with iron weapons and a succession of able monarchs in the ninth century led them to recover the lands they had overrun in the twelfth In the south and east they defeated the Chaldaean tribes and the levies of Babylon and Elam. In the west they reached the Mediterranean coast again, and extorted tribute from Sidon and Tyre

The Struggle with Armenia. The greatest danger to the revived power of Assyria lay in the north, 'the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Aschenaz' The first established a formidable power in the Armenian mountains round Lake Van, the Armenian monarchs usually allied themselves with the Minni, who lay to the east, and towards the end of the ninth century won considerable territory from Nineveh They borrowed the art and writing of the Assyrians and became skilful metal-workers For a time they were the paramount power in Syria But a new dynasty restored the military ascendancy of Assyria Tiglath-Pileser III crushed the revolts which had split the kingdom, and drove the Armenian king back to his mountains The Aschenaz or Scythians attacked the territories of Van from the north and the west, and Tiglath-Pileser captured the royal treasures of gold, silver, copper, and bronze The power of Ararat was broken, and it ceased to be an important factor in the struggle for leadership among the Asiatic peoples

The Northern Nomads The Scythians and the Cimmerians, who appear in the book of Genesis as Aschkenaz and Gomer, were nomads, who had descended from the steppes north of the Caspian and Aral seas They forced the Caucasus barrier, and moved south in quest of plunder In the eighth century the Cimmerians were driven by the Scythians along the path which Iranians and Indians had traversed in earlier days They rode horses and carried their women and children in heavy, tented ox-wagons In marked contrast with the sandals and flowing robes of civilized Asiatics, they wore fitted coats, generally of leather, and trousers tucked into their boots. Their favourite weapon was the double-curved bow, they also used throwing and thrusting spears, and occasionally short swords and axes They liked adorning themselves with jewellery, but they spent most pains on the elaborate trappings of their horses While the majority spoke Aryan dialects, they were accompanied by a few Hun tribes, whose language was Mongolian Their swiftness and savagery brought panic and despair to the settled civilizations south of Caucasus, there was something inhuman about warriors who scalped their enemies and fashioned their victims' skulls into drinking-cups

The House of Sargon In the last quarter of the eighth century a great soldier and administrator, who took the famous name of Sargon, founded a line of kings under whom Assyria reached its greatest glory By hard fighting and careful organization Sargon built up an empire which lasted for a century He showed his power in Babylonia and Elam, sacked the Armenian treasure-cities, as Tiglath-Pileser III had done, and crushed the Cimmerian tribes, who had defeated the kings of Ararat In the early years of his reign he had captured Samaria, the capital of the northern [redacted] its inhabitants to the upper

governors, chief priests and generals, their numbers were small, and sometimes a governorship was entrusted to a lady of high birth Though the royal power was absolute, the nobles could influence the king's policy, because, as priests, they controlled the omens he consulted All alike worshipped Asshur, the god of Nineveh, whose emblem was the winged disk of the sun, next to him stood Ishtar, the goddess of fertility and warfare, there were sixty other Great Gods The old religious legends, which had grown up ages before in Sumer, Akkad, and Babylonia, were written down in cuneiform on clay tablets and stored in the great library of Asshurbanipal The oracles and the military records collected there show the influence of religion on Assyrian policy The soldiers attacked their enemies, when they learnt that 'I, Ishtar of Arbela, march before Asshurbanipal, the king whom my hands created'

The Fall of Assyria. Continual warfare and dwindling man-power gradually sapped the Assyrian army It was an admirably organized force, well disciplined and skilful in siege operations Its generals stamped out rebellion with ruthless severity, mutilation, blinding, and crucifixion were the common fate of vanquished enemies, the more fortunate were transported from their homes to distant parts of the empire Nineveh seems to have inspired a fiercer loathing among its subjects than any other conquering capital Asshurbanipal weakened the defence of his northern and eastern frontiers by his Egyptian adventure His later years were clouded by defeat and after his death the storm burst The Scythians abandoned their traditional friendship, and joined hands with the Medes, who had been united by a vigorous king Babylon revolted again under her Chaldaean rulers, and established her independence The three races pressed down on the Assyrian homeland, and, though Psammetichus tried to support his allies, his help came too late Asshur and Arbela were captured, and finally Nineveh itself fell. 'The gates of the river shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved The chariots shall rage in the streets, they shall run like the lightnings She is empty and void and waste' The prophecy was fulfilled Nineveh was destroyed more utterly than Thebes, for nearly twenty-five centuries no man disturbed the mound which covered her ruins.

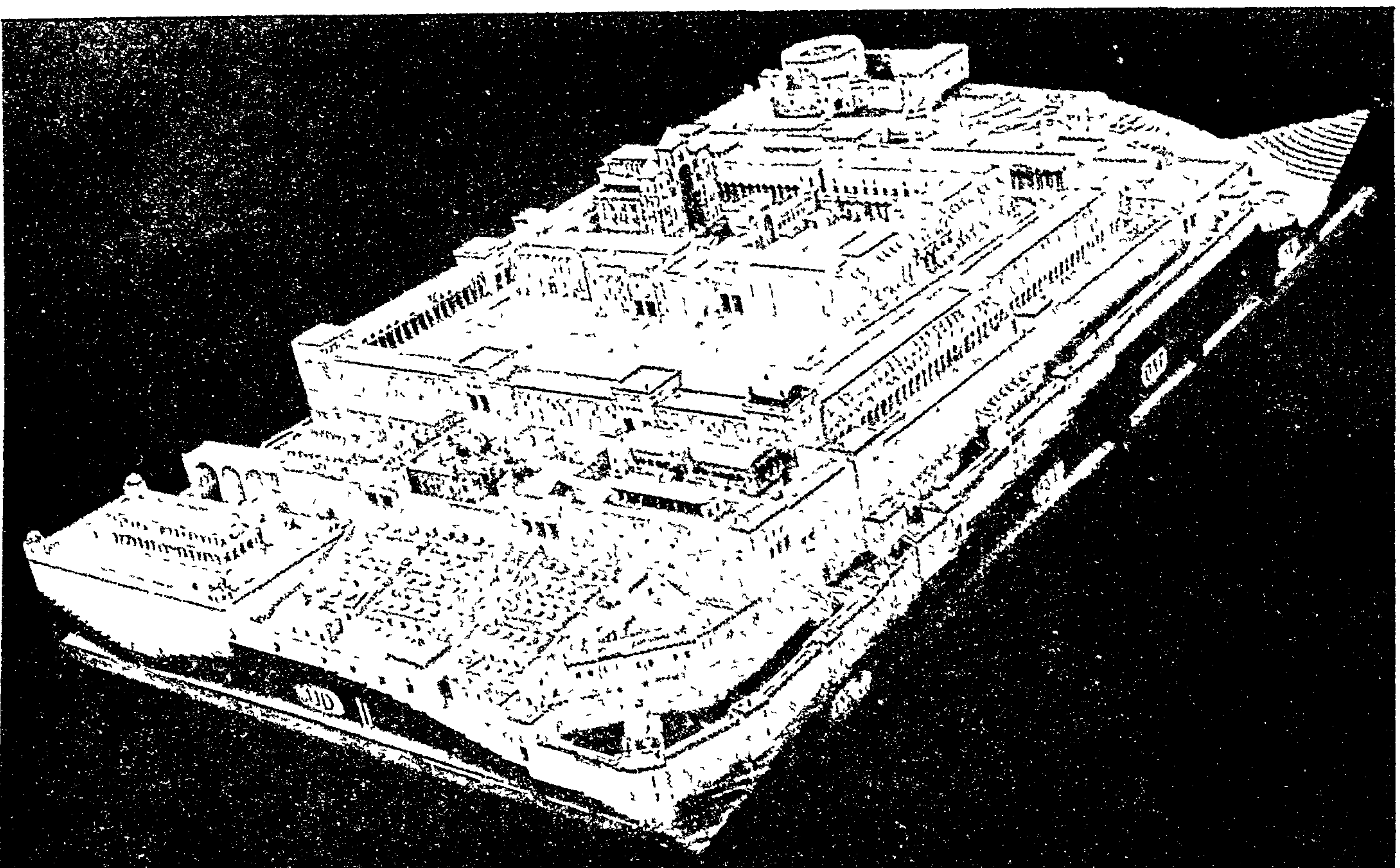
III ISRAEL

The Semitic-speaking tribes who had followed Joshua to attack Jericho and the cities of Canaan lived for some time in small settlements on both sides of Jordan After three or four centuries of disunion and warfare these groups formed a kingdom They learnt the use of iron, and under the leadership of their first king, Saul, began to shake off the rule of the

Philistines of the coast cities. While Babylon and Nineveh were weak and Egypt was broken up under many rulers, their second king, David, captured the rocky fortress of Jerusalem and strengthened the monarchy. His son, Solomon, established his supremacy over Philistia, enrolled their warriors in his guard, and allied himself with Hiram, King of Tyre. Most Israelites were farmers and herdsmen, but in Jerusalem and other cities there were merchants and craftsmen, who used the caravan routes to the south and the north-east and profited from the friendship of Phoenicia. Records tell of strange and costly wares which came to Jerusalem after being carried in 'ships of Tarshish,' and there is a story that 'King Solomon made a navy of ships on the shore of the Red Sea, and they came to Ophir and fetched from thence gold.'

The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Solomon was proverbial for wealth and wisdom, but after his death the kingdom split in two. The northern tribes were more numerous and powerful. They broke away from David's grandson, and proved themselves stronger than Judah and the other tribes who remained loyal to the King of Jerusalem. Samaria was made the northern capital by the house of Omri, which allied itself by marriage to the rulers of Sidon. The vigorous soldiers who occupied the northern throne fought against their Aramaean neighbours in Damascus, Hamath, and other cities with varying fortune. But the people were not loyal to the crown, and the dynasties of Samaria were short-lived. When Nineveh recovered power, Omri's son, Ahab, led his chariots and infantry to support the alliance formed by Phoenicians, Aramaeans, and Arabians against the Assyrians. He was the last powerful king of northern Israel, except Jeroboam II, who in alliance with the King of Judah recovered most of the territory once held by Solomon. Towards the end of the eighth century the Syrian coalition broke down. Damascus and Hamath were crushed, the Phoenician cities paid tribute, Sargon ended the royal line in Samaria, deported the wealthier inhabitants, and settled the devastated country with Arabian tribes. The kingdom of Jerusalem survived, and recovered some of the districts which had been subject to its northern rival, but it had great difficulty in holding its own, and usually paid tribute to Nineveh.

Israelite Religion. The tribes that Joshua led into the Promised Land worshipped Jehovah, they made no image of their god, and it was not till the reign of Solomon that a temple was built to house the Ark of the Covenant, which contained the Ten Commandments of the divine law. Most of the surrounding Canaanites worshipped the Baal (Lord) of their particular district, who gave fertility to crops and herds, many of them reverenced sacred groves, tree-trunks, and pillars. As the Israelites settled down as farmers, many followed the example of other



American Colony of Jerusalem

A RECONSTRUCTION OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE

Semitic invaders of civilized lands and joined in the worship of the older inhabitants Some of them sacrificed to Baal, and others began to think of Baal as another aspect of Jehovah The simple prayers and ritual of their desert life were corrupted by the practices of the Canaanites. But the more earnest Israelites insisted that the nation could have only one god, Jehovah, Lord of Hosts, there might be other gods in other lands, but Jehovah had chosen Israel as his own peculiar people, and he would protect them against all powers, if they carried out his will To such men, the altars of the countryside, the groves and sacred pillars were an abomination When the temple was built at Jerusalem, they revered it as the one place where Jehovah could be worshipped perfectly They condemned the religious customs which had come from Egypt or Mesopotamia or had survived from the early days of Canaan They insisted that Jehovah's command ran 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image' The religion of Samaria with its golden bulls, that reminded men of Egyptian Apis-worship, roused their enmity, and helped to widen the gulf between the northern and southern kingdoms

The Prophets of Israel Sacrifices to Jehovah were performed by the priests in Jerusalem and at many other shrines which were older than Solomon's temple At the head of the state religion stood the king, who was 'the Lord's Anointed' But the greatest power in shaping religious thought was neither king nor priest, but prophet Stirred by intense emotion, the prophet felt himself the mouthpiece of Jehovah, and proclaimed the divine commands to transgressors There were prophetic communities, whose members aroused religious excitement by music, dancing, and sometimes self-mutilation But the greatest figures were solitary Elijah attacked Ahab of Samaria for tolerating the Baal worship of his Sidonian wife, Jezebel, and faced Baal's prophets at Mount Carmel Amos came from the waste places of Judah to the court of Jeroboam II, and denounced the luxury, injustice, and drunkenness of the prosperous kingdom They and their successors believed that Israel was the Chosen People, but taught that this high position entailed greater responsibilities than fell to nations ignorant of Jehovah, true worshippers must show their loyalty, not by mere sacrifice and outward ritual, but by justice and purity of heart Isaiah of Jerusalem said that Jehovah's power was limitless and the mightiest conquerors were instruments of his will The prophets gained great influence in both kingdoms, they were often at variance with monarchs and priests, sometimes they were the driving force that changed foreign policy or dethroned a dynasty. In the early days their influence depended on their words and the enthusiasm of their disciples, from the time of Amos their teaching was written down and preserved for the future guidance of their race In

this way a higher and purer idea of Jehovah arose gradually, men thought of him as the sole god, who swayed all natural and human forces, in him were embodied justice, righteousness, and mercy.

At the end of this and many of the following chapters you will find some dates, which should help to make the sequence of events clearer You are not meant to commit them all to memory, concentrate on the most important

B C	
About 1800	Hyksos invade Egypt Kassites in Babylon
,, 1600	Ahmose defeats Hyksos Hittites raid Syria
,, 1500	Thutmose III in Syria Mitannians powerful
,, 1400	Supremacy of Amenhotep III Cnossos and Jericho destroyed
,, 1375	Ikhnaton's religious reforms Hittites defeat Mitannians
,, 1275	Wars of Rameses II and treaty with Hittites
,, 1225	Berbers and Sea Peoples invade Egypt
,, 1200	Wars of Rameses III Rise of Phoenician sea-power Philistine wars End of Kassites in Babylon Capture of Troy
,, 1115	Tiglath-Pileser I in Phoenicia
,, 1100	Philistines powerful. Rise of the Delta kingdom
,, 1000	Revival of Assyria Solomon builds the Temple
,, 900	Assyrian armies in Syria Rise of Armenian kingdom
,, 850	Elijah and the House of Omri
,, 750	Tiglath-Pileser III defeats Armenia Amos and Jeroboam II
722	Sargon captures Samaria Isaiah of Jerusalem Greek influence in Egypt
675	Esarhaddon in Egypt Jerusalem tributary Revival of Armenia
650	Psammetichus crowned Pharaoh Cimmerians in Asia Minor
612	Fall of Nineveh

CHAPTER V

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

By the beginning of the sixth century the world of the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia had been closely knit together by conquest and trade. The ancient kingdoms of Sumer, Akkad, northern Syria, Palestine,



RUINS OF BABYLON

and Egypt had been welded into an empire by the house of Sargon and the soldiers of Assyria, although the union did not last long, it was strong enough to ward off the worst effects of the Cimmerian and Scythian invasions and it paved the way for an even wider dominion. The western half of Asia Minor had been brought within the orbit of Nineveh, and from beyond the Aegean had come settlers whose goods passed up the river valleys to the markets of Anatolia and soldiers who took service with the kings of Babylonia and Egypt. Greek adventurers were beginning to tap the riches of the east, and Greek sailors were becoming serious rivals to the mariners of Tyre and Sidon. The Phoenicians did not yield their traditional leadership easily, they had established numerous colonies

along the African coast west of Egypt, and their emigrants began to show even greater vigour and commercial aptitude than the mother-cities. They were in contact with numerous peoples of the great Berber race, whose eastern clans had raided and invigorated the civilization of the Nile valley.

The New Babylonian Kingdom. When Nineveh passed away in blood and flame, the Scythians swept plundering into Syria and left the chief prizes of war to Media and Babylonia. Egypt made efforts to support the Assyrian remnant and to assert her traditional claims to Palestine, but Nebuchadrezzar, who had succeeded to the throne of Babylon, routed the Pharaoh on the old battle-field of Carchemish. Tyre defied him on her island rock for thirteen years, but he secured the submission of the other Phoenician ports. He stormed Jerusalem and carried off king, nobles, and richer citizens to exile 'by the waters of Babylon.' When the remaining inhabitants revolted, relying on Egyptian help, his general starved them into surrender. Though Nebuchadrezzar failed to establish his power permanently in the Nile valley, Babylon prospered under his rule. She had no fear of attack from west or south; her northern and eastern frontiers were secured by her alliance with Media. The merchandise of India, Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor converged on the capital, which became proverbial for its luxury. Nebuchadrezzar was a great builder. He beautified his city with temples, palaces, and the famous 'hanging gardens.' He ascribed the victories of his father and himself to the protection of Marduk, and he heaped riches on the priesthood. While he lived, Babylon was the wonder of the nations; but after his death the kingdom was weakened by the revolts of ambitious nobles and the intrigues of the priests.

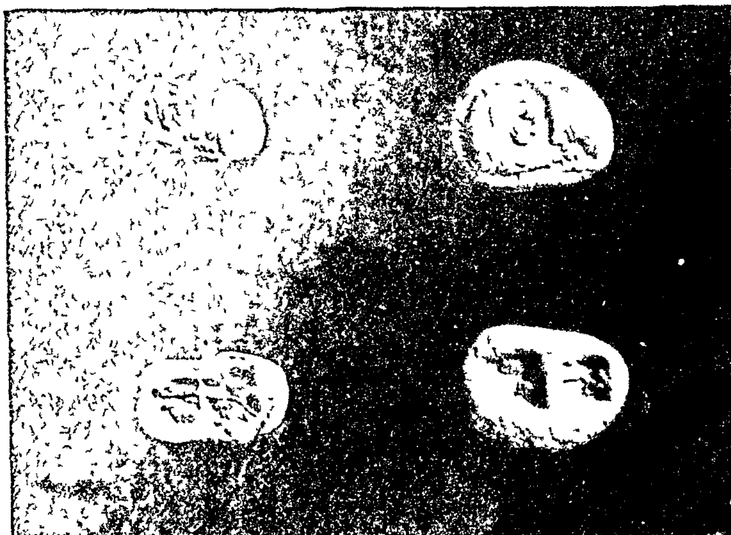


NEBUCHADREZZAR

Media and Lydia. The Median kings, who reigned at Hamadan, inherited from fallen Nineveh the task of protecting the civilization of Mesopotamia and Elam from the nomads who still moved down from the Caspian lands. The Medes remained steadily friendly to Nebuchadrezzar and his successors; they made no attempt to expand southwards, but pushed their way towards the Black Sea and the Aegean. They overran Armenia and Cappadocia, but their farther progress westward was checked by the kingdom of Lydia, which had recovered from the Cimmerian invasions. After several inconclusive campaigns peace was made through the mediation of Babylon, and the river Halys was fixed as the boundary between the rival powers. Freed from the Assyrian menace, the nations became more peaceful, and, as trade and intercourse increased,

the world grew smaller The Lydian kings, who ruled at Sardis, were the connecting link between the older civilizations of Mesopotamia and the Iranian uplands and the younger communities of Europe They welcomed Greek soldiers into their armies, and traded with the colonists who had settled on the Asiatic coast, Greek travellers were received at the court of Sardis, and the Lydian kings sent rich gifts to the shrines of the Greek gods

The Beginnings of Coinage A great impetus was given to trade by the invention of coined money The old system of barter, whereby goods were exchanged for goods, had been largely superseded by the use of



British Museum

LYDIAN COINS OF CROESUS, *c* 561–546 B C

metal as a medium of exchange, generally in the form of bars, ingots, rings, and spits All four were cumbrous and difficult to transport, and the bars and ingots were not easily divisible The kings of Sardis encouraged their merchants to employ small, flat, round, well-shaped coins, which passed comfortably and rapidly from hand to hand The coins bore on either side a stamp or die, which guaranteed their purity and value At first electron or white gold was employed, later a double coinage was minted at Sardis in silver and pure gold, the ratio was fixed at about thirteen to one The new system was adopted by the Greek chapmen of the Aegean and by the Phoenician cities, and it spread to Mesopotamia and Africa Men used the new coinage confidently as a reliable medium of exchange, which would be accepted equally at Sardis or Miletus, Sidon or Hamadan, Memphis or Babylon Credit grew with

confidence and trade expanded The kings of Lydia became famous for their wealth, and the names of Midas and Croesus have survived to the present day as emblems of opulence.

Rise of Persia. The most vigorous of the Aryan-speaking tribes, who had overrun the Iranian tableland, settled in the old kingdom of Elam and made their capital at Susa, which had been a centre of civilization as far back as the fourth millennium They were hardy mountaineers, who loved riding, hunting, and shooting, they preserved much of the open-air keenness of their nomad ancestors, who had roamed the Caspian steppes. The Achaemenid princes who ruled them acknowledged the suzerainty of the Median kings of Hamadan Under Cyrus these highlanders suddenly showed their power, and threatened the four great kingdoms of Media, Lydia, Babylonia, and Egypt. In a single generation the entire political situation was altered by the vigorous leadership of the Achaemenids and the fighting qualities of the clansmen. The speed with which they established a strong and stable empire was only equalled two centuries later by Alexander and again, after nine more centuries, by the followers of Muhammad

Cyrus. The Persian king won his victories with dazzling rapidity He led a warlike and united people against opponents who realized their danger too late They made alliances against him, but they did not support one another at the critical moment, and they failed to hold their subjects' loyalty. The Medes accepted Cyrus's rule after a brief struggle, they were a kindred, Aryan-speaking folk, and their nobles passed readily into his service and helped him to carry out 'the law of the Medes and Persians that altereth not' Three years later Croesus suffered the fate of his Median ally, in spite of his reliance on Greek oracles Persian troops captured Sardis, pressed down to the Aegean coast, and received the submission of the Greek towns which Croesus had subdued. The Babylonian monarchy had been weakened by palace revolutions and priestly intrigues Cyrus won the support of a strong party in the capital, and 'all the people of Babylon, Sumer, and Akkad, princes and governors, fell down before him, and kissed his feet They rejoiced in his sovereignty, their faces shone' Cyrus was a tolerant conqueror, and he accepted the crown as the gift of Babylon's god, Marduk He had a more dangerous task to perform in following Media and Assyria as the protector of Mesopotamia against the Scythians Leaving his son, Cambyses, to prepare for the invasion of Egypt, he faced the northern

Nile valley, and received the submission of the Greek cities on the African coast

Darius and the Organization of the Persian Empire Though Cambyses was crowned with the traditional rites of Egypt, he lost the sympathies



British Museum

DARIUS

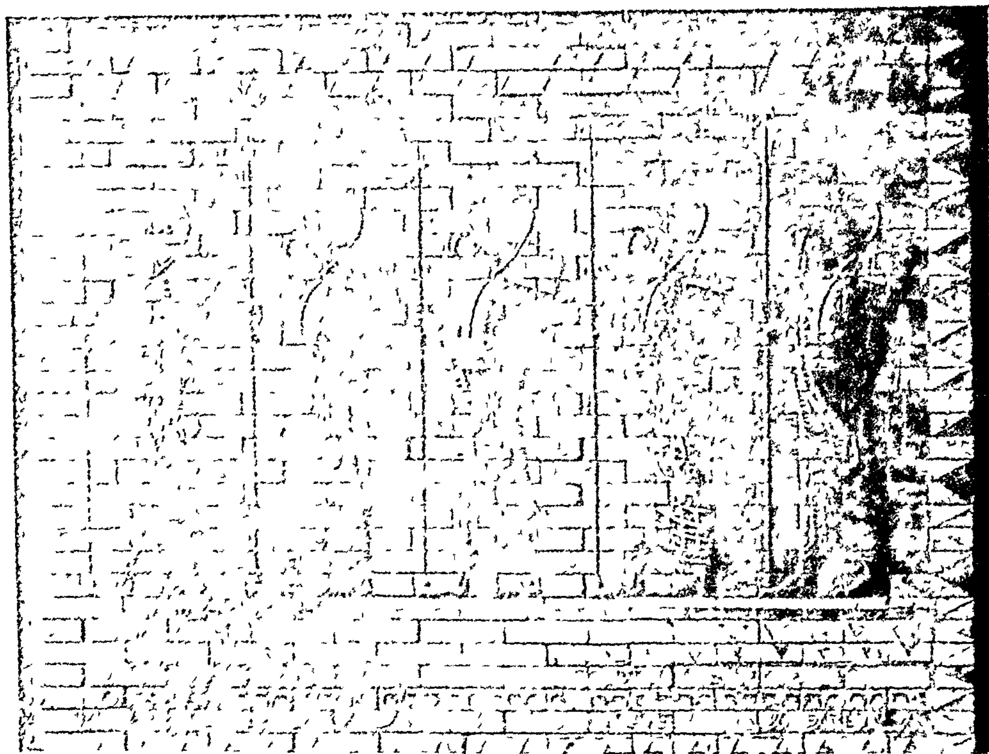
(*From a figure cut in the rock at Behistun*)

of his new subjects by insulting the god Apis After his death the new empire showed signs of breaking up Egypt remained quiet under its Persian governor, but there were revolts in Media, Babylonia, and many of the old Asiatic kingdoms Fortunately Cambyses's cousin, Darius, proved equal to the crisis He crushed the rebels by hard fighting, and not only recovered, but extended the dominions of Cyrus He sent an

army to the Indus, and brought the Aryan-speaking princes on the west of the river under Persian rule. His empire was divided into twenty provinces or satrapies, each was ruled by a satrap, who was usually a Persian but sometimes a Mede A satrapy covered wide stretches of territory, and often included several ancient kingdoms, the most important were Lydia, Armenia, Media, Bactria, Assyria, Babylonia, India, and Egypt Susa remained the centre of the empire, but Hamadan, Persepolis, and Babylon were also capitals The satraps were directly responsible to Darius himself and sent their reports to the city in which he happened to be holding his court Though they had wide powers, they were bound to refer all big questions of policy to the Great King The satrap acted as governor, judge, and general, and in minor matters dealt with foreign powers on his own responsibility He was always a man of high birth, and often held office under successive monarchs, sometimes he was able to make the office hereditary in his family. Darius drew up regulations to guard against the satraps becoming independent or revolting against the central power He placed the Persian garrisons under different generals, personally responsible to himself He sent round 'the King's Eye' and other great officials to make periodical inspections He established swift communication between the court and the outlying provinces The old caravan routes were developed and great roads were built, equipped with post-houses at an average interval of fourteen miles Rivers were bridged or provided with ferries Relays of post-horses were maintained, and couriers sped along the roads, bearing the Great King's orders, they accomplished the three months' journey from Sardis to Susa in less than a week The communications of the empire centred on Susa, and the most famous road ran from it through Babylonia and Lydia to Ephesus, there were several others, of which the best known led to Bactria and India

Treasury and Army. It was along the Indian route that the greatest wealth flowed into Darius's treasury The gold-dust of his most distant satrapy was worth more than the money contributions of Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt Darius took great care in fixing the amounts due from the different parts of the empire, the satraps were responsible for collecting the prescribed sums and forwarding them to the central treasury Apart from coined and uncoined metal there were also contributions in kind, foodstuffs were required for the army, and Cappadocia and Media furnished horses and mules The kernel of the army was the Persian cavalry and the picked infantry corps of native Persians, which was called the Immortals Next to these came the other regular troops, mainly Persians and Medes, organized in divisions, ten thousand strong,

with subdivisions of a thousand, a hundred, ten. They were mailed spearmen. There was wide diversity of equipment among the native levies of the different provinces, who were commanded by the satraps, mounted archers from Bactria, swordsmen from Assyria, horsemen armed with lasso and dagger from the Caspian lands.

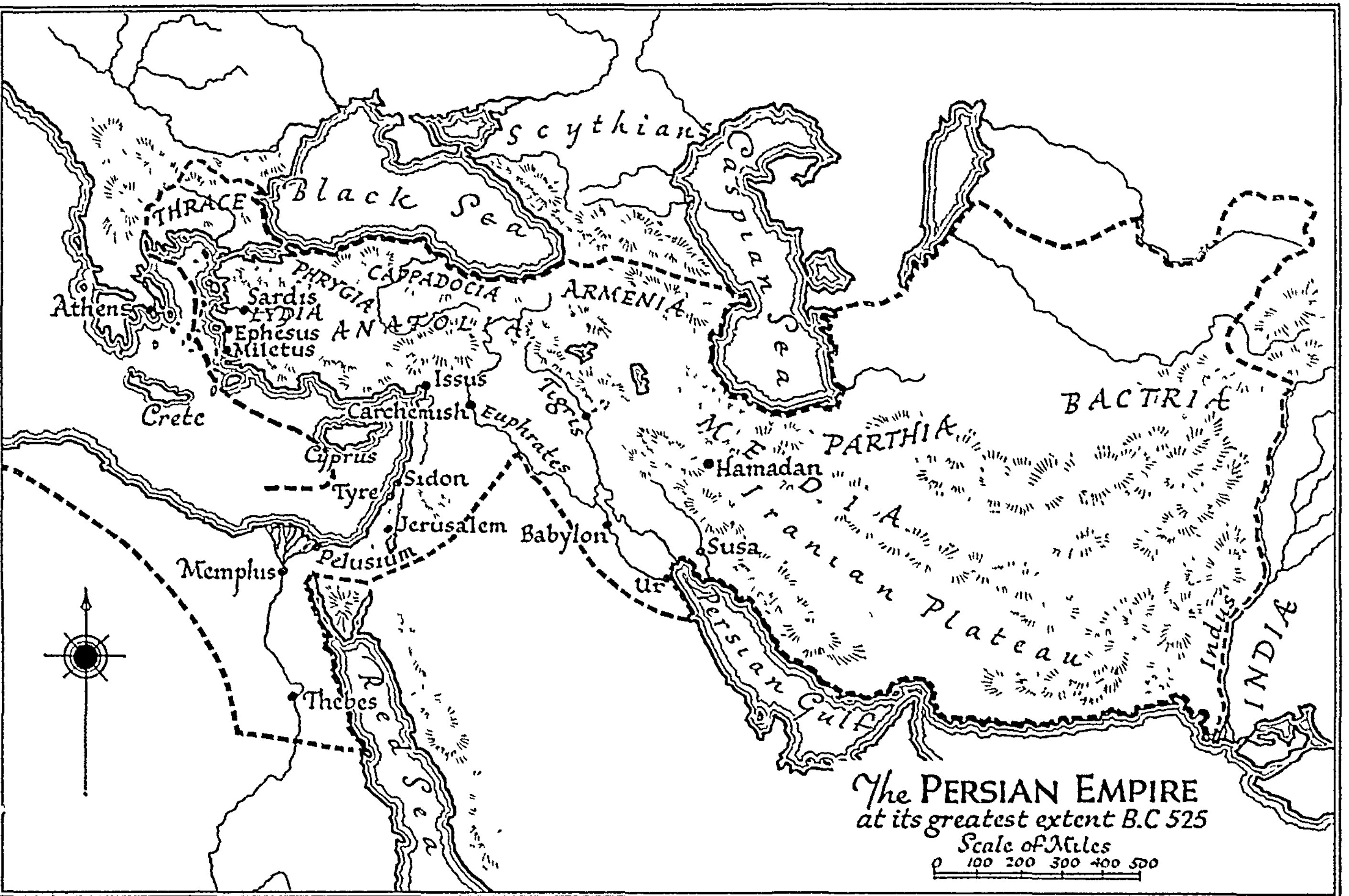


Mansell

FILE OF THE IMMORTALS

This is from a frieze in the Palace of Darius at Susa. The bricks are brightly coloured, and in this case the background is blue with the guards dressed in yellow and patterns of white, black, yellow, and brown.

The Religion of the Persians. Except for Cambyses's outbreak in Egypt, the Persians showed themselves tolerant in religious matters; Babylonia continued to worship Marduk and Ishtar, Sidon and Tyre still burnt incense before the idols of Melkarth and Astarte. In their northern home the Persians had venerated the sky, the sun and the stars. Their great teacher, Zoroaster, taught them to worship the power behind these natural phenomena. This was Ahuramazda, the good spirit of beneficent light and truth, against him was set Ahrimanes, the evil spirit of darkness and lies. Zoroaster made his followers believe that their life


The PERSIAN EMPIRE
at its greatest extent B.C 525
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Scythians
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
THRACE
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
Athens
Sardis
LYDIA
Ephesus
Miletus
ANATOLIA
Issus
Crete
Carchemish
Euphrates
Tigris
Cyprus
Tyre
Sidon
Jerusalem
Babylon
Memphis
Pelusium
Thebes
Red Sea
Ur
Persian Gulf
Susa
Hamadan
MEDIA
PARTHIA
BACTRIA
Iranian Plateau
Indus
INDIA

should be a struggle against the Lie of Ahrimanes and the evil influences of his attendant demons The Persians built no idol to Ahuramazda, but worshipped him as embodied in fire and sunlight Considerable power lay in the hands of the priests, who were called Magi These men added ritual to Zoroaster's teaching, and seem to have debased his idea of the

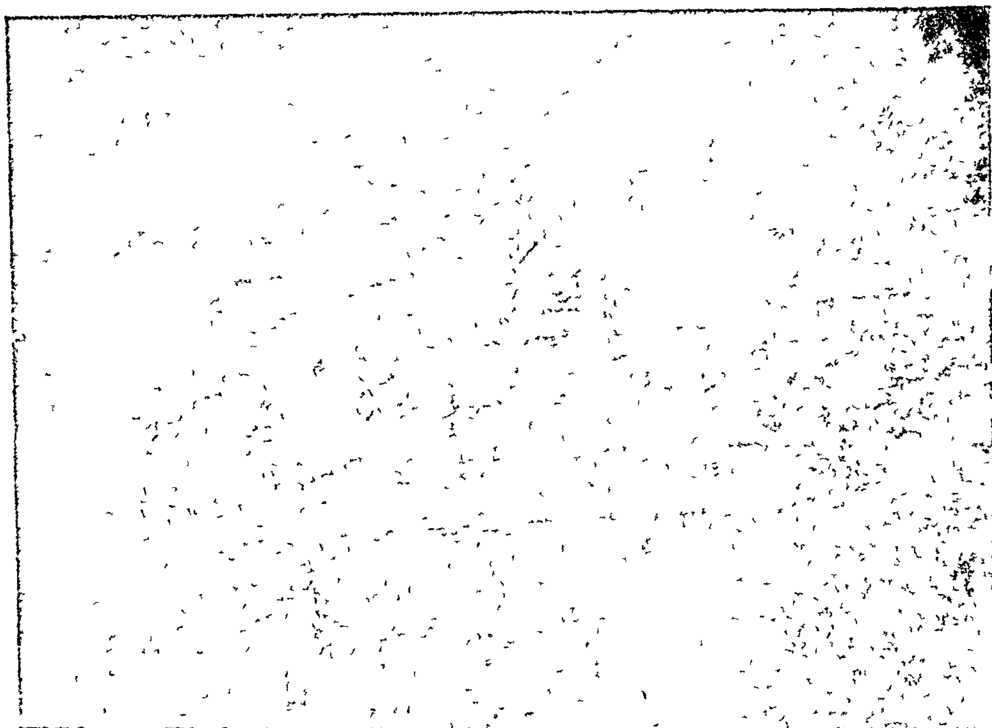


Photo by Dr F Sarre

THE BEHISTUN RELIEF

Darius can be seen with his foot on a rebel chief Beneath is seen part of the inscription in which Darius recorded his campaigns in the Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian tongues

one good spirit, fighting the powers of evil, by the addition of other gods The successors of Darius invoked the protection of Ahuramazda, Anaitis, and Mithras, the last represented the unconquered sun, which the Persians had worshipped when they roamed the steppes, Anaitis was the mother-goddess of fertility, whom Babylonia adored as Ishtar and Phoenicia as Astarte with evil and lascivious rites

The Jews One result of Cyrus's toleration had been the restoration of Jewish exiles from Mesopotamia to their mountain home of Jerusalem Many remained in Babylonia and Egypt, but the scattered Jewish communities learnt to look for inspiration to the new temple built by the

returned exiles The priests of Jerusalem began to establish an elaborate ritual in honour of Jehovah, whom they believed to have used Cyrus as his 'shepherd' to lead back his chosen people to his sacred hill of Zion Many of the poorer classes had never left the country, and had continued some form of the national religion But, after vain attempts to unite all fractions of the race, the men of Jerusalem drew apart from their northern kinsmen and accepted the help of the kindred tribes which lay south of Judah in building a new community In later years they made much of the barrier of race, and divided the world sharply into Jews and Gentiles During the Babylonian captivity their thoughts had turned to their past history, and they began to assemble their records into the form which is called to-day the Old Testament Much of it was written from the priests' point of view But men recognized that a heavy debt was due to the teaching of the great prophets Besides the five books of Moses and the books of the Kings, they set down the words of Isaiah, who had heartened them in the struggle against Sennacherib, Ezekiel, who had maintained the faith of the exiles in Babylon, Jeremiah, who had taught that the individual was responsible apart from the race and both alike must submit to Jehovah, Amos, who preached the God of Righteousness, and Hosea, who told of a God of Love The sacred books stirred pride in the destiny of the Jewish race and proclaimed a high ideal to follow But they also deepened belief in the separation of Jew and Gentile. To all but the noblest spirits Jehovah was the righteous god, who cared for his Chosen People alone, neither his love nor his mercy was for the nations outside the Jewish Law

Darius's Campaigns. Cyrus had extended the Persian frontiers to the Aegean, and in the early years of his reign Darius retained the loyalty of the tyrants, who ruled the Greek cities on the coast When he decided to cross over to Europe and attack the Scythian tribes round the Black Sea, they provided his fleet He had little geographical knowledge, and he may have thought his campaign would strengthen his northern frontier, where Cyrus had fallen, or he may have aimed at securing mineral wealth. His Greek sailors bridged the Bosphorus and the Danube, and he drove the nomads before him, burning their timber and wattle hutments Eastern Thrace was added to the empire, and the Danube became a Persian frontier The Greek tyrants secured the safe withdrawal of the army, but, when Darius had returned to Susa, their cities made a vigorous effort to shake off his yoke They expelled their tyrants, formed a union with its capital at Miletus, and appealed to their kinsfolk in mainland Greece Athens and Euboea sent them troops, who helped to attack and burn Sardis After some years of naval warfare Darius crushed the revolt and destroyed Miletus; he then

prepared to take vengeance on the European Greeks who had insulted Persia.

Europe and Asia The revolt of the Asiatic Greeks brought the old civilization of Asia, under the leadership of a vigorous Aryan speaking monarch, face to face with the younger civilization of eastern Europe. The growth of the Greek world is described in a later chapter In character it differed fundamentally from its enemy across the Aegean The Greek loved freedom to *manage* his own *concerns*, even though he allowed himself occasionally to be ruled by a tyrant In Asia monarchy was supreme, whether the ruler dwelt at Ur, Thebes, Babylon, Nineveh, or Susa On the foundations of the old kingdoms Darius had built up a flexibly organized empire in which, outside the slave class, there was much material prosperity But Lydians, Cappadocians, Phoenicians, Bactrians, Babylonians, and Egyptians had no say in the way they were governed. Their business was to obey their satraps, who were responsible to the absolute and unquestioned rule of Darius, 'King in Persia, King of the Lands'

If you want a short account of Darius's countrymen and their subsequent history, read Denison Ross's The Persians

DATES

B C

612 Fall of Nineveh

605 Battle of Carchemish

585 Peace between Media and Lydia.

549 Cyrus defeats the Medes

546 Fall of Sardis.

539 Babylon surrenders to Cyrus

525 Cambyses overruns Egypt

516 Darius invades Scythia.

494 Fall of Miletus

CHAPTER VI

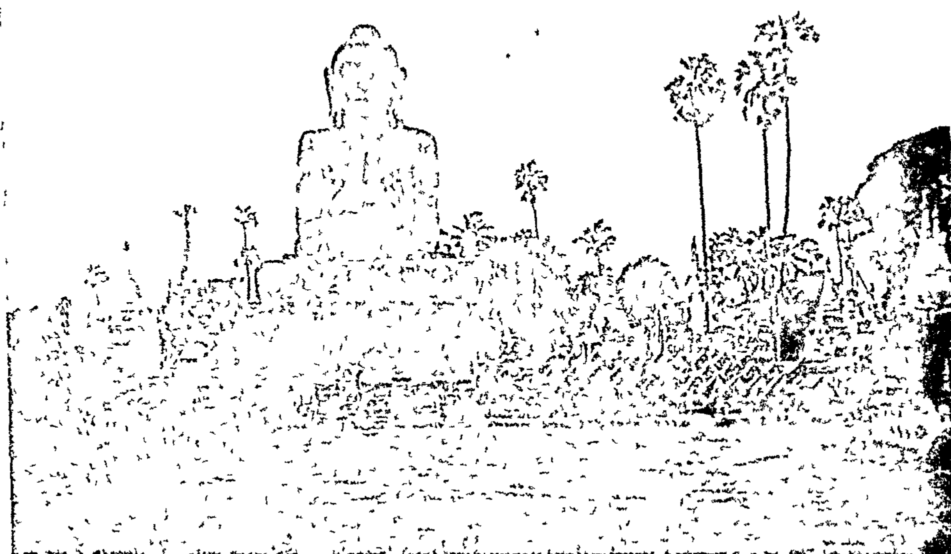
THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE EAST

FROM the beginning of the fifth century the centre of interest in world history shifts westward The younger nations began to assert their claim to power, and to show that a vigorous and many-sided life was possible under other political institutions than Oriental monarchy But Europe owed a great debt to the peoples of western Asia and north-eastern Africa both in material progress and in things of the spirit The century which followed the fall of Assyria had an enormous effect on the future development of the world, and makes a suitable point from which to survey the achievement of the East.

The Great Sixth Century. The importance of the sixth century before Christ lies not in the destruction of Nineveh or the victories of Nebuchadrezzar, Cyrus, and Darius, but in the sphere of religion Eight hundred years earlier there had been one great religious reformer in Egypt, but Ikhnaton was a solitary figure, and his work was soon buried under the sands that covered Tel-el-Amarna In the sixth century a spiritual fire was kindled in countries far distant from one another, and the lights that were lit then are not yet extinguished From Greece to China there was a stirring of impulses, which drove man to seek to know and serve God in a cleaner and clearer fashion than his ancestors had done The names of Gautama, Mahavira, Lao Tse, Confucius, Jeremiah, and perhaps Zoroaster, make the sixth century of decisive importance in the history of mankind

Buddhism. Gautama was born heir to one of the small kingdoms which the Aryan-speaking invaders had established in northern India It is difficult to recover the facts from the mass of legends which grew up round his life His disciples hailed him as the Buddha or incarnation of wisdom He taught that all human misery is due to selfishness, and that man must abandon his desires for sensual pleasures, personal immortality, and worldly prosperity, if he is to follow the right way of life, which is the Aryan path Though Gautama made his followers entirely independent of external fortune, he refused to allow them to consider asceticism or extreme self-denial as the end of right living He condemned the superstitions which the Brahman priests had encouraged, and urged his disciples to seek for truth, support justice, work for others, and follow the Aryan path of right thought, speech, and conduct, so would they attain Nirvana or serenity of the soul The Aryan path showed the right way of living, avoiding the life of pleasure on one side and the life of

austerities on the other, and leading to 'knowledge, illumination, and Nirvana' The aim of Gautama's teaching is summed up in his words 'Behold the origin of pain, it is the thirst for pleasure, the thirst for existence, the thirst for that which is evanescent And behold the truth about the abolition of pain, it is the extinction of this craving by the annihilation of desire' He broke down the caste barriers which the



COLOSSAL STATUE OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA
It stood at Amarapura, formerly capital of Burma

Brahmans had created, and said that the way of salvation was open to priest and outcast alike, there was no satisfaction in riches or military strength, but only in alms, knowledge, and virtue, the three possessions which did not perish When his first five disciples were joined by sixty others, he sent them out to bear his teachings over India They took the vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity, and their tonsures and yellow robes were soon familiar in the Indian countryside

Jainism and Brahmanism A little earlier than Gautama began his great work, Mahavira was founding Jainism in eastern Bengal There had always been an element in Brahmanism, which laid stress on internal contemplation rather than on elaborate outward ritual Mahavira, like

Gautama, emphasized this side of Indian religion and taught that the soul must shun the pollution of the outer world, and busy itself with inward thought His followers, the Jains, practised charity, chastity, and poverty In many respects Jainism was like Buddhism, but it was not a great proselytizing religion, and it did not spread outside India The two religions won many adherents, but they did not destroy the old faith of the Brahmans Many of those who valued self-denial and contemplation became Buddhists or Jains, but others continued to worship the many gods of the Indian world with elaborate sacrifices and traditional prayers

Confucianism The wars and rebellions which distracted China in the days of the Chou dynasty destroyed happiness and weakened the moral sense of all classes While the Chou monarch was addressed as 'the Son of Heaven,' he received little practical loyalty from his subjects, who fought one another and were butchered by the Mongol invaders Confucius served one of the smaller rulers, and learnt from his own public life the evils from which his fellow-countrymen suffered His teaching differed widely from that of Gautama and Mahavira, and he strove to save China, not by encouraging inward thought, but by laying down a standard of outward conduct, which should rescue the State from its troubles He preached a code of manners, suitable for the nobles who bore rule, and he regulated their actions with a rigid etiquette, which was intended to secure decency and justice in public life for the benefit of all He took his inspiration from the records of the past, and his influence did much to keep Chinese life on conservative and conventional lines Ceremony became of great importance, and the niceness of Chinese manners is largely his work Confucius tried to make men kindly and generous, and he confirmed the family as the centre of a Chinaman's existence, ancestor worship became more prominent than ever as the directing force in Chinese life This traditional teaching was sharply opposed to the doctrines of Lao Tse, whose questioning mind found little good in serving the State He encouraged men to break away from the bonds of the family and live in harmony with nature His views were later moulded into what was called Taoism, and much of subsequent Chinese history was influenced by the struggle between Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism

Jehovah Worship. In their early days in Palestine the Israelite invaders pictured Jehovah as god of the thundercloud, who led their host to battle The greater part of their history from Joshua to Jeremiah tells of the struggle between those who wished to keep their worship distinct from their neighbours' and those who preferred to amalgamate it with the surrounding nature-worship The temple at Jerusalem became the symbol of the strict devotees of Jehovah With its destruction, it might

have been thought that the Israelite religion was ended Instead it took on a new vitality Jeremiah, who lived through the Babylonian conquest, showed his countrymen that each individual is personally responsible for his own life apart from his share in the life of the nation, man would win his reward from Jehovah through suffering and service To Jeremiah's influence may be traced the ideal which was pictured later as the Suffering Servant of Jehovah and impressed Jewish and Christian thought profoundly Other prophets upheld the faith of the captives in Babylonia When the exiles returned to build a second temple at Jerusalem, they revived the ancient ceremonial. But they also listened to the prophets, who told them that Jehovah was a god of mercy and love, as well as a god of justice Exile had taught them the lesson of suffering They began to worship Jehovah as the only god of the whole earth, whose promise ran 'I will gather all nations and tongues, and they shall come and see my glory'

Other Oriental Religions. Though war brought political changes, most of the Oriental peoples remained attached to their own religions In spite of Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Phoenicians, and Greeks, Egypt kept to the old ways The common folk worshipped their animal-shaped gods, and adored Pharaoh as son of the sun-god Her priests fixed their thoughts on the future life, which was ruled by the three great divinities, Horus, Isis, and Osiris In Babylon Marduk was lord, whether Sargon or Cyrus ruled Tyre and Sidon continued to sacrifice to Baal and Melkarth, their Astarte, who became identified with Ishtar of Mesopotamia, was worshipped as the great goddess of nature's fertility from the Mediterranean coast to the Euphrates The vast majority of the population satisfied its religious aspirations by prayers murmured before a local idol and sacrifices performed by king and priest. For most men and women religion was a matter of the cutting of an animal's throat, the burning of its body on an altar, the smell of blood and incense, and the sound of immemorial hymns

Oriental Monarchy. From the early days of Sumer and Egypt there had been a steady movement towards building up large kingdoms, in which subject peoples paid tribute and obedience to the leaders of a conquering race The kings of Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, Media, Lydia, and Persia held power over large expanses of country through the armies they led in war As long as they retained the loyalty of governors and soldiers, their rule was unchecked They took advice from their officials and were swayed by their priests, but the merchant and the artisan had no assembly which could limit the royal power Oriental monarchs were absolute rulers, free from any obligation to render account to their subjects They stood on a different plane from their nobles and generals,

Amenhotep, Asshurbanipal, Nebuchadrezzar, and the rest took their names from their nation's gods, and they were god-kings to their peoples. They claimed to sacrifice and speak for their subjects to the gods from whom they traced their own origin.

Trade and Material Comforts. The men of western Asia and Egypt discovered the things that give comfort and variety to a settled life, largely because of the climate they enjoyed. Irrigation and a knowledge how to measure the seasons enabled them to grow abundant crops of cereals, fruits, and vegetables on their fertile lands. The necessities of existence came easily to them, and they had time to think out the means of adding life's comforts. Active brains and nimble fingers gave the farmer better tools and the housewife useful articles for her home. Travelling was easy along the river-valleys, either by land or water. The trader helped the artist and the artisan by taking their surplus wares to the next town or village and bringing back their neighbours' products. Markets grew up, to which the caravans brought goods. The Sumerian merchants used their signet-rings as a guarantee of good faith and so created credit, which helps the making and exchange of goods. Lydia invented coinage and money began to pass freely from hand to hand. Writing took different forms in the Nile and Euphrates valleys, each script helped commerce, enabling the shopkeeper to keep accurate accounts and the merchant to use bills of exchange to extend his business in distant countries. As kings extended their dominions, they employed the skill and labour of their subjects to ornament their cities with great buildings in honour of themselves and the gods. Their extravagance brought richer rewards to architects, sculptors, skilful masons, and metal-workers. Luxury grew in the great capitals, but it was enjoyed only by kings, priests, high officials, great captains, and prosperous merchants.

Slavery. The wars of rulers like the Sargons, Naram-Sin, Thutmose, Sennacherib, Nebuchadrezzar, and Cyrus produced hordes of slaves to work for the conquerors. Some served them as potters, masons, weavers, or smiths, or amused them as dancers, acrobats, and singers. But the vast majority was used for the hard work of agriculture and transport. The slave population increased so easily that ambitious monarchs could afford to squander thousands of lives on building palaces, pyramids, and ziggurats. The first chapter of the book of Exodus gives some faint idea of the misery of the state slaves, but it does not dwell on the bestial cruelties of the official taskmasters who 'made their lives bitter with hard bondage.' The men whose labour produced the stately monuments which still excite the tourist's admiration were literally 'living tools,' to be used till they were worn out. Agricultural slaves were slightly better off, and those employed in domestic service enjoyed a good deal of

material comfort But all alike were subject to their masters' caprices, they lived their lives as their masters ordered, and they knew that the same fate awaited their children

The Sea None of the great kingdoms maintained a strong sea-power for any lengthy period They used the navies of their allies and subjects Later Greek historians spoke of the sea-empire of Minos, and it is clear that the ships of Crete carried her influence, if not her rule, to neighbouring coasts But there is no other example of lasting and organized sea-power Most early sailors were pirates or else combined piracy with trade Adventurous ship-captains might unite to attack and loot some unsuspecting settlement, or they might lure the women and children to inspect their wares laid out on the beach, and then rush them aboard to be sold as slaves The long coast of Asia Minor was infested with pirate craft for many centuries Sailors only turned to honest trading when a strong power, like Cnossos, curbed their marauding When the Minoan kings fell, Phoenicia took their place in the south-eastern Mediterranean The keen business men of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus made good use of the maritime skill they had inherited from their Arabian ancestors As they built better ships and increased their knowledge of stars and currents, they pushed north to the Black Sea and west along the African coast to the straits of Gibraltar They became the long-distance traders of the Mediterranean world, and, though they were sometimes exhausted by the defence of their towns against aggressors from the land, they kept their sea-power unimpaired until they and their colonies had to face the competition of the Greeks That struggle played an important part in the three centuries which followed the downfall of Nineveh

Summary The peoples of the Nile and Euphrates created an agricultural system which supplied their cities with plentiful food and left them free for manufacture and commerce Their wealth attracted raiders from the less favoured lands of steppe and desert Some of the invaders were merely destructive and left nothing behind them except an improvement in military skill But many adopted the life of their predecessors and brought new energy into the lands they overran The mixed populations which resulted set an example in absolute monarchy, trade, building, decoration, travel, and seamanship, which influenced profoundly the ruder nations of the west They created the calendar and the alphabet, they studied the stars and measured the earth, they pondered the mysteries of life and death Their priests took the first steps in scientific inquiry, and then turned aside to a wearisome ceremonial Much of their religious practice was degrading But there was also a stirring of higher desires, particularly among the Semitic peoples, and a searching after God The results of that religious fervour have lasted to the present day

PART II

THE CITIES OF GREECE

Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus

CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF GREECE AND THE STRUGGLE WITH PERSIA

THE Aryan-speaking tribes moved slowly through the Balkans with their wagons, horses, and herds, and it took them many centuries to occupy the easternmost of the Mediterranean peninsulas. Their descendants spoke of Achaeans, Ionians, Aeolians, and Dorians as the chief divisions of the race, but those names would have sounded strange to most of the clans who trekked southwards in search of new lands in the second millennium.

I. The Settlement of Mainland Greece

The earlier chieftains may have won their lordship over the old Aegean communities by peaceful means. Probably their warriors protected the reigning king from aggressive neighbours, the alliance might be strengthened by a marriage with his daughter, many of the rank and file might follow their chieftain's matrimonial example. In other cases the invaders killed the native rulers, and reduced their subjects to some form of slavery. The earliest invaders were the Arcadians; they were followed by the Achaeans, whose conquest may have been completed by the thirteenth century, or even earlier.

Aegeans and Aryans. From the mixture of conquerors and conquered was formed a composite stock, which came to call its members Hellenes, and, when it spread westward to Italy, was known as Greek. Some of the noble families retained the fresh complexion and big frames of the invaders, the bulk of the population kept the characteristics of their Aegean ancestors, neat, supple bodies, brunette colouring, and clever, artistic hands. The Aryan tongue prevailed except in a few place-names. Probably there was a very large admixture of Aegean blood in the clans that called themselves Ionian and Aeolian, and the conquered artisan taught his craft to his conqueror. The latter was primarily a herdsman who lived in a village. It took some time for him to learn to use the sea, but when he knew how to fashion articles for sale the absence of roads forced him to take to the water to find a market for his wares. He pushed across to the nearest islands, and so began his career as one of the successors to the Cretan sea-kings. It may have been Achaean


GREECE
THRACE
MACEDONIA
EPIRUS
Mt Olympus
Pydna
Potidaea
Troy
Lemnos
Peneus
THESSALY
AEOLIS
Mytilene
Lesbos
Thermopylae
EUBOEA
PHOCIS
Phocaea
AETOLIA
Delphi
LOCRIS
BOEOTIA
Chalcis
Chios
IONIA
Smyrna
Mt Helicon
Thebes
Eretria
Plataea
ACHAEA
ATTICA
Marathon
Ephesus
Sicyon
Athens
Andros
Samos
Corinth
ELIS
Megara
Salamis
Ceos
Tenos
Icaria
CARIA
Mycenae
ARCADIA
ARGOLIS
Mantinea
Argos
Epidaurus
Aegina
Cythnos
Delos
Miletus
Tegea
Paros
Naxos
Halicarnassus
MESSENIA
Sparta
LACONIA
PELOPONNESE
Ios
Melos
Thera
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 40 60 80 100

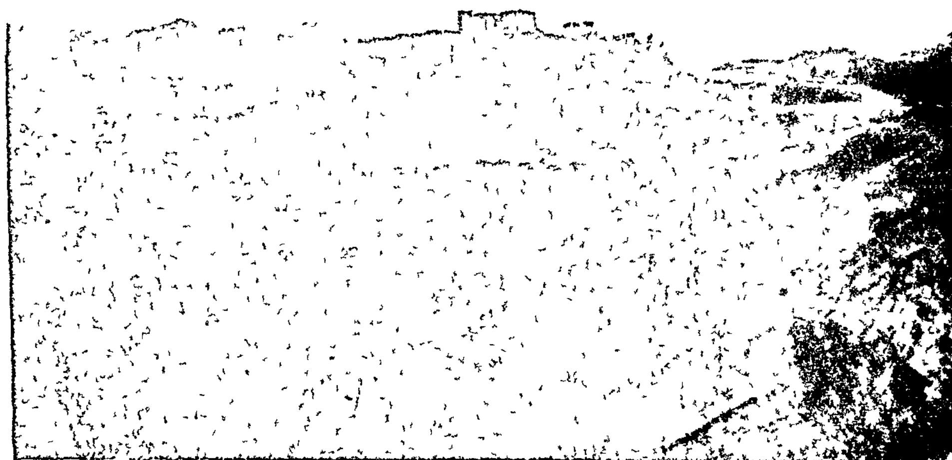
freebooters who destroyed Cnossos: they certainly raided Egypt, when 'the isles were unquiet'

The Early Monarchies. The first national exploit which the Greeks remembered was their attack on Troy. This seems to have been carried out by a league of Achaean kings under the leadership of Agamemnon of Argos, whose sister-in-law, Helen, had been carried off by a Trojan prince Achaean sailors may have wanted a free passage through the Dardanelles, and endured a long war in order to destroy the city which hampered their trade. Troy fell, and the Achaean kings went back to rule their separate communities in Greece The king's task was to care for his people as leader in warfare, as their representative before the gods, and as the judge of their disputes He had the help of his companions and, though he was not bound to accept the advice of the council of the nobles, he found their experience a useful addition to the wisdom he had learnt from his father There was an assembly of the people which he summoned on important occasions, if there was some change to be made, which affected their farms or their ships, he explained it to them, when war came he harangued them to rouse their fighting spirit

Homer. Agamemnon and his brother kings, who sacked Troy, kept minstrels at their courts to sing their great deeds and glorify their fathers, just as their ancestors had done before they crossed the Balkan ranges A genius, called Homer, gathered together these short lays or ballads in later years to form two epics or long poetic tales In the *Iliad* he made a story of the soldiers who conquered the Trojans, fired by the example of the northern hero, Achilles The *Odyssey* was a tale of the wanderings of Odysseus and his sailors, after Troy had fallen Homer gives a picture of an adventurous society, ready to face the unknown in the search of glory or the satisfaction of curiosity There are riches and good craftsmanship, pleasant songs and stirring poetry, but they are all directed to serve the heaven-descended king, the fosterling of Zeus

The Gods of Olympus. Gods play as large a part in Homer's poems as mortal heroes Their home is Mount Olympus in Thessaly, and they are in the main the gods whom the Aryan-speaking invaders brought with them from the northern plains Most of them are gods of an open-air life, Zeus is lord of the sky, his twin children, Apollo and Artemis, take delight in the chase and guide the lights of sun and moon, Ares revels in the din of battle, Athene, the goddess of wisdom, stands by her favourite, Odysseus, in the thick of the fight and the fury of the seas, Hephaestus is

older, darker powers, who had been worshipped before Agamemnon's ancestors had dispossessed the lords of Mycenae Men still honoured them in groves and grottoes and on the hill-tops with rude offerings and fierce sacrifice Many old beliefs and practices crept into the Olympian religion, and made it sometimes cruel and gloomy Each clan or village might worship several gods, and give to each qualities different from those known to his worshippers in the village over the hill But in spite of



THE ACROPOLIS, ATHENS

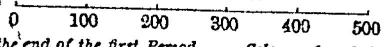
all local differences the divinities of Olympus were a strong tie in binding the Greeks together

The Polis or City State Greece is a queerly shaped peninsula, with a long coastline and very little arable soil for its size, it is split into narrow valleys by a tangled mass of mountain ranges, and has few broad and fertile plains Its population lived in farms or small villages, cut off from their neighbours, or in the old towns once ruled by the Aegean lords Sometimes the kings joined scattered hamlets of farmers, herdsmen, and artisans together to form a new town In time the cities became of preponderating importance in central and southern Greece, and moulded the life of the nation The Greek word for city is *polis*, it represented the most enduring of their institutions, and it has lived on into the modern

PHOENICIAN & GREEK COLONIES

Scale 1 20,000,000 (320 miles = 1 inch)

English Miles

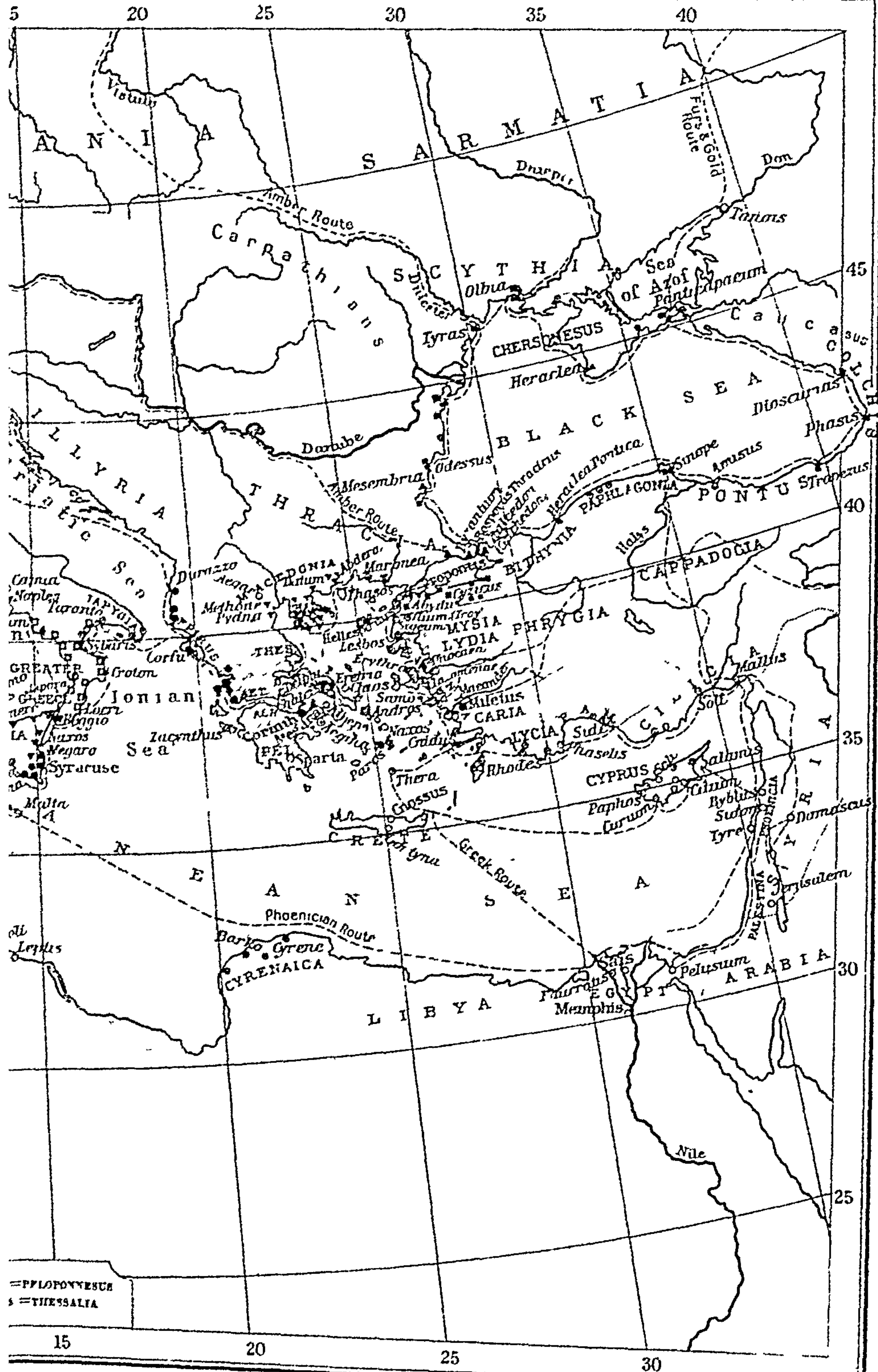


Greece at the end of the first Period of expansion
Mother cities are shown in larger symbols
— *Phoenician controlled coasts*
— *Greek controlled coasts*
Etruscan settlements
- - - *Principal Trade Routes*

▲ *Colonies founded by Megara*
■ " " " *Miletus*
▼ " " " *Euboea*
● " " " *Corinth*
◆ " " " *Phocaea*
◻ *Achaean colonies in Greater Greece*
○ *Other Greek colonies*

ACH = ACHAEA
AET = AETOLIA
CHAL = CHALCIDICE
D = DORIS
EUB = EUBOEA
PAM = PAMPHYLIA

5 West from Greenwich 0 East from Greenwich 5 10



SARMATIA
SCYTHIA
Sea of Azof
CHERSONESUS
BLACK SEA
THRACE
MACEDONIA
ILLYRIA
BITHYNIA
PAPHLAGONIA
PONTUS
CAPPADOCIA
MYSIA
LYDIA
PHRYGIA
CARIA
LYCIA
CYPRUS
CRETE
CYRENAICA
LIBYA
EGYPT
ARABIA
Ionian Sea
Carpathians
Danube
Amber Route
Phoenician Route
Greek Route
Furs & Gold Route
Olbia
Tyras
Tanais
Odessus
Mesembria
Sinope
Amisus
Trapezus
Phasis
Dioscurias
Miletus
Rhodes
Phaselis
Thera
Cnossus
Paphos
Curium
Tyre
Sidon
Byblus
Damascus
Jerusalem
Pelusium
Sais
Memphis
Cyrene
Barka
Syracuse
Malta
Croton
Sybaris
Taranto
Corfu
Durazzo
Methone
Pydna
Abdera
Maronea
Thasos
Lesbos
Erythrae
Chios
Samos
Andros
Naxos
Paros
Sparta
Corinth
Zacynthus
Naples
Megara
Mallus
Soli
Heraclea
Heraclea Pontica
Chalcedon
Byzantium
Halys
Nile
Don
Dnieper
Vistula
45
40
35
30
25
15
20
25
30
35
40
=PELOPONNESUS
=THESSALIA

world in such terms as polite, polished, politics, police, metropolis, and cosmopolitan. Often these cities grew up round a steep and easily defensible hill, which was called the Acropolis, and served as an inner keep to be held, when the outer walls had fallen. The concentration of nobles and commons within the city increased the dignity and wealth of the king, but it also gave the people a pride in their dwelling-place, which made them unwilling to submit to the claims of either king or noble. The citizens met in the market to haggle over the price of fish or pottery, and it became the centre of free speech. They worshipped the gods in wooden temples, and felt that they would be under heaven's protection when they pulled an oar across the gulf or took up their leather shields to face a band of raiders. The city became the background for their thoughts and acts, and they were ready to risk life and limb to guard it from all enemies. The city had been formed to protect life, it came to be to the Greek the only place where life was worth living.

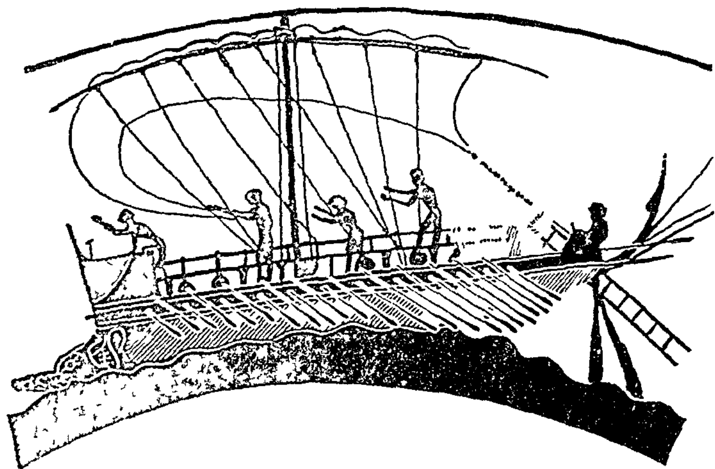
The Dorian Invasion The last of the northern invaders were the Dorians. They seem to have been a rough, vigorous people, who came from the north-west, and knew the use of iron. After crushing the cities of Aetolia and Epirus, and driving the Achaeans of Thessaly from the lands which Achilles had ruled, they moved south towards the Peloponnese. They appear to have attacked the southern Achaeans both by sea and land. They had no cavalry, but their infantry overwhelmed the old rulers of Argos, Corinth, Megara, and Mycenae. They overran all the Peloponnese, except the centre and the north-west corner. In some parts they intermarried with the conquered, but in the south-east they kept their blood pure. They had learnt to handle ships in their wanderings, and some of them seized Aegina. Their invasion displaced many tribes, who were forced to find new homes in Greece or overseas. Achaeans settled in the north-west of the Peloponnese, below the Corinthian gulf, other refugees crowded into the central district of Arcadia, others were welcomed in Attica. There were disturbances in Boeotia, and raiders from the north-east overran the plain of the Peneus and gave their name to Thessaly.

II The Greek Colonies

The shock of the Dorian invasion must have caused great suffering among the other Greeks, but it set in motion forces which spread Greek influence over a far wider area than the Achaean immigration had covered. The soil of Greece was not sufficiently fertile to support the newcomers and the settled population. Men were forced to look overseas for new homes for themselves and their families. Fortunately there was no powerful race to oppose Greek maritime expansion. The easiest route

was eastward, and the islands of the Aegean afforded stepping-stones to the coast of Asia

Colonization of Asia Minor. The Dorians themselves sailed south-east, and settled in Crete, Rhodes, and the neighbouring islands, some of them founded cities on the mainland Broken clans of their mainland victims banded together and sailed across the Aegean to colonize the islands or the coast of Asia Minor There were excellent sites for cities, and the settlers grew rich from their share of the trade which came across the Anatolian plateau Gradually three groups were formed, Dorian cities



British Museum

EARLY GREEK WARSHIP

occupied the south-west corner between Caria and Lycia, north of them lay Ionia, beyond the Ionians were cities which were called Aeolian, though they were largely of Achaean blood, and may have been settled before the Dorian invasion The best known were Halicarnassus, Miletus, Ephesus, Phocaea, and Smyrna Samos, Lesbos, Chios, and other islands were also colonized successfully A flourishing civilization grew up, which produced great lyric poets and scientific inquirers The Asiatic and island Greeks became wealthier than their kinsmen of the mainland They competed with the Phoenicians for the coasting trade, and in their turn sent out colonies to protect their commerce

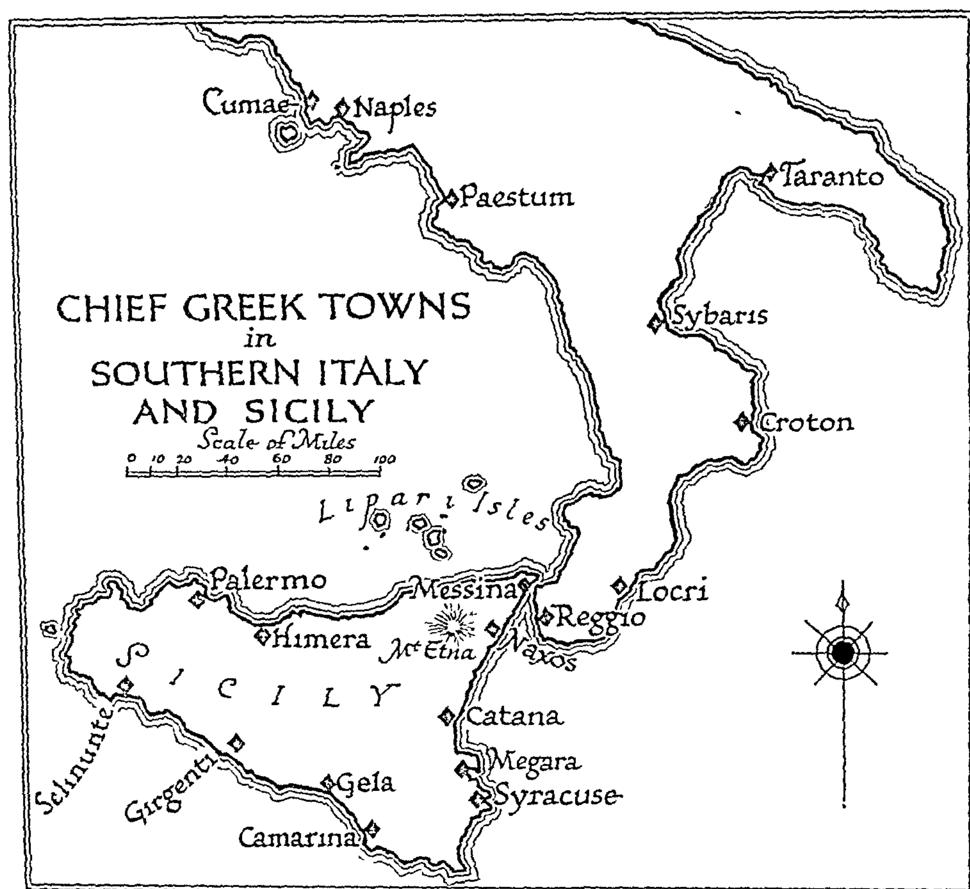
Colonization of the North. The Phoenicians had held the monopoly of long-distance trading for four centuries, when their Greek rivals began to dispute their claims The Ionian and Aeolian cities were well placed for ousting the Semitic seamen from the Black Sea trade The Phoenicians had built small trading posts to help their merchants, the Greeks founded cities Miletus in the east and Megara in the west took the lead, and they were followed later by Corinth and the Euboean towns of Eretria and

Chalchis. Cities were built in the Crimea and on the eastern shores of the Black Sea. Chalcedon and Byzantium secured the narrows of the Bosphorus, while other settlers held the Dardanelles. Iron, silver, flax, and corn were brought back in exchange for the woollen stuffs of Miletus. Seaports were built along the Thracian coast, and Potidaea was founded inland to share the mineral wealth of the district. Pydna on the Macedonian coast served the sturdy farmers of the north-east, whose kings and nobles claimed to be as good Greeks as the men of Thessaly or Boeotia or the Peloponnese. This colonial expansion owed much to the skill with which Greek shipwrights copied the shipwrights of Sidon and Tyre. The penteconter with its fifty oarsmen was a great improvement on the smaller and clumsier craft of Achilles and Odysseus. It was eclipsed by the bireme, which had two banks of rowers. When it came to a fight it was more effective to sink the enemy by ramming than to grapple his vessel and board her; the bireme and its successor, the trireme, had specially strengthened bows, which carried a metal spike to rip through the side-timbers of hostile craft. In the course of three centuries Greek shipwrights copied all these improvements from their Semitic rivals.

The Disappearance of the Kings. When things settled down from the disturbances caused by the Dorian invasion and the migrations east and north over the Aegean, most of the mainland cities had passed from the rule of kings to that of nobles. The kingly title still went on in many places, but it was confined to the discharge of religious duties, and gradually slipped away from the royal family. The nobles absorbed the royal powers, as judges, generals, and governors. They seem to have shown ability in times of difficulty and change. When other citizens were jealous of their rule they encouraged emigration to new lands, where the discontented could find a useful outlet for their energies.

Colonization of the West. Better ships made it possible to explore the western waters, and colonists found attractive sites in Italy and Sicily. Tradition held that Cumae was the first Greek settlement, and it was from the tribal name of some of its first settlers that the Italians took the term Greek and applied it to all the Hellenes who came afterwards. Sybaris, Croton, and Taranto were planted on the south-east coast, and Reggio and Messina secured control of the straits between Sicily and Italy. The rich island had attracted Phoenician trading stations: these disappeared, except in the western corner, as Syracuse, Himera, Girgenti, and other cities were founded. Posidonia, or Paestum, and the 'Newtown' of Neapolis or Naples were built near Cumae, but the Etruscan naval power prevented farther advance to the north. The colonies were a powerful outlet for farmers, traders, and artisans who found it difficult to earn a livelihood in the narrow limits of mainland Greece. So numerous and

prosperous were the western colonies that they were called Great Greece The settlers carried to a high degree of excellence the craftsmanship and the civilization of their old homes They had learnt the alphabet from their trade rivals of Sidon and Tyre they improved it by the addition of vowels, and taught it to their rough neighbours in Italy Stonemasons



had copied the roofs and columns of the carpenter, and architects began to build stone temples for gods and colonnades for men, which made the cities of Great Greece the model for the ruder native towns of Sicily and Italy

Delphi and Colonization. In the spread of colonies the priests of Apollo at Delphi played a conspicuous part, and noble explorers sought the approval of the god for their enterprises The new cities of Asia and Europe owed something to the geographical knowledge which the Delphic priests collected The turn of Africa came last Greek traders managed to sell their wares in the Nile valley, but the rulers of Egypt confined their

settlements to a single town The western half of the African coast was held firmly by the Phoenicians But there was fertile land between, and, with Apollo's blessing, Dorians from the islands built Cyrene and its sister cities In this way the eastern half of the Mediterranean became the scene of Greek enterprise, and Greek cities developed their peculiar way of life under alien skies

III The Growth of the Greek City State

The nobles who governed the Greek cities of Europe Asia, and Africa could claim credit for many improvements in city life By their encouragement of colonization they had relieved the distress of the poorer classes, found fresh markets for the wares of their artisans, encouraged an enterprising race of sailors, and increased their own wealth They united in the worship of the gods of Thessalian Olympus, and in the athletic games of Peloponnesian Olympia, where nobles from all the cities met to compete in running, wrestling, and boxing But each small community was separated from its neighbours, and in each community there were classes who felt jealous of other classes Sometimes there were feuds between noble families, because some had a larger share in the government than others Sometimes there were divisions between the farmers and the sailors, or the different groups of artisans In most cities the poor grudged the wealth and power of the rich These differences existed in the days of barter, when farmers, potters, tanners, carpenters, and masons exchanged their goods with one another, they became more bitter, when the Greeks learnt the trick of coining money from the Lydians The vigorous mercantile communities of Euboea and Aegina led the way in spreading the new device, and established the two currencies which controlled Greek trade in the seventh and sixth centuries The new medium of exchange displaced the old system of barter, and brought grave consequences with it The supply of precious metals was too small for coins to be plentiful, and the few coin-owners exacted a heavy price for their use The merchant who traded overseas became more powerful than the noble who owned land or the artisan who made things with his hands The usurer added a new type to the Greek world Nobles and commons alike felt his power, and knew that the times were ripe for change

Sparta. There was one Greek community which set its face steadfastly against innovations The Dorian conquerors of Laconia, the south-eastern corner of the Peloponnese, remained a warrior-caste living among a subject population They kept their blood pure, and built up a constitution which differed from their neighbours' in many respects

Their capital, Sparta, was not a walled city, but a union of villages, whose ramparts were the bodies of their citizen soldiers. Living always among a sullen and hostile population, the Spartan devoted himself to military training from the cradle to the grave His girls developed their bodies with games and physical exercises, that they might become the mothers of strong and brave sons Sickly infants were exposed on the mountains, lest their survival should weaken the stock Boys learnt discipline and hardness under the young men who took them from their mothers' control at the age of seven Not till he was thirty was the Spartan thought fit to join his peers in the full duties or privileges of citizenship Then he became a member of the mess, and had the privilege of electing the ephors and fighting for his country He had been trained to endure hardship uncomplainingly, to speak briefly to the point, to obey orders, and to die at his post Body armour had improved greatly since the days of the migrations, and the pike or thrusting spear had become a splendid weapon of offence, capable in the hands of disciplined troops of repulsing cavalry The Spartan hoplites or heavy-armed infantry showed themselves the finest fighters in the Peloponnese and became the model which other citizens tried to copy They went out to war under the command of kings, but the royal power was limited by the constant supervision of the five ephors, chosen by the assembly of all full citizens, and by the existence of two lines of kings, who reigned conjointly The council of the elder Spartans also had great power, which they exercised with the object of keeping the state on the old traditional lines Every citizen had his allotment of public land, which supplied his contribution to the mess, and was worked by helots or serfs of the conquered native population This enabled him to devote himself entirely to the service of the State, free from worldly cares

The Tyrants The upheavals of the seventh century produced varying results in the different cities In some the nobles maintained their power, and ruled as an oligarchy, in others the commons defeated the richer classes, and established a democracy or government by the people In many cases neither side won a permanent victory, and democrats and oligarchs held power alternately for short periods. Sometimes the people found a champion among their opponents A rich and ambitious noble would desert his own order, and lead the poorer citizens to victory The ordinary fisherman, farmer, shoemaker, or shopkeeper had his daily business to carry on, and could not afford to give his whole time to politics, his champion needed continual protection from the plots of the oligarchs, and he was content that mercenary soldiers should be hired to safeguard him. The leader of the commons gained an armed guard, which gave him absolute power in his city He was called a tyrant. These

tyrants won control of many cities in the Greek world, they appeared first in the Asiatic colonies, later many ruled the cities of mainland Greece and the Great Greece of Italy and Sicily They were able, vigorous men, who encouraged trade and increased the wealth and beauty of their cities, they gave employment to the poor by expenditure on public works But they became very hateful to all Greeks who loved freedom. Some of them governed with great cruelty, few managed to hand on their powers to their sons, fewer still to their grandsons Their opponents branded them as the enemies of Greek freedom, and government by tyrants became unbearable to democrats as well as to oligarchs The most interesting tyrants were Periander of Corinth, Cleisthenes of Sicyon, Pisistratus of Athens, Polycrates of Samos, Thrasybulus of Miletus, and Phalaris of Girgenti The Spartans stuck to their old laws, and none of their citizens established a tyranny over his peers The early attempts at tyranny in Athens failed disastrously Except for Phalaris, the western cities were not troubled by tyrants till the fifth century.



Sommor

SOLON
(*Naples Museum*)

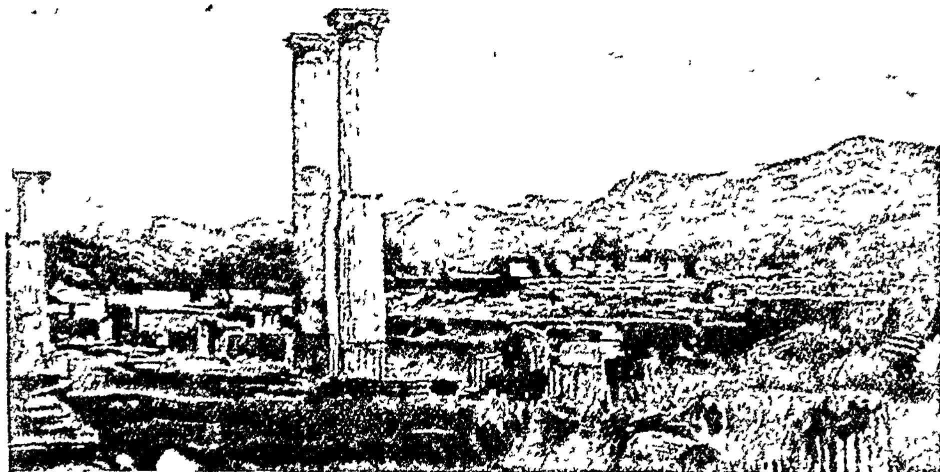
The Growth of Athens. The soil of Attica was suitable for vines and olives, but yielded poor crops of corn As the population increased life became difficult for the small farmers. Bad seasons forced them to borrow money from their richer neighbours, and as the rate of interest was high they were not always able to pay their debts There were no written laws, and the elected magistrates, who were called archons, gave judgments which seemed oppressive to debtors There was a widespread demand for a written code of laws, so that every one should know his rights A lawgiver was appointed to put down in definite terms the old vague customs The first code was a failure, but Solon, a rich noble, who had learnt much from his travels in Ionia, was more successful He saw the dangers which threatened Athens, the small farmers were losing their lands to their creditors, the free labourers could not live on their wages, and were sinking into slavery Solon was elected archon, and given power to draw up a code of laws He cancelled outstanding debts, freed

enslaved labourers, and reformed the government The poorest class was admitted to the Assembly, which passed resolutions on public questions, and elected the forty candidates from whom the archons were chosen by lot The poor were also admitted to the list of jurymen, who judged the archons if they were accused after their year of office Solon also persuaded traders and craftsmen from other cities to settle in Athens and the neighbouring port of Piraeus, these skilled workers improved the quality of Athenian wares To cheapen food he prohibited the export of corn, and encouraged olive-growing He developed commerce by adopting the Euboean instead of the Aeginetan currency, and so gave Athenian merchants a share in the trade controlled by the Euboean cities and the prosperous port of Corinth Solon's reforms made life endurable for the poor, but much discontent remained, though he united his fellow-countrymen for the capture of the neighbouring island of Salamis, which increased their sea-power greatly

Tyranny of Pisistratus. There were still many dissatisfied citizens in spite of Solon's great work, they united to make Pisistratus tyrant Under his rule Athens grew more prosperous He carried further Solon's policy of helping the farmers by encouraging olive-growing He provided cheaper food by importing corn from the Black Sea, and he made Athenian influence felt in the north by sending out Miltiades to rule the rude tribes of the Thracian Chersonese He built temples to beautify the city, and held festivals at which Athens was proclaimed the head of the Ionian race Poets came to the court of Pisistratus and his son, Hippias, the old epics of Homer were edited, so that Greeks could read the story of their forefathers' great deeds on land and sea

The Rise of Sparta The discipline of her hoplites had given Sparta possession of Messenia Her chief rival, Argos, was weakened by civil strife, and Sparta conquered the southern part of the Argive territory This gave her sufficient farmland for her citizens, and she changed her policy She was content to possess the southern half of the Peloponnese, and to extend her influence over the northern cities without annexing them She allied herself with Elis in the west, giving her the presidency of the games at Olympia, which became a centre for the athletic union of all Greeks She made Tegea and the other cities she conquered subject-allies, bound to send troops to help her in wartime She professed to leave each allied city its autonomy or self-government, but actually she strengthened the nobles, and supported them against democrats and tyrants She was checked for a time by the power of Periander at Corinth and Cleisthenes at Sicyon Periander enriched his city with buildings, and encouraged her overseas trade He brought her distant colonies under his rule, and made alliances with Egypt, Thrasybulus of

Miletus, and other foreign powers The importance of Corinth was increased by the founding of the Isthmian games on the model of Olympia His fellow-tyrant, Cleisthenes, was a friend of the priests of Delphi, and helped them to institute the Pythian games near Apollo's shrine But Sparta won in the end. Corinth and Sicyon expelled their tyrants Both cities passed under the control of oligarchs, and allied themselves with the



THE SACRED PLAIN OF OLYMPIA

In the foreground are the remains of the ancient Palaestra, where the athletic contests took place

rulers of Laconia. By the end of the sixth century all the Peloponnese, except Argos and Achaea, acknowledged Sparta's leadership, and sent their representatives to discuss questions of policy with her kings and ephors The troops of the Peloponnesian league were the most formidable fighting force in Greece.

Democracy at Athens Pisistratus had made Athens prosperous, but many citizens hated a tyrant's rule He was succeeded peacefully by Hippias, who governed satisfactorily at first, but his brother's murder drove him to severity, and his enemies rallied under the leadership of the Alcmaeonidae The ablest member of this powerful family was Cleisthenes, whose maternal grandfather and namesake had been tyrant of Sicyon Like his grandfather he was a friend of Delphi, and he induced the priests to persuade the Spartans to invade Attica Hippias was driven into exile, and fled to the Persian court Athens paid for her

DATES—*continued*

B C		
About	800	Oligarchies replace monarchies in Greece.
,,	776	Traditional date of First Olympian games.
,,	735–635	Greek colonization of Italy and Sicily
,,	680	Greatness of Lydia Coinage
,,	650	Decline of Greek oligarchies
	600	Periander tyrant of Corinth
	594	Solon archon of Athens
	561–527	Pisistratus tyrant of Athens
	512	Persian conquest of Thrace
	490	Battle of Marathon
	480	Battles of Thermopylae, Salamis, and Himera
	479	Battle of Plataea
	475	Confederacy of Delos

CHAPTER II

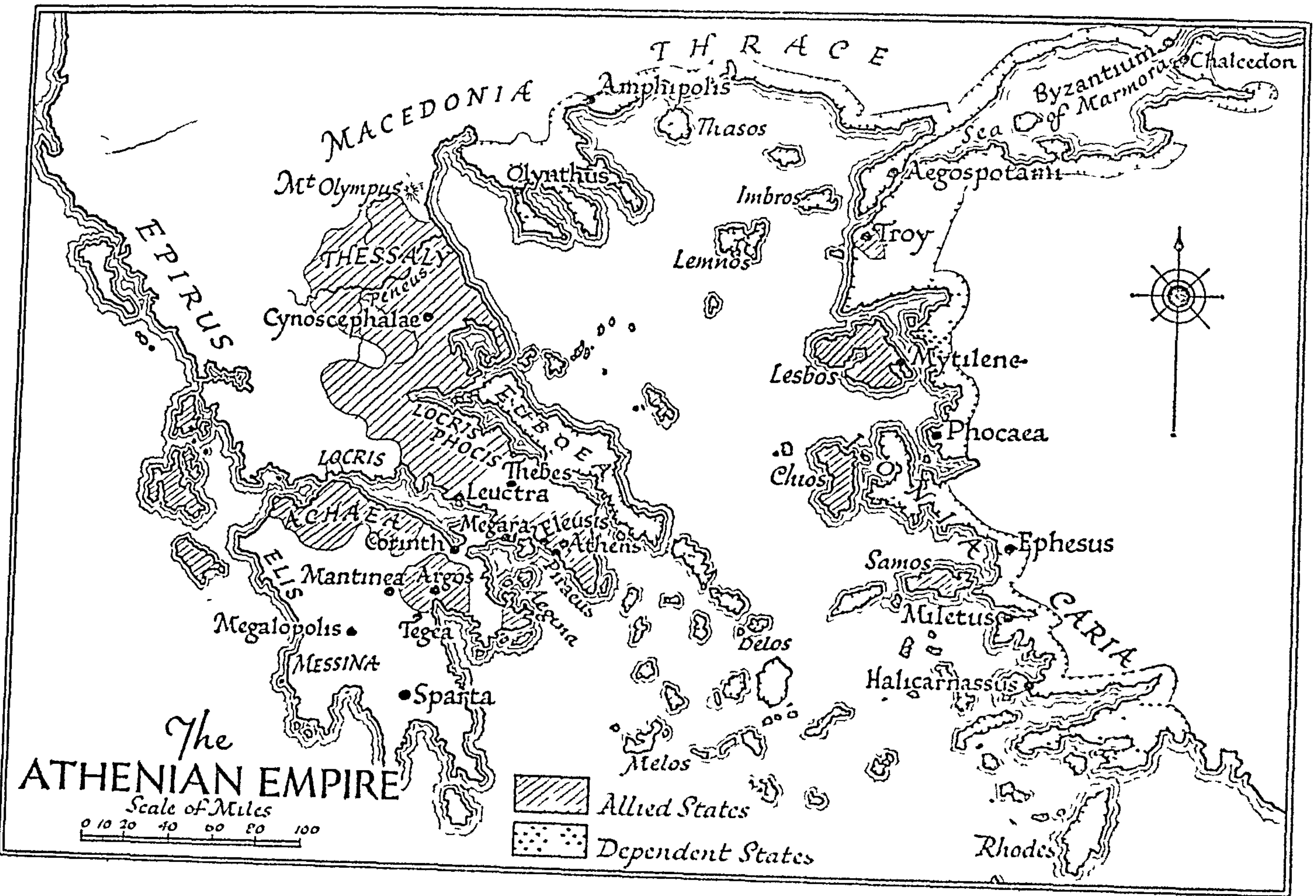
THE PERICLEAN AGE

For half a century Athens had been well served by her statesmen Some, like Cleisthenes and Themistocles, had encouraged the growth of democracy, others, like Miltiades, Xanthippus, and Aristides, had championed the interests of the nobles After Marathon no one supported the exiled Hippias, who had relied on Persian arms, although some had suspected the Alcmaeonidae of the treacherous desire to re-establish the tyrant's rule, all parties were united in patriotic hatred of Xerxes and his successors. But the course of events favoured the extension of democracy As Athenian naval power and overseas trade increased, the landowners and farmers lost control of the government, and the merchants and sailors of Piraeus became more powerful in the Assembly.

The New Democracy of Athens The most vigorous and progressive leaders aimed at dominating the Confederacy of Delos by encouraging the distant cities to contribute money rather than ships against the common foe They secured control of the Assembly by giving greater power to the poor, they abolished election as the necessary preliminary for admission to the Council, by extending the use of the lot they gave every citizen an equal chance to mould the policy of the State The days of grinding poverty were gone, all except a few old-fashioned folk were eager to share

the plunder of the Persian dominions, and profit from the commercial opportunities given by the Confederacy of Delos and the repression of piracy. The democracy seized fortune with both hands, and embarked boldly on a policy of vigorous imperialism Chios, Lesbos, and Samos still contributed ships, but most of the allied states ceased to maintain a navy. Their money flowed into the treasury, which, for greater security, was removed from the island of Delos to Athens. Commercial disputes between the allies were heard in the capital of the Confederacy. This practice forced the Athenian citizen to devote much of his time to serving on the juries which decided these lawsuits, it was natural that he should receive monetary compensation for his services. He gave his vote to the democratic leaders who carried this reform, and the payment of jurymen became a cornerstone of Athenian democracy

'The Tyrant City.' The one political principle common to all Greek cities was autonomy, the right of the citizens to manage their own affairs This did not mean the rule of the majority of the adult inhabitants; women, resident aliens, and slaves took no part in the government In many cities, particularly those who were friendly to Sparta, the rich and well-born families ruled as a narrow oligarchy But autonomy was the principle which every Greek prized Even when Xerxes and Mardonius held all the land down to the isthmus it was hard to persuade the cities to limit their freedom for the sake of union In the first flush of victory they followed Athens in her struggle against the barbarian, but, as the war went on, many preferred to let the Athenians take their money and save them from Persian taxation and Phoenician competition She settled their trade disputes and, to secure unity of action, began to interfere in the city governments This was resented, men complained that the free confederacy was being turned into an empire, ruled by a 'Tyrant City'. they attached greater importance to their local independence than to material prosperity and efficient protection against their Oriental oppressors and rivals But the leaders of the Athenian democracy persisted in the new policy. Fresh states were added to the list of allies, sometimes by force, and the empire stretched all round the Aegean and the Sea of Marmora from Byzantium and the Thracian coast in the north to Rhodes in the south For better administration it was divided into five zones: the Thracian included Amphipolis and the towns on the three-pronged peninsula called the Chersonese, the Hellespontine covered the coasts between the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, the cities of Asia Minor were divided between the Ionian and Carian zones, the Islands stretched from Euboea to Rhodes Each city paid the quota which Aristides had assessed To strengthen Athenian control colonies of poorer citizens were established in various parts of the empire.


The ATHENIAN EMPIRE
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
Allied States
Dependent States
THRACE
MACEDONIA
EPIRUS
THESSALY
Peneus
Mt Olympus
Amphipolis
Thasos
Olynthus
Imbros
Lemnos
Cynoscephalae
LOCRIS
PHOCIS
EUBOEA
LOCRIS
ACHAEA
ELIS
MESSINA
Thebes
Leuctra
Megara
Eleusis
Athens
Piraeus
Aegina
Corinth
Mantinea
Argos
Tegea
Megalopolis
Sparta
Delos
Melos
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Sea of Marmora
Aegospotami
Troy
Lesbos
Mytilene
Phocaea
Chios
IONIA
Ephesus
Samos
Miletus
CARIA
Halicarnassus
Rhodes

The Break with Sparta. Much of the fighting which secured the expansion of Athenian rule was done under the leadership of Cimon and Xanthippus, representatives of the land-owning class Cimon worked in friendship with Sparta and, when the helots of Messenia revolted, he persuaded the Assembly to send assistance to Athens's old 'yoke-fellow' There was prolonged fighting and, though Sparta broke the Messenian resistance in the end, she dismissed Cimon and his hoplites with deliberate rudeness This disgusted the Athenians with the policy of co-operation with Sparta Cimon was exiled and, though he was allowed to return later, the leadership of the new democracy passed to Pericles, son of Xanthippus, and grandson of an Alcmaeonid noble Henceforward the two great cities of Greece went their different ways Sparta re-established her power in the Peloponnese, kept her army strong, and lived the hard life which had contented her for two centuries She was the acknowledged leader of the Dorian states Corinth and the other oligarchical cities were her friends, Argos her only formidable rival Athens annexed territory in central Greece, and made her naval superiority secure by capturing Aegina and hampering her Corinthian rivals in the west Any Aegean city which would allow her to control its independence found her a strenuous champion against Persian, Phoenician, or Egyptian Her fleet dominated the eastern end of the Mediterranean Her soldiers and sailors 'died in the war, in Cyprus, in Egypt, in Phoenice, at Halieis, in Aegina, at Megara, in the same year' Her most ambitious enterprise was the attack on Egypt, where she captured Memphis. after five years' fighting the expedition failed, and Persia regained complete control of the Nile valley



PERICLES
(*Vatican, Rome*)

Pericles. The expansion of the Athenian democracy was largely the work of Pericles Unlike Pisistratus he did not attempt to establish a tyranny to govern city and empire, he ruled, not by armed power, but by force of character Year after year he was elected general by the free choice of the citizens So strong was his position that he employed Cimon to carry on the campaign against Persia After his rival's death Pericles felt that it was time to make peace with the Great King

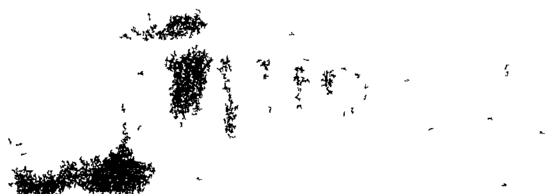
Forty years' fighting had liberated all the Greek cities, except those of Cyprus Freed from the burden of eastern warfare, Pericles devoted himself to the strengthening and the beautifying of Athens, as the capital of the empire He wanted the 'violet-crowned' city to be rich and strong but her wealth was to be used to adorn her with fair statues and stately temples, and her strength was to protect the many-sided energies of the Greek, whether he was sculptor or artist, poet or potter, sailor or sage Pericles was in many respects a typical noble, tall, handsome, and aloof from the common herd But he held the admiration and even the devotion of the commons, and by his persuasive oratory led them to



THE PARTHENON

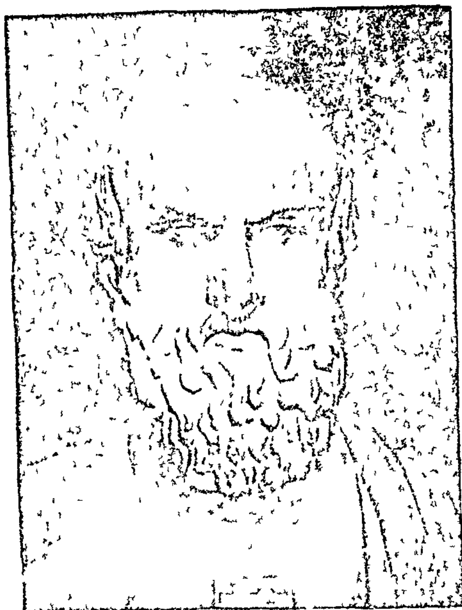
support his ideals Though his policy interfered with the full freedom of the allied states, he was conspicuous for his humanity On his deathbed he claimed 'No Athenian put on mourning through any deed of mine'

Religious Buildings and the Arts In one aspect the Persian war had been a struggle between the followers of Zoroaster and the worshippers of the Olympian gods Xerxes had allowed his victorious troops to destroy the idols on the Acropolis and break down the temples of the idolaters The Greek always pictured his gods in human form, and thought of them as superhuman powers who protected places dear to him in his everyday life It was natural that Pericles should try to win the co-operation of all Greek patriots in rebuilding the shrines that the Persian had shattered He failed in this project, but he used the wealth of the city and the confederacy to give the gods new and splendid homes on the Acropolis. The sculptor, Phidias, fashioned a statue of Athene in gold and ivory, and carved the bas-reliefs which adorned her temple, the Parthenon, whose

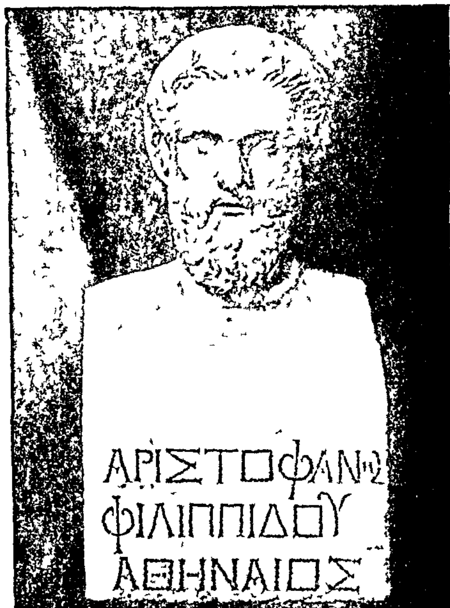


that the songs and dances did honour to the gods. The Athenian believed that Zeus sent him rain from the sky, Athene ripened his olives, and the pipes of goat-footed Pan might be heard by the devout shepherd when he led his flocks to the upland glades.

The Tragic Poets. The goatskin, which was worn by the worshippers of Dionysus, the wine-god, gave its name to the tragedies which were written by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Pisistratus had founded



AESCHYLUS
(*Capitol, Rome*)



ARISTOPHANES
(*Uffizi, Florence*)

the great Dionysiac festival at which the skin-clad chorus danced round the god's altar, and sang his praises. Gradually speeches were added to the songs, and the two were used to tell some story of gods and heroes. The production of plays was the business of the State. Prizes were given each year, and there were many good playwrights whose poetry sometimes robbed the greater writers of the first place. The ordinary Athenian was a keen critic of plot, dialogue, choral ode, music, and dancing. The Attic stage was not the preserve of a few clever intellectuals, but the familiar possession of the whole people. The citizen's taste improved as the tragic writers developed their art. Aeschylus, a veteran of Marathon, added a second actor to the original speaker, who had shared the stage with the chorus, thus making dialogue an integral part of drama. He wrote one play to commemorate the great deliverance from the Persian fire-worshippers, but his usual theme was

the legend of some hero working out the destiny which heaven had ordained for him His greatest work was the trilogy which tells the doom of Agamemnon's house He probed the mystery of the relation between god and man, and strove to give a loftier vision of divine rule than the ordinary legends contained The sombre majesty of his verse must have made a deep impression on the thoughtful Athenian Sophocles, who added a third actor, followed in his predecessor's footsteps, but he softened Aeschylus's language and character-drawing, and moved his audience more by pathos than terror His *Antigone* shows his skill in delineating women, a quality which Euripides also possessed The youngest of the three tragic writers wrote in simpler and more realistic language, and broke away from the traditions of his predecessors

Attic Comedy. The stage was not always devoted to tragic themes Comedies were acted, which allowed the Athenian to laugh at the follies of his contemporaries and appreciate the weaknesses of the men he had chosen to govern him Aristophanes and the other comic poets used the stage to attack the politicians they disliked, and to warn the democracy against its besetting sins of credulity, greed, and wrong-headed patriotism They performed their task with outspoken vigour and courage Aristophanes was an admirer of the old days, when the hoplite had shown himself a better man than the Persian, without bothering his head about subtle questions of morality The broad humour of his comedies, their fantastic plots, and their firmly drawn characters make them still worth acting, and even those who criticize their coarseness admire the beauty of the choral odes

The Sophists. Aristophanes's pet aversion was the new class of teacher who was spreading from Sicily over the Greek world These men were called sophists from their claim to teach *sophia* or wisdom The older generation, who prized traditional morality, disliked them as moral and political revolutionaries They examined words and argued cleverly The bright young men were attracted by them, and learnt to call in question the accepted standards of their fathers Some sophists did good work in clearing away prejudices and discouraging vague and hazy ways of thinking But others were rightly accused of making the worse appear the better cause These men taught the younger generation that self-interest is the true criterion of life. their pupils necessarily became bad citizens, who looked on duty, discipline, obedience, reverence, and self-sacrifice as meaningless and old-fashioned phrases

The Historians The conservative felt that the best protection against revolutionary thought was pride in the great deeds of the past In the sixth century there had been annalists, who wrote the bare record of rulers and wars In the fifth Greece produced two great historians of

widely different types Herodotus of Halicarnassus was perhaps the best example of the national genius for curiosity He travelled widely, and everywhere he went he asked questions His nine books are an admirable medley of geographical, religious, biological, biographical, and economic facts and fallacies His inspiration came from Marathon and Salamis, but he was keenly interested in all the barbarian races, whose Great King had been defeated by his countrymen No Athenian could read his history without feeling conscious of the high destiny of Athens and Greece Thucydides, who served Athens as politician and general, set himself a narrower task in describing the disastrous war which overtook Pericles at the end of his life But he brought to his work qualities of criticism and composition, which have served as models to all later historians Like Aeschylus and Sophocles he was conscious of a remorseless doom, which seemed to brood over men and cities, human tragedy stands out the more clearly through the austerity of his style and his avoidance of exaggeration



THUCYDIDES
(*Naples Museum*)

Athens as the School of Greece. In the famous speech which Pericles delivered over the soldiers who died for Athens he claimed that she was the school from which the rest of Greece learnt But the violet-crowned city inherited a long tradition of artistic and literary endeavour Her sculptors, painters, and architects owed much to Aegean forbears, who in their turn had learnt from Cretan, Egyptian, and Babylonian. She recognized Homer, whose traditional birthplace was Chios, as the founder of Greek literature, and her tragic writers took their plots from the legends told by him and his successors In the intervening centuries lyric poetry had been perfected by Anacreon of Teos and Alcaeus and Sappho of Lesbos Before she devoted herself entirely to military efficiency Sparta had prized the songs of Tyrtaeus and Alcman Pindar of Thebes wrote stately odes in praise of the noble athletes who triumphed at the great games, and told in gorgeous language the stories of gods and heroes All over the Greek world men expressed their joys and griefs, pride and fears in brief verses, which were called epigrams, they were marked by sim-

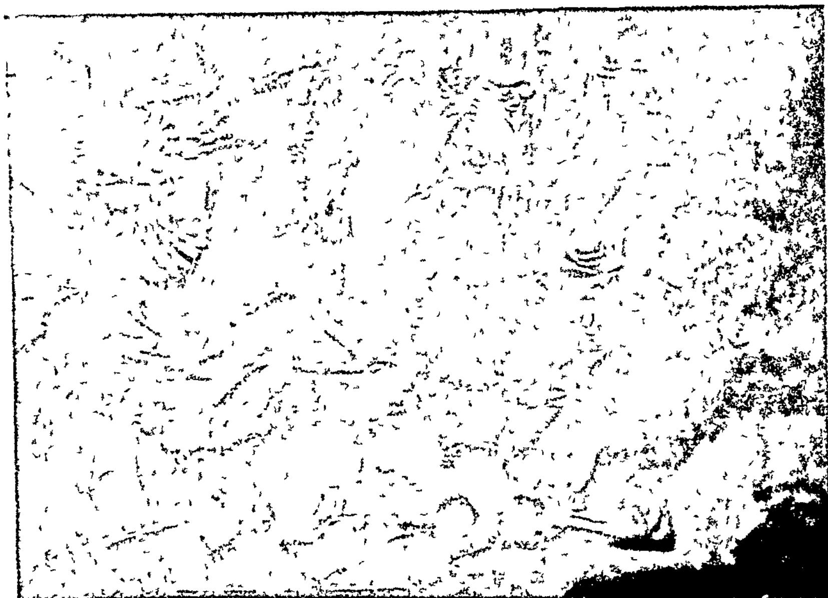
plicity and directness, which make them unforgettable and untranslatable The best known writer of epigrams was Simonides, who told of the Spartans of Thermopylae and the Athenians who fell at Plataea The educated Athenian took delight in all the varied products of Greek genius, and sang the songs of many cities beside his own If Athens taught the rest of Greece literature it was by the work of her dramatists

The Legacy of Ionia. Athens claimed to be the head of the Ionian branch of the Greek race; she had justified her claim by championing the Ionian cause against Darius and Xerxes. In the sixth century, while Gautama, Mahavira, Confucius, and Jeremiah were turning the minds of the eastern peoples to new religious ideals, the Greek cities of Asia were producing fearless thinkers, who examined the problems of existence by the light of reason They opposed both the new mystery religions of Greece and the old, crude tales of the Olympian gods, and sought for a material explanation of the universe Thales of Miletus, whose astronomical knowledge enabled him to predict the eclipse of the sun which ended the war between Media and Lydia, thought that water was the vital substance from which the whole world was composed Heraclitus of Ephesus chose fire, he taught that nature was in a constant state of change, but that this change was controlled by laws The sages of Ionia did not separate philosophy and science, but their teaching gave a great impulse to both In particular they started the Greeks on the study of mathematics and medicine Thales's travels in Egypt gave him the opportunity of seeing the work that had been done in mensuration, and he investigated problems of geometry, which were carried on by Pythagoras in the cities of Great Greece Ionian doctors began to treat disease on scientific lines, and their services were in demand at the Persian court

The Influence of Pericles It was Pericles's deliberate policy to encourage the best brains of the wide Greek world to congregate at Athens, and so make her the School of Greece His influence and example brought Anaxagoras and Hippocrates from the east, Protagoras from the north, and Gorgias and other distinguished sophists from the west Hippocrates may fairly be called the father of European medicine, he made careful notes of the cases he treated, and taught his followers to observe symptoms as a guide to curative measures He insisted on a high standard of professional conduct Pericles found much to interest him in the arguments of Protagoras, who taught that 'Man is the measure of all things,' and aroused the scorn of the conservative Aristophanes Anaxagoras was an intimate of the Periclean circle, he stirred the anger of the elder generation by inquiring into the material composition of the sun, which religion venerated as the domain of Apollo. Phidias was

another member of the group, to which Aspasia added feminine charm and a keen intellect They pursued their speculations with a disregard of conventional beliefs, which towards the end of Pericles's life roused the more conservative Athenians to prosecute them in the law courts Anaxagoras was accused of impiety, and Phidias of misappropriating public funds in his work on the Acropolis Both were condemned, and only Pericles's pleading saved Aspasia

The Periclean Athenian Though the Athenians supported Pericles with a fidelity rarely found in democratic states, they remained true to



British Museum

PORTION OF FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON

many of the beliefs and tastes which his progressive mind had discarded They were prejudiced against immigrants from alien cities, even when they were as clever as Gorgias, Anaxagoras, and Aspasia, they enjoyed the crude horseplay of old-fashioned revels, they tolerated scandalous stories of the Olympian gods, they roared at the coarsest jokes of Aristophanes and the comic dramatists But, in spite of their defects, they were in many ways the most wonderful community that has ever lived No Athenian thought that civilization should make material comfort its supreme aim, even the richest lived a simple life, which would have aroused the derision of the contemporary Persian noble, and would certainly not attract many followers among the 'progressive' nations of to-day The Athenian was frugal He was happy with two meals a

day, he rarely ate meat, the poorer classes lived on vegetables, soup, fish, and cheese, with sausages as a special treat. Sandals and a chiton or long shirt, with a cloak in winter, and a hat for the country, formed his usual outfit. He kept himself fit with running, jumping, wrestling, and a little boxing. He washed in cold water, rubbed himself with oil, and removed the dirt with a metal scraper. Though he never reached the Spartan standard, he was a respectable foot-soldier, and he pulled an oar with a vigour which made his country the leading sea-power for three generations. Till the sophists taught him that he must consider himself as an individual, and not as a member of the community, he was always ready to put Athens first. In spite of the vague melancholy which overlay Greek life, he was generally a happy soul, he was rarely bored, and he did not feel the necessity of 'killing time' by mechanical amusements. The Athenian craftsmen produced the glories of the Acropolis, and left the bas-reliefs and pottery which still delight us. They were content with humble homes if their gods were nobly housed. Eye, ear, and hand were trained to produce and appreciate beauty. Every well-born Athenian could sing and play the lyre, his poorer fellow-citizen delighted in the melodies of the choral odes which were scattered through every play he witnessed at the theatre. It was the common folk that acclaimed the genius of Aeschylus and Sophocles, their appreciation that gave Phidias his renown, their loyalty and common sense that enabled Pericles to give his name to one of the great ages of the world.

The best way to appreciate the Periclean age is to study its art and literature. Translation can never give you the full beauty of the original, but you should get hold of the translations of the dramatists and historians. J. W. Mackail's Greek Anthology *will give you an excellent idea of many aspects of ordinary, everyday life in Greece.*

DATES

B.C.

472 Aeschylus's Persian play and Pindar's Second Olympian Ode

462 Payment of Athenian Jurymen
Rise of Pericles

461 Cimon exiled

454 Athenian defeat in Egypt
Treasury removed from Delos

443 Five zones of Athenian Empire formed

438 Dedication of Parthenon

435 Imprisonment of Phidias

CHAPTER III

THE POLITICAL DECLINE OF THE GREEK CITY STATE

By the middle of the fifth century Athens had reached a more commanding position than any Greek city had yet won She controlled the Aegean islands, and all the coast-land towns outside the Peloponnese She held the bottle-necks of the Black Sea and the Corinthian Gulf, which gave her merchants the major share of seaborne traffic to north and west Her prestige stood high with the kings of Macedonia and Thrace, and her colony of Amphipolis gave her mineral wealth She traded with the cities of Sicily, Great Greece, Latium, and Etruria. Like Cnossos of old, she based her rule on sea-power, it was a rival maritime state that united her enemies against her

The Peloponnesian War. Corinth was jealous of Athenian ascendancy in Great Greece and Macedonia, and she persuaded Sparta to lead the Peloponnesian League to attack the Tyrant City Thebes sent her excellent infantry to help the enemies of Athens Pericles determined to confine the war as far as possible to the sea, he withdrew the country population to the protection of the walls which encircled and connected Athens and Piraeus Though the Spartans ravaged the farms of Attica, they found the Long Walls impregnable But a devastating plague broke out and claimed Pericles himself as a victim There was no noble to take his place, and the traders and merchants, who began to control the Council and the Assembly, had not Pericles's steadiness and wisdom, though many were vigorous politicians Cleon, who made his money by tanning, prosecuted the war energetically, but he was killed in trying to recover Amphipolis The nobles and the farmers worked for peace, which would allow them to get back to their herds and olives After ten years' inconclusive fighting, which damaged Greece's prosperity greatly, a truce was patched up between Athens and Sparta, but Corinth and Thebes refused to accept it

The Sicilian Expedition. Most Athenians were glad to cultivate their farms again, and recover their trade The democratic leaders began to reconquer the islands which had revolted, their temper was shown by the brutal massacre of the men of Melos But Alcibiades, a brilliant, ambitious, and erratic young man, wanted to rival the achievements of his

cousin Pericles When Segesta, a town in west Sicily, sent envoys to beg Athenian assistance against its neighbours, he urged his fellow-citizens to seize the opportunity of extending their empire in the west, if Sicily was subdued, Athens would secure unquestionable superiority over her Corinthian trade rivals, and could push on to the conquest of Carthage and her allies His ambitious policy captured the Athenian imagination, and a large naval and military force was sent to conquer Sicily But the exile of Alcibiades through the intrigues of his political opponents robbed the expedition of its most vigorous leader Syracuse won an overwhelming victory both on land and sea, and captured the remnant of the invading army

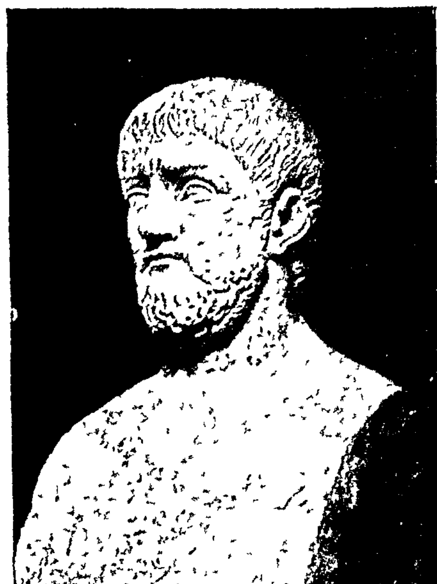




British Museum

SYRACUSAN COINS
Commemorating the victory of 413 B C

Fall of Athens The Syracusan disaster stirred Sparta, Corinth, and Thebes to attack Athens again Many of her discontented allies revolted she was weakened by civil strife her oligarchs conspired against the democratic government But Athens made a great struggle against overwhelming odds She built ships and raised a new army Alcibiades came back from exile and helped the democratic leaders to carry on the fight Victories were won against the fleet which Sparta had unwillingly built Persia took the opportunity of avenging Marathon and Salamis She supplied the Spartan admiral, Lysander, with money, and the sea-power of Athens was gradually worn down The last struggle was waged to secure the narrows, through which the Athenians drew their corn from the Black Sea Lysander destroyed the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, sailed south, and forced Athens to surrender



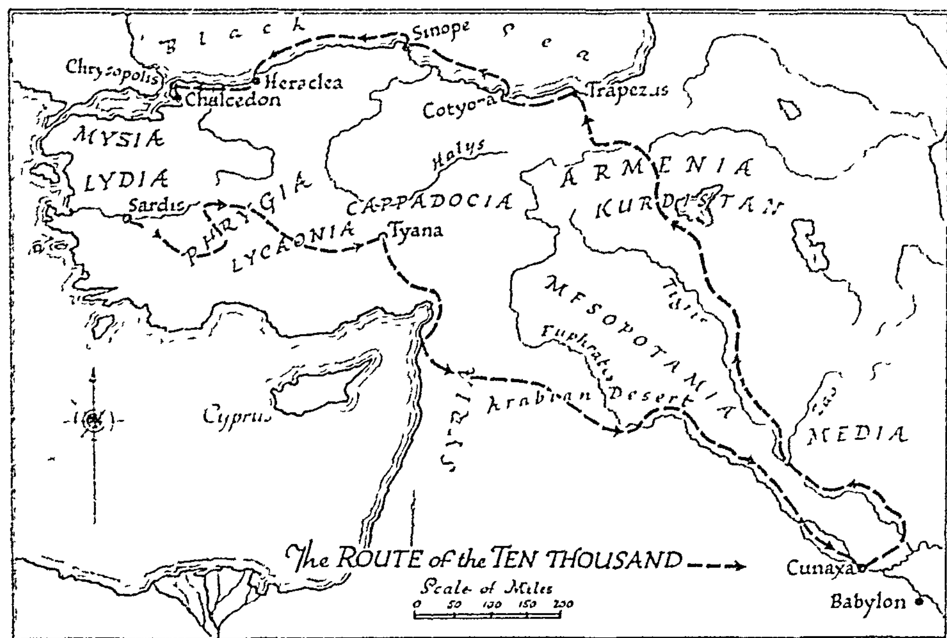
ALCIBIADES
(*Vatican, Rome*)

Corinth and Thebes wished to obliterate the Tyrant City, and sell her citizens as slaves But Sparta refused 'to put out the eye of Greece' The Long Walls were pulled down to the sound of music, and 'freedom was restored' to the cities of Greece

The Empire of Sparta. Athens had held the centre of the Greek stage for three generations She had freed the Asiatic towns from Persia, she had put down piracy and encouraged trade Under her leadership the Greek spirit had won its greatest triumphs in literature, architecture, and art Men grew richer and enjoyed an easier and fuller life But Athenian policy had antagonized the Greek love of autonomy, and the cities looked to Sparta to give them back the right of managing their own affairs. The Spartans answered their hopes by abandoning the Greeks of Asia to the Persians, and establishing Spartan governors to maintain the rule of their oligarchical friends in the cities they had freed They handed Athens over to nobles who governed with such brutality that they were called the Thirty Tyrants They took Thebes by treachery, and ruled their old allies with cruelty They quarrelled with Elis, broke up the city of Mantinea into villages, and went to war with Corinth Everywhere they showed themselves incapable of ruling, except by force and fraud But in spite of political failures their army made them dreaded by all Greece

The Ten Thousand The long wars produced swarms of fighting men, who were glad to sell their services to a good paymaster The never-ending struggles between oligarchs and democrats drove the fiercest spirits from their homes many went overseas and fought as mercenaries for any king, satrap, or chieftain who needed their services The Persian prince, Cyrus, who had helped Lysander to overthrow Athens, recognized the military value of the hoplite He enlisted a force of ten thousand men from all over Greece to help him in his attempt to wrest the tiara from his brother Cyrus's troops marched through Asia Minor and northern Syria to the Euphrates They crossed the edge of the desert, marvelling at the wild asses, ostriches, and bustards which peopled its treeless wastes, and advanced to within sixty miles of Babylon At the battle of Cunaxa the hoplites smashed the motley hosts opposed to them But Cyrus fell in the moment of victory. The Greeks were left to find their way home as best they could Their generals were massacred treacherously They possessed neither maps nor guides They had no bond of union except that they spoke the same language and shared a common contempt for Oriental barbarians As free men they met and elected an Athenian volunteer, called Xenophon, to lead them back to Greece Xenophon had no power beyond the fact that the Ten Thousand had chosen him as their general Yet by tact, cheerfulness, courage, and common sense he

carried out his seemingly impossible task. He led the Ten Thousand up the Tigris valley, through the wild mountains of Kurdistan and Armenia to the Black Sea, whence they could sail or march home. During their six hundred miles' retreat they held the Persian army at bay, forced the passage of narrow defiles and swift rivers, defeated Kurdish mountaineers,



and struggled heroically through the bitter snows of Armenia. The great march was accomplished through the skill of Xenophon and the self-imposed discipline of his men. It showed conclusively that a Greek army, well trained and intelligently handled, could go where it liked in the Persian Empire.

Decline of Sparta. Ambitious Spartans were encouraged by Xenophon's exploit to break with Persia. They attacked the territories of the western satraps, and won some victories on land. But the Persian fleet, led by an Athenian admiral, beat the Spartan ships and pushed across the Aegean. Athens had broken the power of the Thirty Tyrants, the Persians helped her to rebuild the Long Walls and recover some of her old allies. Sparta alienated her natural supporters, and failed to keep pace with changes in the art of war. Her hoplites were beaten by more lightly armed mercenary troops, who wore down their slow-moving opponents by guerrilla tactics. Through the courage of Pelopidas Thebes recovered her freedom, and allied herself with Athens, who formed a

second maritime confederacy, including Byzantium, Rhodes, and Euboea The Thebans improved their military training and tactics, and repulsed Spartan invasions. the Athenians defeated the fleets which tried to cut them off from Black Sea corn The different cities exhausted themselves in fratricidal strife Fortunately Persia was weakened by the revolts of ambitious satraps, and could not profit by the petty local rivalries which were the chief interest of Greek politicians and generals

Supremacy of Thebes. Except for Pindar, Thebes had produced no great writer; she was looked upon as a city of sporting nobles, who enjoyed hard exercise, good food, and stubborn fighting When Sparta and Athens made peace she stood out and prepared to dispute the traditional leadership of Sparta on land The Theban general Pelopidas and his friend, Epaminondas, who 'knew more and talked less' than his fellows, trained their hoplites to fight in formation fourteen deep. When Epaminondas met the Peloponnesian army at Leuctra, he used his cavalry to harass the enemy, and then smashed the Spartan line with his new phalanx The ruler of Thessaly sent his troops to aid the victorious Thebans, and the Peloponnesian forces were driven within the isthmus Epaminondas followed up his advantage The poorer classes in the Peloponnesian cities were encouraged to drive out the oligarchs, who ruled in the Spartan interest Arcadia was freed and formed into a federal state Messene was built as a capital for the helots and farmers of Messenia, and exiles returned to it from all parts of the Greek world, to restore the land of their forefathers Sparta, whose citizen population had been reduced seriously by warfare and economic troubles, was deprived of all her territory outside Laconia Epaminondas established Theban influence in Thessaly, and interfered in the family quarrels of the Macedonian royal house, in order to thwart Athenian efforts to control Amphipolis Pelopidas took the Macedonian prince Philip back to Thebes as hostage for his country's friendship Having imposed his will on northern Greece, Epaminondas built a navy, which harassed the Black Sea trade of Athens, and robbed her of many allies For ten years Thebes was the greatest power in the Greek world But she had no clear policy for uniting the cities which acknowledged her leadership. She depended entirely on the abilities of Epaminondas and Pelopidas When they fell in battle, the one at Mantinea) the other at Cynoscephalae in Thessaly, her allies gradually fell away and her power dwindled

The Disunion of Greece. In the course of a century the leadership of Greece had passed from Sparta to Athens, back to Sparta again, and then to Thebes The danger threatened by Darius and Xerxes had united the Greeks for a few years Once it had passed, the old passionate love

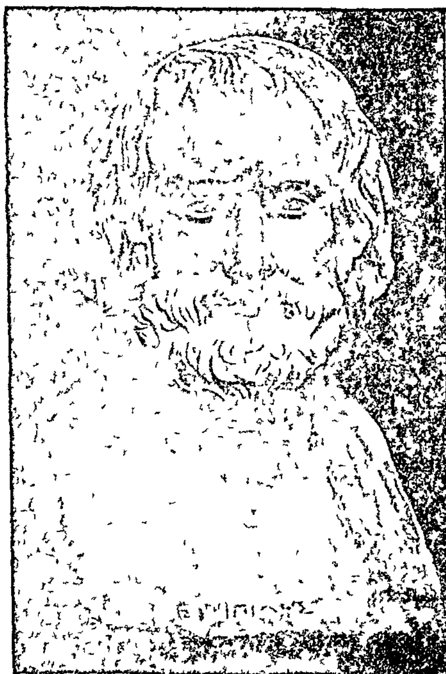
of self-government reasserted itself. Increased wealth and prosperous trade could not reconcile the cities of the Delian confederacy to pay their contributions to Athens, or to submit to her mild interference with their government. They resented still more bitterly the harsher control of Sparta and Thebes. Each city liked to feel that it could do exactly what it liked within its walls and the surrounding patch of country which supplied its needs. The hold of Sparta on Laconia and of Athens on Attica was permanent, but it was difficult for Thebes to force the other cities of Boeotia to acknowledge her rule. Epaminondas's skill united the Arcadians round their new great city of Megalopolis as a federal capital: but the agreement was short-lived, and Tegea and Mantinea quickly reasserted their ancient rivalry. In Thessaly the great nobles ruled their estates as independent princes. Small districts like Phocis, Locris, and Elis refused to combine with their neighbours. Oversea colonies usually retained a sentimental attachment for the mother-city. They shared her religious festivals, and sometimes sent ships and soldiers to help her when hard pressed by a rival. But they guarded their independence as jealously as the mainland Greeks, and rejected any attempt of the mother-city to bring them under her rule. The efforts of the Asiatic cities to form a confederacy against the Persian kings failed miserably: the representatives of the different cities met to discuss plans, they talked brilliantly, but they had not the practical skill necessary to execute a common policy. Since the great days of Marathon, Himera, and Plataea the Greeks had felt that they were a race set apart from the men of the outer world, whom they labelled barbarians. But no individual state or statesman could devise a plan to unite them against their foreign enemies, or save them from their disastrous tradition of fighting their neighbours on the other side of the hill.

Civil Strife. It might have been possible to unite the cities, if they had all approved the same form of self-government. But there was no uniformity either in mainland or oversea Greece. Even kingship managed to survive in Sparta, long after her neighbours had passed to the rule of oligarchs, democrats, or tyrants; distant Macedonia and barbarous Epirus also remained true to their royal houses. In most Greek cities there were never less than two parties, who were at one another's throats continually. Every citizen had a burning love for the temples, bazaars, wrestling-ground, theatre, wayside shrines, and sepulchres of his particular city. He lost them all if his party was defeated and he was driven into exile. This intense devotion to his native place kindled a furious hatred of his neighbours who wished to govern in a way he disliked. Party feeling grew more and more embittered in the Peloponnesian wars. The Greeks were not naturally cruel, but they never acquired sufficient political

sense to overcome the corroding influence of faction As Thucydides wrote:

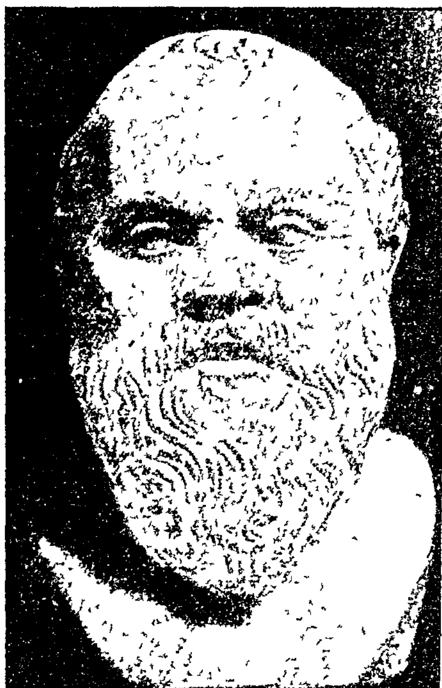
> There was no word binding enough, nor oath terrible enough to reconcile enemies Each man was strong only in the conviction that nothing was secure There was every crime which man might be supposed to perpetrate in revenge, who had been governed not wisely, but tyrannically, and now had the oppressor at his mercy. They were carried away by this blind rage into the extremes of pitiless cruelty Frantic energy was the true quality of a man Revenge was dearer than self-preservation Every form of death was to be seen The father slew the son, and the suppliants were torn from the temples and slain

Growth of Philosophy Though Greeks were divided by political jealousy and party struggles, they were united by ties of religion, art, literature, sport, and amusement The men of rival states had a great deal in common in their everyday life The Spartans always excepted, they loved to talk about every side of this varied existence The Egyptian priest told Solon, 'You Greeks are always children,' and assuredly they had the child's uncontrollable curiosity They were thrilled to know things, and still more the reasons for them If a man could think and talk well he was sure of an audience The states were tied hand and foot by political prejudices, but there were no intellectual barriers Traditional morality taught the Greek that his duty lay in serving the city in which he was born The sophists made him examine the foundations of right and wrong and weigh traditional values by the test of reason Though some harm was done by too clever teachers, the Greek began to see that he was an individual, not merely an irresponsible unit of the citizen mass, and that he must not shelter himself behind the opinions of the majority As the sophists wandered from Sicily to the Peloponnese and from Athens to the Aegean, they stirred men to study moral and political philosophy Athens was the great centre of higher thought The loss of her empire gave her a broader vision of intellectual problems, and, as she welcomed teachers from every state, she spread their doctrines over the Greek world Euripides made the stage a great instrument for



EURIPIDES
(*Naples Museum*)

rousing mankind to consider the problems of conduct In such plays as the *Trojan Women* he forced his audience to sympathize with the conquered cause, and he pleaded for the better treatment of women and slaves Like tragedy, comedy discarded its traditional themes, and no longer satirized the leading citizens of Athens Instead of dealing with political questions the comic poets wrote plays of everyday life, where types of human weakness and folly gave ample food for amusement to the audience Outside the theatre Isocrates taught his pupils not merely to be good orators, who could control the Athenian jurymen, but to enrich their minds with a full knowledge of history and politics In his later years he strove to create a public opinion, which should insist on Greeks laying aside their differences and uniting to form a strong nation The young men who sat at Plato's feet in the Academy were not trained to achieve success in a democratic state, they learnt to classify systems of government without patriotic prejudice, study the working of political laws, and determine conscientiously the basis of moral action



SOCRATES
(*Naples Museum*)

Socrates. Plato had learnt to reason fearlessly from his master, Socrates The intelligent aristocrat who visited Periclean Athens would have noticed the sturdy form and snub-nosed face of a poorly clad stonemason, who contrasted sharply with the graceful Athenian nobles: and he would have been shocked to see how many well-born youths crowded round this homely citizen, and listened to the words that poured from his thick lips If he joined the group he would learn at once why young men were fascinated by Socrates five minutes later he would know why most old men hated him The stonemason took ordinary topics and treated them with intelligent reasoning, which forced his audience to look at accepted rules from new points of view He asked question after question and, by his relentless logic, compelled his victim to realize that he had no firm knowledge of sincerely held beliefs Against traditional dogmas he

set up reason as the guide of thought and action He risked his life by following his conscience rather than the orders of the Thirty Tyrants When the democracy was restored he went on asking questions, which shook his interlocutor's belief in the Olympian gods his ancestors had worshipped, and in political institutions, such as the lot, which formed the corner-stone of the constitution He was tried for impiety and condemned by a majority of the jury. His death stirred his disciple, Plato, to compose the *Apology*, the most moving prose work in all pagan literature. Socrates wrote nothing himself, but by his talk and his questions he altered for ever the thought of the Western world He made men think for themselves, use words with a definite meaning, prize moral courage above physical, strive for what was useful to their fellows, reject evil and injustice, even when sanctioned by tradition and religion, and accept fearlessly the responsibility for their reasoned beliefs

You should read Jowett's translation of Plato's Apology, Crito, *and possibly* Phaedo *If you like historical novels try Naomi Mitchison's* Black Sparta *Gilbert Murray's translations will show you the aims of Euripides*

DATES

B C
431 Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.
429 Death of Pericles
415 Athenian Expedition to Sicily.
404 Surrender of Athens
401 Battle of Cunaxa
399 Death of Socrates
393 Rebuilding of the Long Walls
371 Battle of Leuctra
362 Death of Epaminondas.

CHAPTER IV

ALEXANDER AND HIS SUCCESSORS

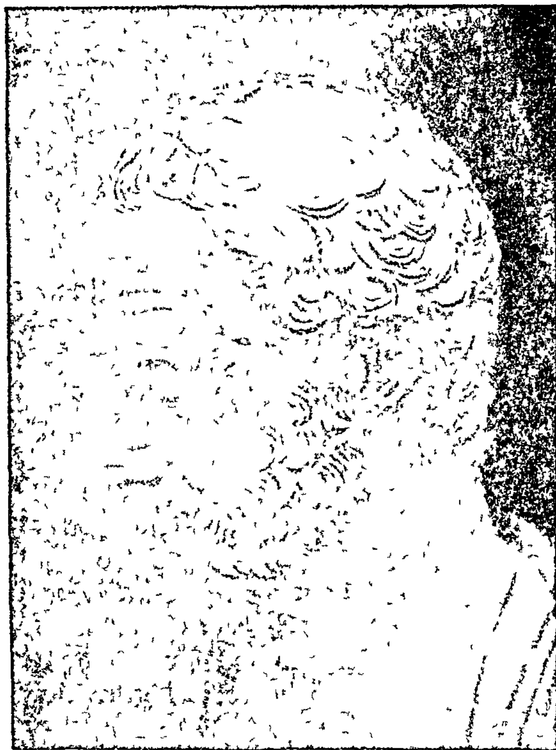
THE hoplite had proved himself the best fighting man in the eastern half of the Mediterranean world But he had outgrown the city states which had produced him The military art had become more complicated and exacting, wars could no longer be fought with the old citizen militia Sparta's man-power dwindled, the Athenian mind was turning from military glory to the achievements of literature, oratory, and philosophy Thebes remained formidable, but, after Epaminondas's death, she produced no general or statesman to maintain her supremacy Continuous fighting and revolution had produced hordes of soldiers and exiles, ready to sell their services to the highest bidder There was no room for them in Greece with its unfertile soil and scanty mineral wealth The exploits of Prince Cyrus and Xenophon had proved the worth of these mercenaries Commercial cities, like Athens and Corinth, hired them to fight their battles. The ordinary man could not give the time to learn the new warfare, his political leaders were no longer capable of leading him against professional generals, who knew the art of handling mixed bodies of light and heavy infantry, skirmishers, cavalry, and archers In Sicily and Great Greece the science of fortification and the engines of siege warfare were improved Inevitably the citizen soldier, enrolled for a summer campaign, gave way to the trained mercenary, who served year after year, and knew the practical details of his exacting service

I The Work of Philip

Thessaly produced excellent cavalry, and possessed a useful coastline and defensible land frontiers, she might have become the dominant military power, if she had found a leader to unite her quarrelsome nobles North of her lay Macedonia, a country of landowners and small farmers Her kings ruled at Pella in the old fashion, unhampered by legal restrictions; their power depended on the loyalty of the great families. They took part in the Olympian games, and welcomed to their court poets and artists, like Euripides and Scopas But the men of Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Sparta looked on the Macedonian as not quite Greek The country was often weakened by quarrels between members of the royal

house, and the southern cities interfered in support of rival candidates for the throne

Making of the Macedonian Army. Prince Philip, who had learnt warfare as a hostage at Thebes, secured the crown after one of these dynastic struggles He was a man of intense mental and physical energy, and he determined to make his country the leading power in Greece Like the Thebans, his infantry fought in a dense phalanx, he trained them to handle a longer pike, and to manœuvre in a looser formation, which was not upset by broken ground He recruited excellent cavalry from the Macedonian farmers, and built siege engines on the Sicilian model His nobles produced two good generals in Parmenio and Antipater, and a number of gallant and hard-fighting officers His troops combined the patriotism of the citizen militia with the skill of the mercenary bands. Philip created a professional and national army, which was strengthened by first-rate light troops from the fierce mountaineers on the Macedonian borders



DEMOSTHENES
(*Vatican, Rome*)

Supremacy of King Philip. The first task which confronted Philip was the conquest of the wild tribes that lay between his hereditary kingdom and the Danube After bitter campaigning he forced their chieftains to acknowledge his overlordship Then, with a veteran army at his back, he set about winning recognition as the champion of Greek civilization He knew that Athens represented all that was greatest in art, literature, and thought, and he was unwearied in courting her goodwill The two powers might have worked together, Philip could have subdued the states which had hampered the Athenians in the past, while they guarded his coasts with their fleet and expanded their overseas trade But the traditions of Marathon and Salamis were revived by Demosthenes, who was greater

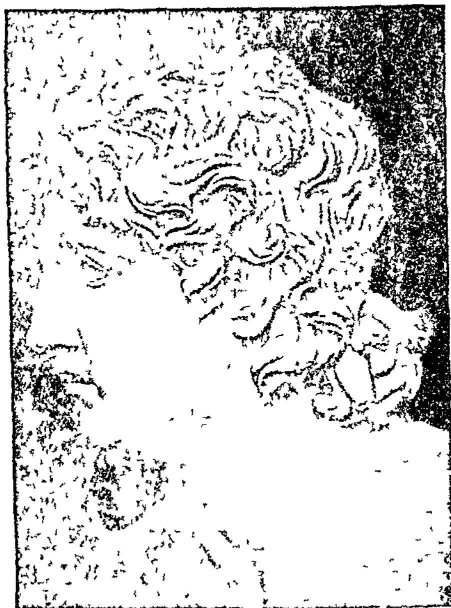
as an orator than as a statesman. His brilliant speeches prevented Macedonia and Athens co-operating They quarrelled over Amphipolis and its mines Macedonia was a poor country, and Philip needed mineral wealth to pay his growing army There was a fiercer struggle over the control of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, which were vital to the Athenian corn trade with the Black Sea Demosthenes won a diplomatic victory by keeping Byzantium as an ally, in spite of Philip's formidable siege-train In central Greece the king was opposed by the armies of Phocis and Thebes, but he established his power south of Thermopylae, smashed the Phocians, and, as president of the Pythian games, presented the bay-leaves of victory to the athletes of Greece He defeated the Thracian king, annexed his territory, seized many of the ports, and built a small fleet

Chaeronea and its Sequel. Demosthenes's greatest achievement was to unite the armies of Thebes and Athens against Philip But it proved a fleeting triumph At Chaeronea the free states of Greece made their last real stand against the Macedonian nation in arms Philip's eighteen-year-old son, Alexander, led the cavalry charge which decided the day Demosthenes and his fellow-citizens fled, the picked troops of Thebes fell fighting to the last man. With the rout of Chaeronea the military importance of the free cities ended They had no power outside the few square miles round their walls They still clung to their cherished autonomy, but they were only free to govern themselves, if they abstained from opposing the wishes of the northern monarchy

Preparations for the Persian War. Greece lay at Philip's feet All the cities, except Sparta, sent representatives to meet him at Corinth To them Philip proclaimed his policy of leading Greece against the Persian Empire There were sentimental and patriotic reasons for the war, it would prove the unity of Greece, and exact vengeance for the crimes of Darius and Xerxes But Philip was a practical man He saw that the land was greatly over-populated, fresh territory must be won for Greek colonists and commerce The representatives at Corinth assented to his plans, and he pushed forward his preparations rapidly. Parmenio was sent eastward with an advance force to secure the coast of northern Asia Minor, while the king returned to Macedonia to organize the main army Everything was ready for the invasion, when Philip quarrelled furiously with Alexander's mother, Olympias, a savage and resolute Balkan princess She hired a disgruntled Macedonian to avenge her wrongs, and Philip was assassinated

II Alexander the Great

Alexander took up his father's work at the age of twenty-two Though Olympias's jealousy had estranged him from Philip after Chaeronea, his training fitted him for his inherited task of guiding Macedonia and Greece to the conquest of the East His fellow-countrymen admired him as a splendid prince and a dashing cavalry leader From the great philosopher Aristotle, whom Philip had made his tutor, he had learnt to understand the ideals of the Greek city states His keen mind had absorbed the poetry of Homer, and had been sharpened by the scientific methods which Aristotle applied to the study of man and nature It was impossible to despise him as Demosthenes had professed to despise his father or call him 'the barbarian of Pella' He modelled himself on Achilles, the great northern warrior of legend, who had been the champion of Greece in its first recorded struggle against Asia



Arndt-Bruckmann

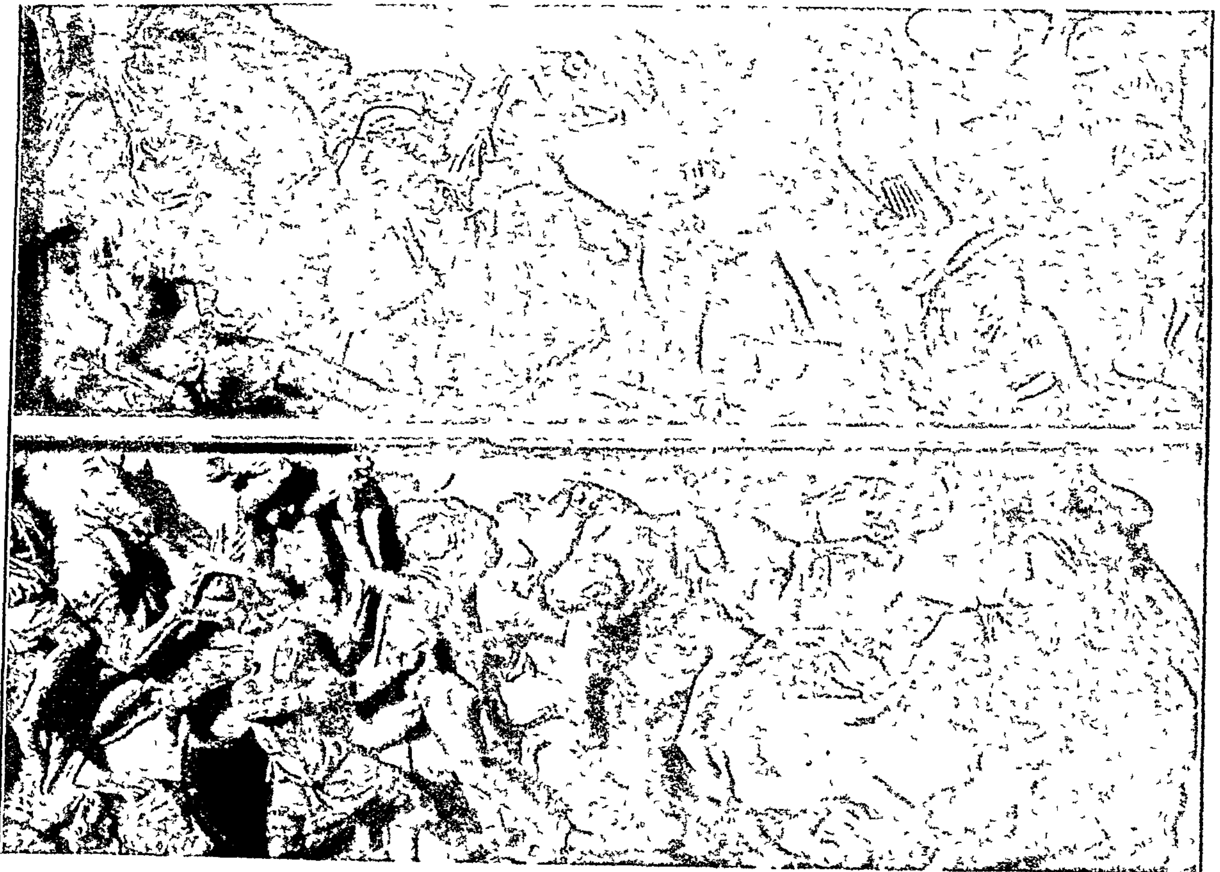
ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander's first Campaigns. Demosthenes and the men who wished the cities to recover their old freedom believed that Philip's work might die with him But Alexander's speed broke all opposition He subdued the mountaineers of the north and west, crossed the Danube to overawe the nomads, and returned to crush the rebellious cities of the south He destroyed Thebes, sparing only the temples and the house of the poet Pindar, he left Sparta to her sulky isolation, he treated Athens with the courtesy which Philip had always shown to the intellectual capital of Greece Like his father, he was acknowledged Captain-General at Corinth, and received contingents from Athens and the rest He left Antipater with sufficient troops to overcome resistance throughout the Balkan Peninsula, and crossed the Dardanelles to join Parmenio

Resources of Persia and Macedonia. To men who had forgotten the expedition of the Ten Thousand Persia must have seemed immensely stronger than Macedonia For two centuries her prestige had stood very high, in spite of revolts in the outlying satrapies The courage of the Persian nobility was unquestioned There was splendid fighting material

among many of the races who acknowledged the rule of the Great King. The treasury was rich, and there was immense wealth in the eastern capitals with which to hire Greek hoplites There was an excellent system of roads, along which reinforcements could be brought The Phoenician towns provided a strong fleet, which was anxious to fight its hereditary rivals The very size of the empire seemed to guarantee that it would recover from defeat in a distant province, as it had from the revolts of Egypt and the western satraps Macedonia had been a powerful state for less than twenty years Her navy was negligible, the Greek cities provided few ships to help their Captain-General; supplies and reinforcements had to be sent across the Dardanelles Macedonia's greatest strength lay in its well-equipped, professional army, its national spirit made it formidable to its motley opponents, whose sole tie was allegiance to an alien ruler But the decisive factor lay in the personalities of the two kings Darius III was a blameless and irresolute nonentity, who had been placed on the throne after a disputed succession Alexander was the greatest soldier of the ancient world His beauty, his personal charm, and his fantastic courage made him the idol of his soldiers His father had bequeathed him a wonderful instrument of warfare; by inspiring leadership and brilliant improvisation he turned it to new and strange uses in unknown lands He had matchless endurance and unbending resolution, and he was served by a band of brilliant generals, such as Parmenio and his son Philotas, Antipater, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Craterus, Seleucus, and Nearchus

The Overthrow of Darius. Alexander followed up the beginning Parmenio had made in Asia Minor, and drove Darius's Greek and Persian generals before him with startling swiftness When he invaded Syria the Great King came to trample down the invaders by weight of numbers But at Issus Alexander's cavalry broke the enemy line, Darius ran away, and the Persian host scattered Alexander moved southward, and, having poor support from the Greek fleets, was forced to reduce the enemy's naval bases from the land He stormed Tyre, after a memorable display of tenacity, improvisation, and engineering skill, and so freed himself from the menace of Phoenician sea-power Egypt chafed under the intolerant and intolerable rule of the Persian fire-worshippers, who had killed the sacred bull of Apis, and in derision set up the ass as the sacred animal of the Nile valley. She acknowledged Alexander and crowned him Pharaoh with her ancestral rites The submission of Cyrene and her sister cities brought the Macedonian power up to the frontiers of Carthage's allies Alexander had an excellent eye for a site, and he founded Alexandria as the commercial centre of the eastern Mediterranean, which should transfer commercial leadership from Phoenicia to Greece

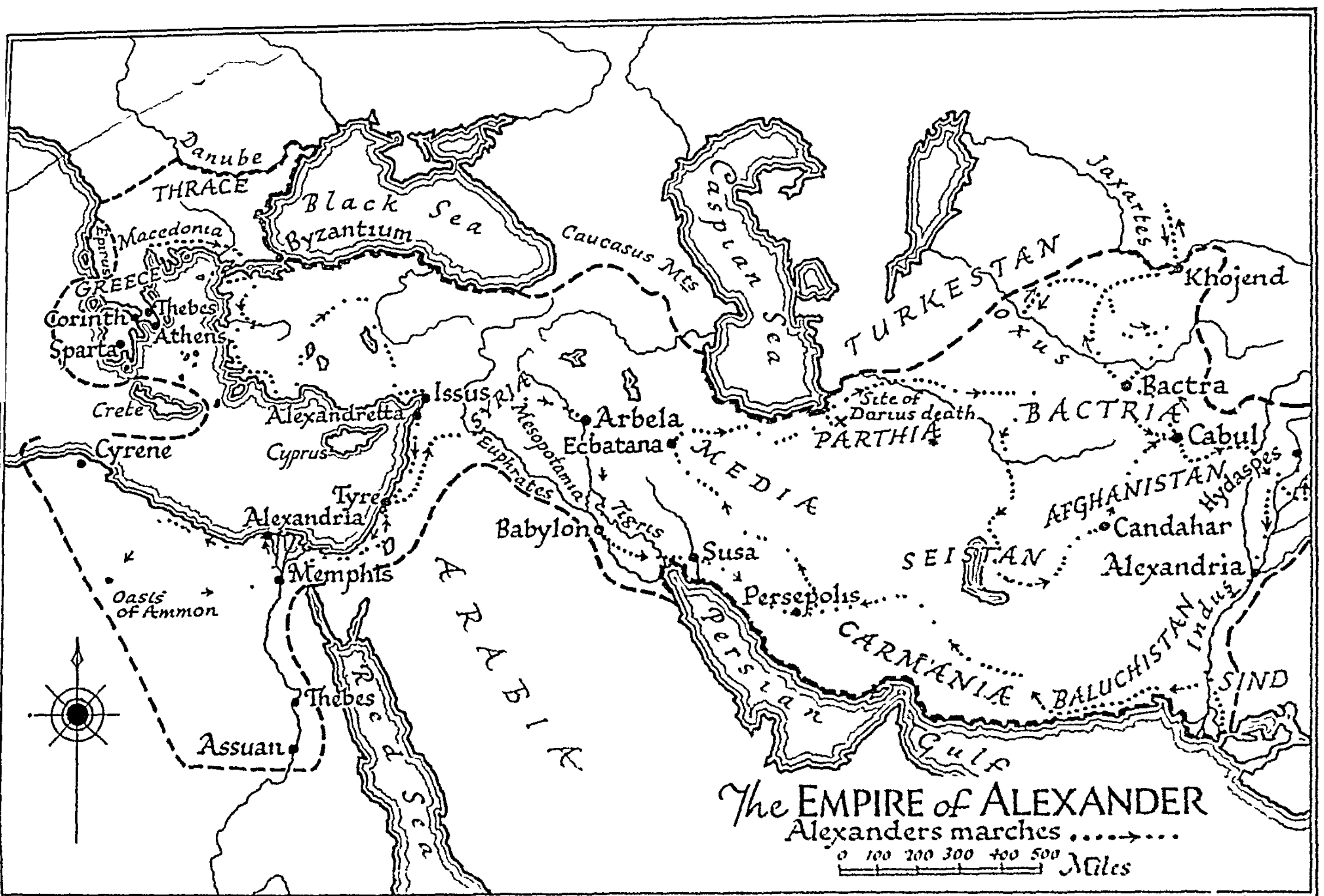


ALEXANDER IN BATTLE, FROM THE SIDON SARCOPHAGUS
(Ottoman Museum, Constantinople)

After organizing the government of the Nile valley he marched north again Crossing Euphrates, he found Darius awaiting him near Arbela with an army whose cavalry alone outnumbered all his forces It was drawn from Persia, Parthia, Greece, the Caucasus, Turkestan, the Caspian lands, Mesopotamia, and India Its huge numbers and its possession of elephants and scythed-chariots confronted Alexander with new problems of warfare In spite of all difficulties he routed the foe, and again Darius fled After a long and bitter pursuit Alexander came up with the fugitive, only to find that he had been murdered by his kinsman, Bessus

Conquest of the East. Darius's death left Alexander in possession of the western half of the Persian Empire He was now the Great King, besides being Captain-General of Greece, King of Macedonia, and Pharaoh of Egypt He had won a position such as no conqueror had held before him He did not treat the conquered as mere subjects of Greece and Macedonia, but appointed able Persians to responsible posts in the army and the government of the provinces Many of the Macedonian nobles resented this liberal policy, plots were hatched, and their discovery led to the deaths of Parmenio and Philotas But the loyalty of the soldiers remained firm, as Alexander advanced farther into the unknown, the army became more devoted than ever to his cause and more confident in his fortune His route lay through Persia, Parthia, Media, Seistan, Baluchistan, and Afghanistan to the Hindu Kush, and thence to Bactria He crossed the Oxus, routed the nomads of Turkestan beyond the Jaxartes, and founded Uttermost Alexandria as the last outpost of Greek civilization at the end of the world His troops followed him unhesitatingly over mountain and desert, forcing snowbound passes and broad floods, and facing every kind of warfare After suppressing rebellions in some of the new provinces Alexander captured and crucified Bessus, and became undisputed lord of Cyrus's old empire

The Invasion of India. Alexander's campaigns after Arbela were waged in countries outside the range of Greek geographical knowledge Of southern India, Malaya, and China he knew nothing, he thought that the Caspian Sea, Indus, and Ganges emptied their waters into the Ocean stream, which circled the east and passed north of Europe and south of Africa to join the western stream of the Atlantic It was natural that he should determine to bring the few remaining nations under his rule, and to unite the whole eastern world under the arms of Macedonia and the civilization of Greece As he moved south there went with him a host of traders, mechanics, engineers, craftsmen, secretaries, clerks, writers, teachers, musicians, doctors, and all the rest that made up Greek life. In India these vigorous and sanguine Europeans were confronted with an old and orderly civilization strong in a religion which thought more of


The EMPIRE of ALEXANDER
Alexanders marches
0 100 200 300 400 500 Miles
Danube
THRACE
Epirus
Macedonia
GREECE
Corinth
Thebes
Athens
Sparta
Crete
Black Sea
Byzantium
Caucasus Mts
Caspian Sea
TURKESTAN
Jaxartes
Khojend
Oxus
Bactra
BACTRIA
Cabul
Site of Darius death
PARTHIA
Issus
SYRIA
Mesopotamia
Arbela
Ecbatana
MEDIA
Alexandretta
Cyprus
Cyrene
Euphrates
Tigris
Tyre
Alexandria
Babylon
Susa
Memphis
ARABIA
Persepolis
SEISTAN
AFGHANISTAN
Candahar
Hydaspes
Alexandria
Oasis of Ammon
CARMANIA
BALUCHISTAN
Indus
SIND
Persian Gulf
Thebes
Red Sea
Assuan

mystic speculation and the contemplation of the divine than of the triumphs of the flesh or the glories of the arts. Alexander defeated their chivalrous king, Porus, in spite of elephants and swollen rivers He founded cities, celebrated athletic games, had Attic tragedies acted, and built altars to the Olympian gods But he made no impression on the Brahmans, who believed their way of life was higher than any they could learn from Greece The army showed its usual superiority over mountain tribes and plain-dwellers alike, and Afghanistan, the Punjab, and Sind were conquered But when Alexander wished to round off his world by annexing the Ganges valley, his faithful soldiers refused to follow him They loathed the Indian climate, they were three thousand miles from Macedonia, and they would go no farther Their invincible general accepted defeat at their hands, and set his face towards the west

The Return to Babylon. Having reached the shore of tidal Ocean at the mouths of Indus, Alexander decided to explore its possibilities for extending and consolidating his empire He sent the bulk of his troops under Craterus through the northern hills, while he led a smaller force across the dreadful sands of southern Baluchistan and Carmania, to support his fleet Under Nearchus's command the Greeks and Macedonians braved the terrors of the unknown seas In spite of tides, the monsoon, spouting whales, fish-eating savages, and a woeful lack of supplies, they reached the Persian Gulf and coasted up it to the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris The forces of Alexander, Craterus, and Nearchus were safely reunited The king and his companions went up to Babylon, which became once more a capital city To it came the officials of his distant governors and all who had complaints against them Antipater forwarded his reports on the doings of mainland Greece and the islands Olympias sent her friends with complaints against Antipater The cities and tribes of the west realized that a new power had arisen, and envoys came to Babylon from Carthage, Italy, Gaul, and Spain

Organization of the Empire. Alexander's old tutor, Aristotle, had taught him that between Greek and barbarian there was a great gulf fixed Parmenio, Antipater, Philotas, and the like believed that the Macedonian was the natural superior of the Greek Alexander swept these differences away, and aimed in his government at breaking down racial barriers and fusing East and West To this end he enrolled Persian warriors in the phalanx, and enlisted in his army the best fighters of the nations he conquered He appointed Persians to rule some of the satrapies. He was no bigot in matters of religion, he visited the oasis of Ammon, he sacrificed to Melkarth, he poured libations to the Indian river-gods, he tolerated the Magian worship of the Persians He wished to unite the different nations, and allowed himself to be proclaimed a god

so that even the greatest lover of freedom might not be ashamed to serve under a divine ruler. Constant warfare left him little time for laying down the details of government; in the main he kept the old arrangements of his Achaemenid predecessors, but administered them with fresh vigour. Incompetent and peculating officials were punished; fresh roads were built to supplement the old post-system; power was divided between the governing, financial and military chiefs. Everywhere men were made to feel that they were responsible to him alone, and that he was ready to listen to grievances. But though he respected old customs, he opened the subject lands to Greek influence. He founded cities throughout his dominions, and the excellence of his choice is shown by the way in which Alexandria, Alexandretta, Candahar, Khojend, Cabul, and many others have survived. To these cities came the Greek trader with his wares and the Greek teacher with his philosophy. They mingled their blood with that of the natives, and produced the union of European and Asiatic which their ruler had proclaimed at the great marriage feast at Susa between Macedonian generals and Persian princesses.

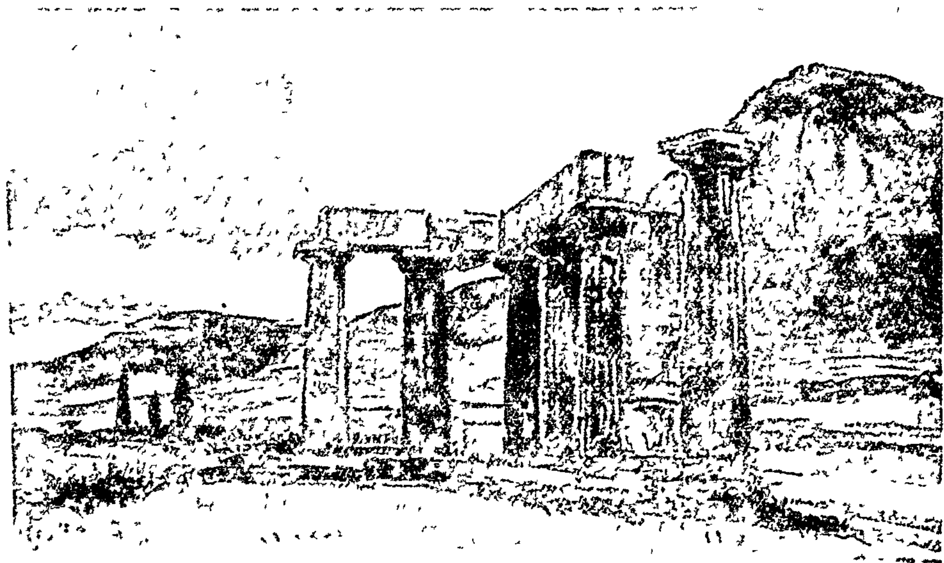
The Death of Alexander. In ten years Alexander had conquered and largely recast the Achaemenid empire. From his capital at Babylon he prepared to extend his rule over western lands, which the Persian had never known. He equipped one fleet to sail to Arabia and another to deal with the western Mediterranean. He reorganized the army and incorporated light-armed troops in the phalanx; he sent the time-expired men back to Europe with Craterus. The exact scope of his new design is unknown; he was not fated to carry it out. Wounds and privations had wasted his splendid physique. A drinking bout brought on a fatal fever, and he died in the old palace of Nebuchadrezzar at the age of thirty-three.

III THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER

Alexander's premature death is one of the turning-points of history. There was no son to whom he could hand on the torch he had received from Philip. Only ten years had passed since he had routed Darius at Issus, and the medley of races he had conquered had not learnt to co-operate as members of a single state. It took twenty years of nearly continuous warfare to decide whether his empire should endure. Perdiccas, Antipater, and Antigonus in turn strove to hold the conquered lands together; but victory went to the forces of disunion.

Greece. Once their Captain-General was dead the city states of Greece struck another blow for autonomy. Demosthenes abandoned the peace policy he had favoured during Alexander's lifetime. The citizen and mercenary troops of Athens won some successes with their Aetolian

allies but, when Craterus's veterans joined Antipater, the confederates collapsed at Crannon Though no territory was annexed, Macedonia held the south at her mercy, by garrisoning important sites and giving her friends control of the city governments Demosthenes committed suicide. He had seen the overthrow of the ideals to which he had devoted faithfully his great powers there was nothing to live for, if Athens was no longer free to order her government as she wished, and to lead other



THE RUINS OF CORINTH
The remains of the temple shown are all that is left of the ancient city

cities, as she had done in the past The superiority of the Macedonian army and navy had been proved decisively It was only when the northern monarchy was weakened by internal strife that the southern cities renewed the fight Some of them formed themselves into leagues, of which the most important were the Achaean in the Peloponnese and the Aetolian on the north-west coast But the federal idea came too late in the development of Greece, jealous disunion remained the characteristic of the cities Corinth grew rich commercially Thebes arose again from her ruins Athens became a university town, respected throughout the civilized world as a centre of learning and art Sparta's citizens dwindled in numbers, till desperate measures were taken to restore her shrunken fortunes The political leadership of the widely scattered Greek communities passed to the Successors of Alexander

Macedonia The old kingdom of Philip remained powerful for two

centuries But it had small natural resources; its man-power had been wasted by continuous warfare, and great damage was done by the invasions of Gaulish tribes from the north-west The nobles had largely disappeared, worn out by the conquest of the eastern world The farmers wanted peace, they refused to enlist for long service, and became once more a short-term militia, unwilling to take part in wars of aggression Greek mercenaries were employed, and Gauls were hired from their new home in the Balkan highlands After Olympias had been killed and the house of Antipater had lost power, the crown went to Antigonus Gonatas, grandson of Alexander's marshal, Antigonus He won the allegiance of his countrymen, and they remained faithful to his line till its overthrow in the second century New powers grew strong along the west coast, the kings of Epirus and the federal cities of Aetolia had vigorous armies the rough tribes of Illyria began to control the Adriatic with their pirate ships In the Aegean Rhodes created a powerful navy The Macedonian kings overseas made frequent attempts to gain a footing in mainland Greece But Antigonus and his descendants held their own By their garrisons in Corinth and Euboea they checked the danger of the Greek cities uniting against them The towns of Macedonia took on the civilization of the southern cities they had conquered Greek philosophers, historians, and poets came to the court of Antigonus They taught a gentler way of life, no longer were strength in battle and victory over the stranger the sole ideals of the Macedonian Men began to feel that there is dignity in being self-reliant and bearing the caprices of fortune· that happiness depends not on possessions or outward circumstances, but on the inner self, that even the animals have a claim on the human heart Tradition asserts that the preaching of a kinder life was not confined to the Greeks whom Antigonus and his successors welcomed A Buddhist missionary is said to have visited Macedonia, and repaid Alexander's invasion of India by teaching the doctrine that human life is illusion and peace lies in following the Way of Holiness

Egypt. Ptolemy was the first of Alexander's marshals to set up a separate kingdom against the attempts of Perdiccas and Antipater to preserve the unity of the empire He was a vigorous, wise, patient prince, utterly loyal to his leader, but he was convinced that it was impossible to fuse races and create a single world-monarchy His previous service in Egypt had shown him the strength of native tradition in that old land, and the possibility of defending the Nile valley with an adequate force of Macedonians, mercenaries, and sailors He decided to be an independent ruler It took forty years of hard fighting and ceaseless intrigue to establish Ptolemy's position. but, when he died, he left a strong kingdom His son Philadelphus was hailed as lord of 13,333 cities,

and his descendants ruled Egypt for two and a half centuries Ptolemy deserved his title of Soter, or Saviour Though he was forced to rest his power on Greek and Macedonian arms, he respected the religious beliefs of the Egyptians, and worked for their social and economic prosperity. Alexandria, where Ptolemy buried Alexander's body, became the richest and most populous city of the East To it thronged Greeks, Phoenicians, Syrians, Macedonians, Jews; all the trading peoples of the Mediterranean knew the great Pharos or lighthouse which showed the way to its harbour It was a centre for the merchandise of old Greece, Carthage, Italy, Spain, and Syria, and it exported the products of Egypt to Morocco, China, India, and central Asia Its wealth was of great importance to Ptolemy's treasury, and it eclipsed the ancient cities of the Pharaohs But the greater part of the population still lived the life of their forefathers in the Nile valley, and Ptolemy did not found Greek cities there as Alexander would have done. Instead, he improved the irrigation system, more acres were brought under cultivation, and the peasant reaped better and more diversified crops than he had done under his Persian overlords To the traditional yield of wheat, barley, vegetables, hemp, flax, and dates, the time-expired veterans of Ptolemy added olives, fruit trees, and extensive plantation of the vine They also improved the breed of cattle, and used horses and camels for transport There were many Greek officials to regulate the peasant's life and collect his taxes, on the whole they did their work honestly and efficiently under Soter and his immediate successors In the second century the richer natives were admitted to these posts, local freedom was restricted, financial and administrative officials were bound more closely to the central government at Alexandria Taxation became heavier, and there were frequent revolts in Upper Egypt, where the priests of the old gods stirred up resistance to the invaders But the troops of the Ptolemies were strong enough to repress the peasants of the south



COIN OF PTOLEMY SOTER

Religion in Egypt. Soter followed his leader's example in allowing himself to be worshipped as a god Though he held Egypt by right of the sword, he ruled as Pharaoh, like Alexander, he was officially the son of Amon-Re, and the embodiment of the divine power on earth The gods of Olympus were worshipped too, but they lost their power when they came into contact with the old Nile divinities. The Greek mystery religions had far greater hold, especially in the Delta Soter found in Serapis a god who would link together his Greek and Macedonian officials

The SUCCESSORS of ALEXANDER

Third Century B.C.

0 100 200 300 400 500 Miles

and his Egyptian subjects Serapis satisfied the Greek yearning for mystical union with the divine and represented to the Egyptian the attributes of Osiris and Apis With his worship was linked that of Isis, the priests of the two divinities taught their devotees to find consolation in thoughts of a future life, for which they were prepared by purifying rites and impressive ceremonies As communication between different parts of the Mediterranean world grew easier and safer, the worship of Isis and Serapis spread from Egypt to distant lands

Influence of Philosophy. The Ptolemies beautified their capital with parks, broad streets, and splendid buildings Their court became a centre for Greek thought, which, freed from the influence of its old surroundings, took on new aspects Soter and Philadelphus built the library and museum as a home for learning Poets and historians sang the glories of the past or devised fresh literary forms to express their feelings and ideals Philosophers examined the problems of right conduct and good government from a point of view which would have been impossible in the old city states Aristotle had laid down the distinction between Greek and barbarian as fundamental, his pupil's imperial policy showed the falsity of this doctrine In a great world-city like Alexandria, where keen-witted men of all races met, the Aristotelian distinction became faintly ridiculous Philosophers recognized that men were, in a sense, brothers one to another, that each man should do his duty as his conscience bade him; that he was a cosmopolitan, a citizen of the world, not merely a citizen of Alexandria or Argos or Athens As such he was anxious to listen to the teaching of poets and thinkers from Syria, Judaea, Persia, and India, as well as those of old Greece

Alexandrian Literature. Most of the governing class in Egypt still studied the works which had delighted their forefathers In the royal library were gathered half a million volumes, and under the later Ptolemies a supplementary library was built In these stately homes of the muses great work was done in editing and explaining the writers of the past, such as Homer, Aeschylus, Thucydides, Sophocles, and Euripides. But there was also a large class of literary men, who not only practised the old forms of composition, but also experimented in novel methods and treated fresh topics Chief among these were Apollonius, Callimachus, Herodas, and Theocritus The first revived the epic, his lofty treatment of mythical stories was in strong contrast with the everyday subjects which Callimachus adorned in shorter and simpler poems Theocritus dealt with the ordinary happenings of town and country, his idylls described pastoral and rustic life in a delicate and polished style, which appealed to the ears of idle courtiers But the rich took equal pleasure in the mimes of Herodas, who handled the drab and coarse details of

humdrum existence with pungent wit There was a vigorous output of poetry, philosophy, and history at Alexandria during the third and second centuries, and it was the poets of the Ptolemies' circle whose writings were carried westward and copied by those who were striving to create a literature in Italy

The Growth of Science. Though the Ptolemies encouraged art and architecture for the building and beautifying of their capital and palaces, their artists were content to copy the types which had been perfected in old Greece without creating new forms It was otherwise with the scientists They had behind them a long tradition, which went back to the great days of Ionia The Greeks lived in the open air, and they had an intense curiosity, which could only be satisfied by a reasoned explanation of the things they saw For centuries they had been seeking to understand the laws which governed the objects and actions which interested them Aristotle had cleared the way by distinguishing science from philosophy, by separating the various branches of science from one another, and by showing how to collect facts patiently and test them by accurate experiment Ptolemy Soter and his successors gave the scientists their chance by endowing their studies liberally and by personal interest and encouragement They were richly rewarded Amazing progress was made in mathematics, mechanics, astronomy, geography, medicine, surgery, biology, and botany Though many parts of the Greek world shared the effort, the chief glory lay with Alexandria Mathematical problems had interested Plato and Aristotle, but their speculations were elementary when compared with the great system worked out by Euclid Mensuration had been studied in Egypt since the dawn of its civilization, and it was natural that the great mathematician of Alexandria should elaborate the fundamental principles of geometry, he did it with such success that till a generation ago Euclid and geometry were convertible terms His most brilliant pupil was Archimedes of Syracuse, whose love of mathematics was such that he considered his great discoveries in mechanics a mere by-product of his leisure hours In astronomy the most conspicuous figure was Hipparchus He and his successors may have based their work on the traditional lore of Egypt and Babylonia, but they carried it far beyond their teachers Hipparchus discovered the precession of the equinoxes, measured accurately the lunar month, and catalogued eight hundred and fifty fixed stars. The Alexandrian astronomers knew that the earth revolves on its axis But they did not accept the brilliant theory of Aristarchus of Samos, who suggested that the earth and the planets move round the sun; unfortunately the mathematicians proved conclusively that this account of the solar system was wrong They were happier in their contributions

to the study of geography, which had been stimulated by Alexander's conquests Better maps were produced, and Eratosthenes measured the earth's circumference with a remarkable approximation to the truth

Medicine. Herophilus of Alexandria carried on the work of Hippocrates, and led the way in a great advance in medical knowledge Anatomy was studied carefully, new surgical instruments were invented, great improvements were made in the methods of surgical operations, the structure of the brain and the nervous system were examined With this increased knowledge was combined a high ideal of professional behaviour The doctors of the Greek world were taught that they held their skill in trust for the good of their patients, their chief aim must be not monetary reward, but the relief of pain and suffering They set an enduring standard for their profession when they took the oath of Hippocrates



Naples Museum

ASCLEPIUS

The god of healing with his symbolic snake

> I swear by Apollo the Healer, by Asclepius and the other gods and goddesses that I will revere him who has taught me the healing art as I do my parents The way of living of the sick, as far as I am able and know, will I regulate for their good Never will I give a deadly drug Purely and holily will I spend my life and possess my art Whatever I may see or hear in respect of the private life of men in my medical practice or out of it, thereon will I observe silence and secrecy

The Indian Provinces. The shock of Alexander's invasion roused the Indians, and in the year after his death the Maurya dynasty began to build up a great native kingdom in the north Its founder, Chandragupta, who had seen the Macedonian conqueror in his youth, followed the

Brahman faith, Asoka, under whom the Maurya kingdom of the Indus and Ganges valleys was extended southward to Mysore, was converted to Buddhism He was tolerant of the Brahman and Jain religions, and



said 'Every man is my child' But he preached the commands of Gautama, and set up permanent records of his laws on rocks and pillars throughout his dominions He held that one must be gentle to all living creatures, and founded hospitals for man and beast alike The Maurya kingdoms traded with the Greeks of Asia, and many of Asoka's buildings show the influence of Greek art At the beginning of the second century

Asoka's successors degenerated, and other native dynasties established themselves in the Ganges valley and round Mysore Vigorous Greek soldiers pushed down from Bactria and reconquered the Punjab One of them, called Menander, surpassed Alexander's limit, and established a kingdom on the Ganges He is known in Indian legend as Milinda, and he began a gradual fusion of Greek and native life, which was carried on by his successors till their extinction in the middle of the first century

The Kingdom of the Seleucids. Other parts of Alexander's Asiatic dominions broke away The countries south of the Black Sea were divided between the new kingdoms of Pontus and Bithynia Arsaces led his nomad horsemen from the Caspian lands, overran Parthia, and set up the Arsacid monarchy, which lasted for nearly five centuries There was fierce and prolonged fighting for the possession of Asia Minor. Confusion was increased when the Gauls crossed over from the Balkans, ravaged wide tracts of country, and set up robber kingdoms in Galatia Many of the coast cities won temporary freedom, till Attalus absorbed them in his new kingdom of Pergamum The greater part of Alexander's eastern conquests fell to Seleucus, who enlarged his satrapy of Babylonia till he held Syria, Mesopotamia, Media, and Persia He carried on much of Alexander's policy He encouraged Greeks to settle in his widespread dominions, and founded many cities, of which the chief were Antioch in Syria and Seleucia on the Tigris, the former became a great port, which almost rivalled Alexandria, while the latter was designed to hold down Mesopotamia, and secure the eastern provinces Seleucus controlled many of the great trade routes, which linked India, Arabia, Central Asia and distant China with the Mediterranean world Even when Bactria had become independent and Arsaces had established the Parthian kingdom, the merchants of the Seleucid realm sent their goods along these routes The kings encouraged trade by undertaking the upkeep of roads, attracting Greek soldiers and artisans, and coining good and abundant money Commercial dues helped to make the Seleucids the richest rulers of the third and second centuries Much of their wealth went to military and naval expenditure As they never won the entire loyalty of their Oriental subjects, and were exposed to the continual attacks of rival kings, their power rested on their Greek and Macedonian pikemen. The cost of the mercenary captain and soldier grew steadily heavier Large sums were also spent in breeding cavalry mounts in Media, and buying war-elephants from India; these moving fortresses decided the fortunes of many battles

Religious Problems of the Seleucids. Like Alexander and Ptolemy, Seleucus was proclaimed a god His son, Antiochus I, continued the cult, the reigning king and his deified forefathers were worshipped along

with their reputed ancestor, Apollo, and the other gods of Olympus Greek priests served the many temples that were built in the Seleucid lands, and with them came poets, schoolmasters, artists, craftsmen, and chapmen The newcomers altered in many ways the material life of the motley peoples among whom they settled, but the religions of Mesopotamia, Persia, and Syria were too old to be changed by gods the Greeks brought with them The Phoenician continued to sacrifice to Melkarth. The Persian remained loyal to the teachings of Zoroaster, and carried them to his Parthian neighbour Babylon still mumbled prayers to Bel and Marduk, and gazed with confident devotion at stars and entrails The Seleucids extended a wide tolerance to the beliefs of their subjects, and in many communities allowed the government to be conducted by the priests of the local temple One of these districts was Jerusalem, where the high priest of Jehovah ruled Many influential Jews profited from the trade which the Seleucids fostered, and were willing to tolerate Greek games and festivals But the fiercer patriots considered such toleration disloyal to Jehovah They revered him as a god of righteousness who guided every detail of their lives by his law, and they despised the rest of the world as Gentiles, who had no share in their spiritual inheritance To the Jew, as to the Persian, the Greek was an idolater, a worshipper of senseless stocks and stones When Antiochus Epiphanes used force to overcome their resistance, Judas Maccabaeus proved himself a fine guerrilla leader Epiphanes was distracted by troubles in other parts of his realm Hoplites, cavalry, and elephants alike failed to overawe the patriots, and Judas and his family won independence for their nation Under the rule of the Maccabees the Jews kept the worship of Jehovah uncontaminated by neighbouring religions and his law free from the influence of the surrounding cities.

Economic Changes. In spite of too frequent warfare, there was great material prosperity in the kingdoms of the Successors It was a pleasant life for the rich, who had at their disposal the accumulated wealth and varied industries of the lands Alexander had overrun. Greek and Oriental craftsmen worked side by side, and the competition improved the products of their labours Their goods passed securely over the great roads On the sea there was a certain risk from the pirates who infested the harbours of Cilicia, but this was counterbalanced by the fact that the Greek sea-captain ceased to be a mere summertime sailor and faced the dangers of winter traffic But there was another side to this prosperous picture The sudden dispersal of Darius's treasure upset the old economic conditions Down to Philip's day the great banking centre of Greece was the temple of Delphi, which could dispose of ten thousand talents Alexander's victories brought him one hundred

The rival heirs of Alexander wasted their strength in fighting one another, and only the Epirote kings and a few adventurers from the Peloponnesian cities tried to make Greek power supreme in Italy and Sicily Ptolemy's troops in Cyrene looked across the Syrtis to the dominions of Leptis, the easternmost ally of Carthage but Soter and his successors turned their eyes away and used their fleets and armies to protect Syria from the Seleucids None of the great kingdoms helped the western Greeks against their Carthaginian and Italian rivals Their merchants traded with the west their writers, artists, doctors, and artisans travelled overseas and took with them the graces and conveniences of civilized life But the Successors missed every opportunity of checking the great Italian city, which conquered Etruscan, Gaul, Greek, and Carthaginian and then turned, as if by the remorseless decree of fate, to rob them of the heritage which they had received from Alexander

You should read D. G. Hogarth's Philip and Alexander of Macedon *and a translation of Theocritus's Fifteenth Idyll.*

DATES

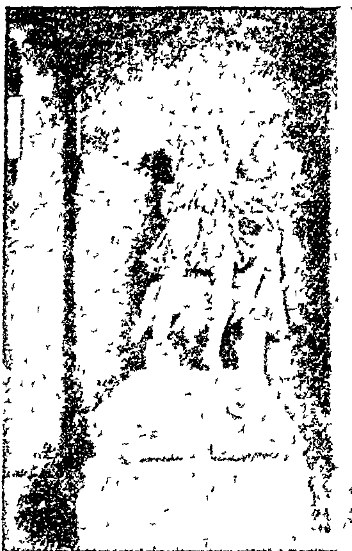
B C

358 Philip King of Macedonia
338 Battle of Chaeronea
336 Accession of Alexander and Darius III
333 Battle of Issus
332 Capture of Tyre and Gaza
331 Battle of Arbela
327 Alexander's invasion of India
323 Death of Alexander
322 Deaths of Aristotle and Demosthenes
310 Teaching of Zeno and Epicurus
301 Death of Antigonus I.
300 Foundation of Antioch
283 Antigonus Gonatas King of Macedonia
Ptolemy Philadelphus succeeds Soter
Euclid, Herophilus, Callimachus, Herodas, Theocritus, and Apollonius at Alexandria
263 First war between Rome and Carthage
250 Arsaces invades Parthia
241 Attalus King of Pergamum
Roman annexation of Sicily
Eratosthenes Librarian of Alexandria
228 Cleomenes King of Sparta Roman envoys at Athens
218 Second War between Rome and Carthage
200 Conquest of the Punjab by Bactrian Greeks

CHAPTER V

THE GREEK SPIRIT

THE girls of Sparta were famous for their athletic training and for the social freedom they enjoyed. But they were the exception In the other cities of Greece life was arranged to suit masculine ideas, and woman's sphere was the home The gracious dignity of Homer's princesses became restricted in later days, as Greece became a man's world. For a brief space Sappho showed the rich island of Lesbos that a woman was worthy to be ranked among the poets, Artemisia of Halicarnassus won Xerxes's praise for her maritime skill at Salamis In the great days of Athens Aspasia of Miletus helped Pericles with her counsel, and drew round her many of the artists and thinkers who made his age one of the greatest in all history In the Macedonian epoch feminine influence made itself felt in politics From the turbulent days of Olympias the ladies of the royal houses took their share in controlling affairs of state Their power was most marked in Egypt, seven Cleopatras are reckoned among the rulers of the Nile valley, poets and astronomers placed Berenice's hair among the stars, Arsinoe's name was given to many cities, and she was worshipped by the Egyptians as Isis and by the Greeks as Aphrodite



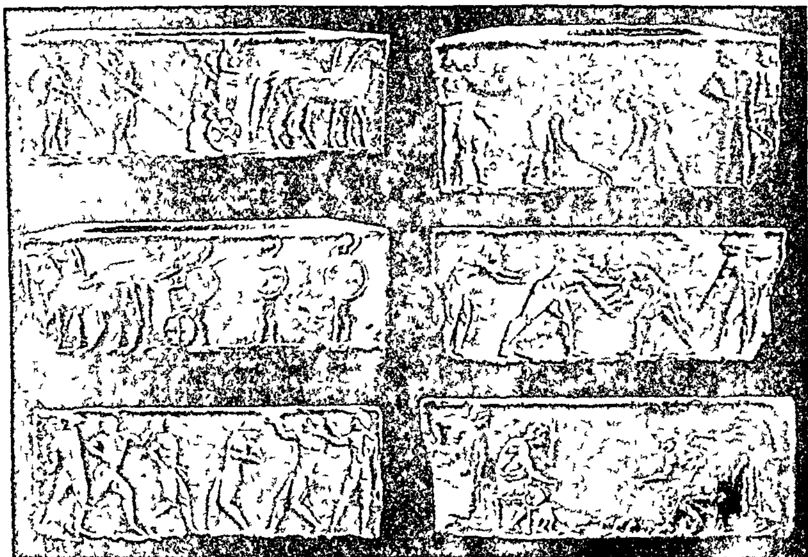
W N W

STATUE OF ARTEMIS
The Huntress Goddess

These princesses won some freedom for their sex, but Greek civilization remained chiefly the possession of the male He admired the skill with which his poets pictured great women like Andromache, Alcestis, and Antigone, in epic or drama, but there was little romance in the relations between men and women of the cultured classes The average Greek married a wife to rear his children and to look after his house, he was fond of her, but he preferred to spend most of his time elsewhere in the company of his own sex.

The Spoken Word. His needs were simple, he wanted fresh air,

sunshine, exercise, a modest supply of food and wine, and pleasant things to look at But above all he wanted to talk and, like most good talkers, he was a good listener He perfected a wonderful language, which could express the greatest ideas and the subtlest shades of meaning in the simplest words, and he admired the skill of those who used it to the best advantage Much of the talk dealt with the changes and chances of his ordinary life the chaffering of the market-place, the doings of his



Journal of Hellenic Studies

RELIEFS OF ATHLETIC SCENES

(*From statue-bases built into the city walls of Athens*)

fellow-citizens, the tall stories of deep-water sailormen, travellers' tales of cave-dwellers in Libya, Egyptian sacred beasts, the hanging gardens of Babylon, or the marvels of distant India But he liked to listen to clever fellows who argued points of law or examined problems of politics or morality, and so he perfected oratory and created philosophy From his earliest days he adored the lays of his bards, who told the adventures of gods and heroes, and so he fashioned the epic and revered Homer as Heaven's mouthpiece When life grew troubled after the great days of the early kings, the Greek examined his personal feelings and expressed them in lyric verse, made fierce or tender by the music of the lyre In a later century he took the rough songs used in the worship of Dionysus, and added to them the argument and repartee in which he delighted, and so came the drama in its two forms of tragedy and comedy He borrowed the art of writing from his eastern neighbours, but he never

allowed it to ruin his memory or spoil his ear It was the spoken word, not the written, that counted with the Greek and made him the teacher of the western world

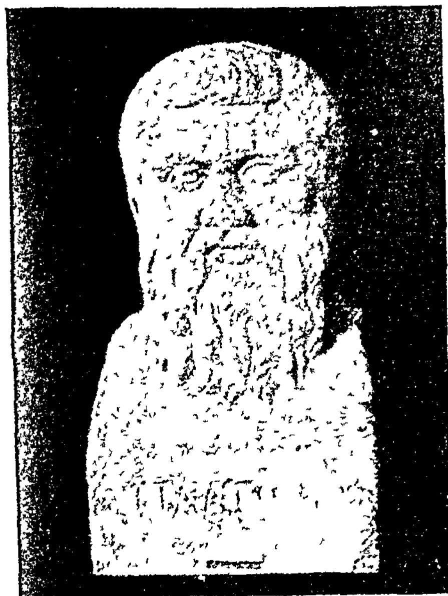
Athletes and Artists. The Greek was an excitable, quarrelsome, kind-hearted creature He was continually fighting his neighbour in the next valley, but when he had finished he did not, like other conquerors, flay, mutilate, crucify, or scalp his captives, nor did he convert them into gladiators to massacre one another scientifically for his amusement He took delight, not in the spectacle of spurting blood and mangled limbs, but in the swift, strenuous movement of supple, healthy, well-proportioned bodies A sacred truce was imposed for the games, so that all Greeks might meet as brothers, and make a gracious offering of physical excellence to their gods At the festivals of Olympia, Corinth, Delphi, and Argive Nemea running and jumping and wrestling were the chief attractions There was boxing, too, and chariot-racing was added later After the Peloponnesian War competitors allowed their keenness to lead them into specialization and overtraining, Euripides complained that athletes were the greatest curse of Greece Like every form of organized pleasure, the games were liable to abuse But they set a higher standard than athletes generally reach There were no cups or money prizes, the victor's reward was a crown of wild olive and the admiration of his fellow-citizens In his honour poets wrote songs of victory, which were performed with music and dancing, and sculptors made statues to adorn his native town The plastic artist of Greece spent most of his energies in reproducing the naked male form, and he found his best models in the young men who 'ran and leapt and wrestled



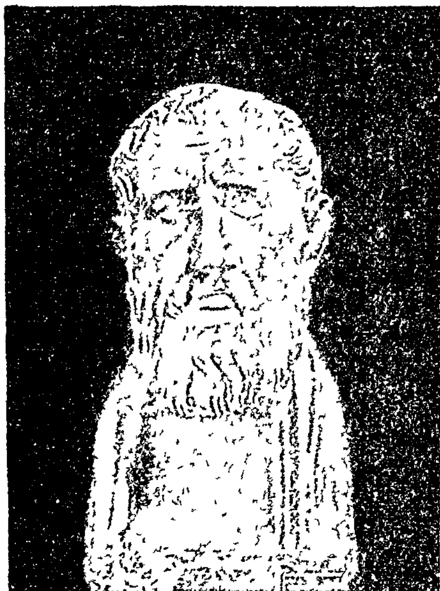
National Museum, Rome

THE DISCUS THROWER
(Myron)

for the scientists of the third century Each of them attracted disciples and founded a school, who continued to meet for lectures and discussion long after their master's death Each believed firmly in the city state as the necessary background for the 'good life' which they taught their pupils But Aristotle's most famous pupil, Alexander,



Arndt-Bruckmann
PLATO
(*Berlin Museum*)



Arndt-Bruckmann
ZENO
(*Naples Museum*)

ended the autonomy of the city state, and his Successors waged wars which put Aristotle's world out of joint

Stoics and Epicureans. In an epoch when wealth and personal freedom were lost in a day and everything seemed to depend on the caprice of fortune, decent folk felt the need of some moral theory to which they could cling Their priests could comfort them little, so they turned to the philosophers to learn the way of life, which should heal their spiritual troubles and make them independent of material disaster Zeno told them that virtue was the answer to their question; Epicurus said happiness. Zeno taught in the painted Stoa or porch near the market-place, and his followers were called Stoics Their aim was to live in accordance with the principles of nature they tried to guide their actions by a sense of duty they ignored even the simpler pleasures of everyday life and aimed solely at right conduct, which should be acceptable to the supreme power that governed mankind Epicurus

told his followers to make a right choice of pleasures, and so achieve rational happiness in this world, for after death, as Democritus had taught, body and soul broke up into the atoms from which they had been formed. Happiness was not won by satisfying the bodily appetites, nor by injuring others; virtue benefited the rest of humanity. Both Stoics and Epicureans encouraged benevolence and taught men to rely on internal peace, not external fortune. Such doctrines broke down the old barriers between Greek and barbarian, the individual was no longer a member of a particular city in Sicily or Old Greece or Asia Minor, but a tiny unit in a vast world, striving for the good of all humanity.

Science. The Greek subject of the Ptolemies or the Antigonids lost some of the privileges of a free citizen, but in their place he gained wide intellectual freedom. He set no limits to the victories that could be won by the mind. Great progress was made in applied sciences: Greek engineers learnt how to control water in bulk, move enormous weights with pulley and lever, build artillery for the soldiers, and construct a rough model of the steam-engine. But these material triumphs were not highly prized by the greater scientists. They preferred to observe and catalogue facts, trace the working of cause and effect, and discover the laws which explained everything that happened in the universe. They were fascinated by such abstractions as number, shape, motion, space, being, and not-being. They explored the laws of thought and the relations between mind and matter. They were sublimely sure that in the divine gift of reason they held the key to every riddle.

The Ideal State. In all branches of thought the Greek sought the ideal. In politics he found his ideal in the city state in all its different forms from the days of Pericles to those of the Ptolemies. Only in the city could the best life be lived, and the ideal Greek or Kalokagathos secure the necessary conditions for his beautiful and good existence. There he had leisure to argue and listen in the colonnades, to keep his body healthy and graceful at the wrestling-ground and the baths, to refresh his thoughts with tragedy or comedy at the theatre, to relax his mind by listening to songs at the music-halls or by watching chariot races in the hippodrome. To be Kalokagathos meant to worship beauty and acquire virtue, and the city alone supplied the conditions necessary for this ideal. But there was a darker background of reality to city life. Leisure was vital to the Kalokagathos, and he must be free from petty cares and uncongenial toil. His existence depended on the drab drudgery of the woman and the slave. He took their unending labours as his right, and accepted Aristotle's teaching that woman was only capable of moral worth as the helpmate of man, and that the slave was nothing more than a living tool.

The Legacy of Greece. It has been said that 'nothing moves in the world to-day that is not Greek in origin' This is an exaggerated claim, as the history of the Christian era shows The Greek was tolerant in religious matters, and lacked entirely the Semite's power of converting other races to his creed Only for short periods could he maintain a stable government in his cities and the countries he ruled He talked of democracy, and denied the vast majority of mankind any share in political power But he believed in progress, and gave an impulse to the human mind which has not yet spent its force For all his early exclusiveness he learnt to co-operate with barbarians, and to use his brain to stimulate their thoughts and mould their beliefs He discovered Nature and laid down the principles of many branches of science He created imperishable artistic forms, which will outlive the crudities of the twentieth century He evolved a lovely and rational cult of the human body He made a nearly perfect literature Above all, he exalted reason as the unerring guide of human conduct and thought

PART III

THE RULE OF ROME

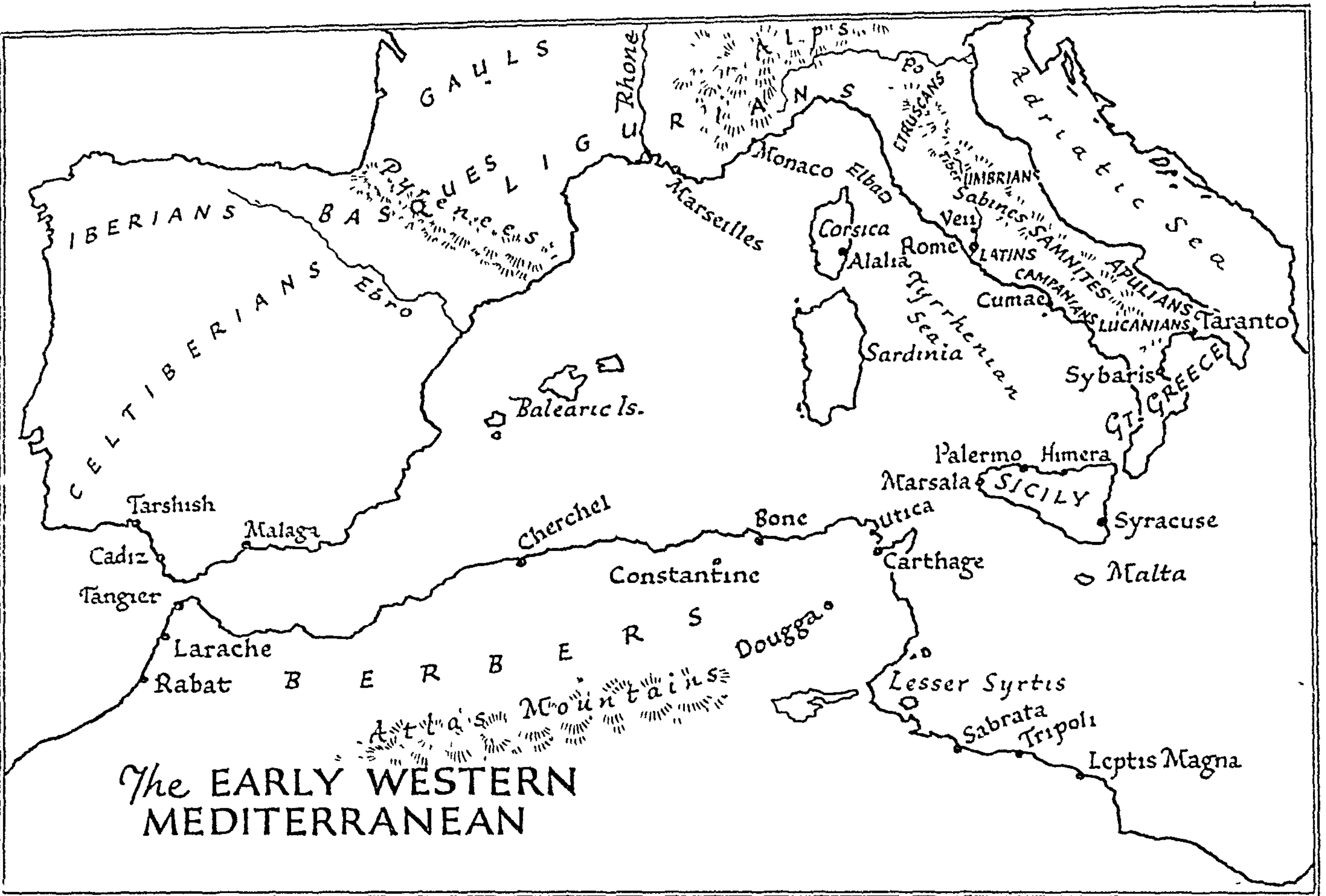
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLES OF THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

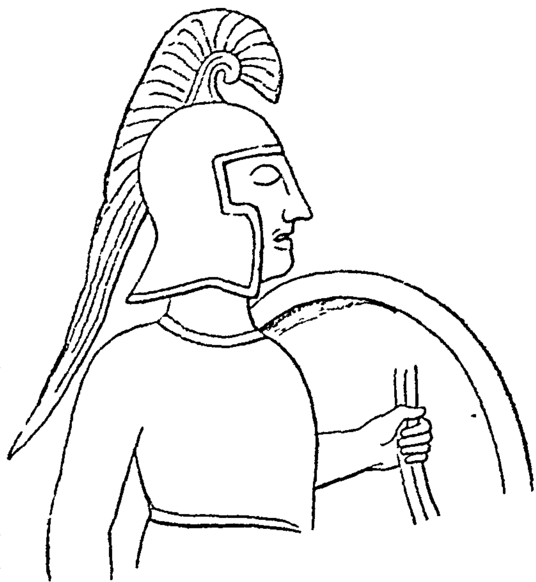
WHILE Phoenicia was suffering from the attacks of Assyrian, Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, and Macedonian kings, the colonists she had sent westward grew in prosperity Their cities and trading-stations stretched along the African coast from Leptis in the east to Larache on the Atlantic Inland were agricultural and pastoral tribes, Moorish in the west and Berber in the centre and east, the latter were of the same race as those who had often harried the Delta in the second millennium, and sometimes set their chieftains on the throne of Egypt Some of the colonists intermarried with the Berbers, and formed the mixed race of Libyphoenicians, but the chief families kept their blood pure and remained devoted to Baal, Melkarth, and the other gods they had brought from Canaan Cherchel, Utica, Carthage, Leptis, Tripoli, and other cities grew rich from agriculture and trade The colonists carried on the Phoenician tradition of long-distance voyages Their captains sailed south of Larache to the Gold Coast, and brought home the mineral wealth of Spain from their settlement of Cadiz They pushed northwards into the Atlantic in quest of tin, which they found in the Portuguese islands and in Britain As potters, metal-workers, builders, and masons, they showed little originality, but they could reproduce other men's designs and sell them at a profit to the barbarous races, which supplied them with raw materials Their most valuable manufactures were textiles, and there was a good market for their cushions, carpets, and rugs

Carthage From their hill of Byrsa Carthaginian merchants looked eastward across excellent harbours to the waters which lead to Sicily, Sardinia, and southern Italy, while they had inland the richest farming country in the world Carthage owed much to its site, but more to the energetic Tyrian immigrants, who sought a refuge in the west from the troubles of the mother-city, and helped the New City on Byrsa to outstrip her older


The EARLY WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN
GAULS
LIGURIANS
Alps
Rhone
Pyrenees
BASQUES
IBERIANS
CELTIBERIANS
Ebro
Tarshish
Cadiz
Malaga
Tangier
Larache
Rabat
BERBERS
Atlas Mountains
Cherchel
Constantine
Bone
Dougga
Utica
Carthage
Lesser Syrtis
Sabrata
Tripoli
Leptis Magna
Balearic Is.
Marseilles
Monaco
Elba
Corsica
Alalia
Sardinia
Tyrrhenian Sea
Po
ETRUSCANS
Tiber
UMBRIANS
Sabines
Veii
Rome
LATINS
SAMNITES
CAMPANIANS
Cumae
APULIANS
LUCANIANS
Taranto
Sybaris
GT. GREECE
Adriatic Sea
Palermo
Himera
Marsala
SICILY
Syracuse
Malta

older inhabitants formed a large part of those who cultivated the soil As fresh invaders came in from the central European plain many clans moved their dwelling grounds, some crossed the Alps into the Po valley

Italy. The Aryan-speaking tribes, who had led their wagons and herds into Italy about the end of the second millennium, spoke different dialects of a common Italian speech They may have imposed their language on the native Ligurians, who stretched from the western Alps into north-east Spain They overran the country west of the Apennines, and settled in Umbria and Campania On the east and in the central highlands were Sabellian tribes, the most important of these were the Samnites, rough herdsmen, who made sturdy foot-soldiers, and the Sabines, who farmed the upper valley of the Tiber On either side of the river were the Latins, who were agriculturists There were cornlands in Italy, but they needed drainage to produce good crops Small fortified towns sprang up in the Umbrian, Latin, and Campanian country From the Greeks who had settled on the west and south coasts, the Italians began to adopt the comforts and conveniences of civilization They learnt their alphabet, bought their wares, planted their olive trees, and listened to the legends of their gods



ETRUSCAN WARRIOR

In the north-west another race from overseas settled, the Greeks called them Tyrrhenians, the Latins Etruscans They themselves spoke of Asia Minor as their first home

The Etruscans. Like the Italians, the Etruscans were glad to learn from the Greeks They bought their pottery, and decorated houses and tombs with second-rate imitations of Greek painting and sculpture They were short, thick-set soldiers and sailors, who enjoyed the luxuries won by war and piracy. They had a gloomy religion, riddled with ghouls and demons, and soured by much gazing at sheep's livers and the flight of birds They killed their prisoners at the tombs of their chiefs, and later turned this practice into great public entertainments, in which gladiators fought, armed each after his country's fashion Some of them

pushed into the Po valley, while others went south into Campania They captured Elba and worked its iron mines, and established settlements in Corsica and Sardinia So strong was their navy that the Greeks called these waters the Tyrrhenian Sea While their Umbrian subjects lived in villages the Etruscan conquerors built walled cities, whose rulers were



ETRUSCAN SEA-GOD

called lucumos These formed a confederacy, which was useful in times of crisis, but frequently the lucumos fought against one another In spite of this disunion the Etruscans were the strongest power in Italy in the seventh and sixth centuries

Rome and the Latins. The Latin cities south of the Tiber were never entirely overrun by the Etruscans They formed a confederacy with common religious festivals, where they worshipped Jupiter, god of the open sky, Mars, god of battles, and Saturn, god of crops They were farmers, and were ruled by kings, who led them in war. Fifteen miles from the Tiber mouth, where an island gives convenient crossing for traffic between Etruria and the south, a city grew up gradually from the union of small settlements on the seven neighbouring hills Its farmer inhabitants had the advantage of a navigable river, up which strangers could bring their wares, and an easy access to the salt marshes at its mouth. The city was called Rome, and it claimed to have been founded by Romulus Its citizens were a mixed race. Most were Latins; they intermarried with Sabines; Etruscan traders settled on the spot which gave them the easiest route into Campania Like the Latin towns, Rome was ruled by kings, who had the advice of the heads of families; this Council of the Old Men was called the Senate The paterfamilias or head of the family had very great power in his home, he knew and reverenced the customs of his forefathers and, in his turn, enforced them on his family, wife, sons, unmarried daughters, grandchildren, and slaves



A VIEW OF MODERN ROME

Changes in the Sixth Century. Latins, Sabellians, and Gauls became more prosperous in the sixth century, but the chief powers in the western Mediterranean were the Phoenicians, the Etruscans, and the Greeks Carthage was the recognized head of the Phoenician cities and settlements Her traders in Sicily were hampered by the growing strength of the Greek colonies in that rich island Farther north she found them a serious obstacle, as Marseilles became more powerful She sent an army into Sicily to support her merchants, and another to secure Sardinia. A Carthaginian fleet of sixty ships joined the Etruscans in crushing the Phocaeans off Alalia A generation later she made a treaty with Rome, barring Latin vessels from the high seas The Etruscans succeeded for a time in establishing their military power in Rome But they lost ground in the north-east, when the Gaulish clans attacked their cities in the Po valley Rival lucumos failed to co-operate with one another The Romans drove out their Etruscan kings, and established a republic The Greeks too suffered from disunion, but, though they had lost the Spanish trade, the tyrants of the Sicilian towns held their own against Carthage, and forced her to the west of the island In the south of Italy such towns as Sybaris and Taranto were a byword for luxury, but they had little real military strength, and were weakened by the national habit of civil strife

Sicily. In spite of losses on land, the Etruscans were still formidable as pirates, and they were a menace to the rulers of Sicily Carthage made a vigorous effort to check the Greek advance, and in the year of Thermopylae and Salamis, the shophet Hamilcar led a great army into the east of the island Some of the Greek cities supported him, but most rallied to Gelo of Syracuse He smashed the Carthaginians at Himera, and drove them back to their western strongholds of Marsala and Palermo Six years later his successor defeated the Etruscan pirate fleet off Cumae But again civil struggles and wars between the different cities prevented the Greeks from winning entire control of Sicily The native races tried to drive them from the island, but the Syracusan was too strong for them The struggle allowed the Carthaginians to recover some of the lost ground, and re-establish their trade Sicily was rich in cheese, corn, wine, and hides, there was ample wealth for Greeks, Phoenicians, and natives to share

The Government of Rome In spite of their losses the Etruscans were still formidable For a time they combined to punish Rome But the Romans were a stubborn stock and, though they lost territory, they clung to their republican form of government The rule of the last Etruscan monarchs had given them an abiding hatred of kingship, and they took steps to ensure that it should never be revived The military and civil

power of the king was divided between the two chief magistrates, who were called consuls, and these were elected for one year only The same principles were applied to the other magistrates, praetors, aediles, quaestors, who were created subsequently, they held office as members of a board, and not as individuals, and they too were elected for a single year They were bound to listen to the advice of the Senate, even if they did not follow it The only exception was the Pontifex Maximus, who secured most of the religious power of the king, like the others, he was elected, but he held office till his death In times of military crisis a dictator could be chosen to take the place of the two consuls, with a master of horse as his second in command. Rome had a severe struggle to recover the position she had held under the kings She had lost all her territory north of Tiber, and for many generations she was checked by Veii, where the Etruscans maintained themselves within a dozen miles of the city To the south she was more fortunate, and was recognized as the head of the Latin cities They fought her wars against the hill tribes to the north and, though they suffered the heavier losses, Rome took the chief share of the territory won and made it public land for her citizens

Patricians and Plebeians. All classes had joined to expel the kings, but the patrician families, whose heads formed the Senate, were unwilling to give full citizen rights to their neighbours, who were called plebeians All free men had the right of electing state officers, but only patricians could hold office, all could trade with each other, but a plebeian could not marry a patrician legally Though many of the plebeian families were as wealthy as the patricians, most were poor men, working their plots of land themselves, when they were called away to fight in the army levy or legion, they had to borrow money to hire labour Military service pressed hardly on them, they fell into debt, and they received little or none of the public land won from the enemy Rich and poor plebeians joined together to demand equality with the patricians The rich wanted to hold office, the poor claimed relief from debt and more land to farm There was a long and stubborn struggle The patricians defended their privileges tenaciously But they needed man-power in the constant wars with their neighbours, and they yielded to the threats of the plebeians to leave Rome and found another city The plebeians were allowed to elect their own officers, who were called tribunes, and to pass resolutions which had the force of laws The persons of the tribunes were sacred during their year of office, and they safeguarded the lives of the plebeians and prevented them being haled off to prison for debt without trial. They could summon the plebeians to council whenever they wished and could veto the acts of the State magistrates The patricians were forced to accept milder usury laws, but they could still harass their neighbours by their control of

religious rites and their interpretation of the ancient laws The plebeians demanded that the laws should be made public, and a board of ten, called Decemvirs, carried out this necessary reform, the Twelve Tables gave the poor the protection of a written code When it became difficult to obtain a house within the city walls, waste lands on one of the Seven Hills of Rome were granted to the poor, occasionally they obtained a fair share of the public land outside There was almost continual fighting with foreign foes, but the Romans kept a united front to their enemies and settled their internal troubles without bloodshed There were none of the faction fights which marred the records of Greek cities, and neither nobles nor commons won complete mastery Compromises were made, and changes came gradually It was no easy matter for the Romans to create a new form of government, which should conform to the customs of their forefathers

Expansion of the Samnites. The herdsmen of central Italy found their glens too small for their increasing numbers They had the highlander's contempt for the lowlander and the trader, and they raided the rich towns of Campania and the sea-coast for plunder which they carried off to the hills From raiding they passed to conquest Their sturdy infantry proved too much for the southern Etruscans, and they captured Capua and other towns They pressed south, and cut off the Greek ports from the lands which had supplied them with wool and corn But the highland clans had no idea of building up a united state They could fight, but they could not create a government which should hold together the territories they overran

	B C	DATES
About	1100	Phoenicians trade with Tarshish and found Cadiz Etruscans reach Italy
,,	1000	Phoenicians found Utica
,	800	Tyrians found Carthage, Greeks found Cumae
	753	Traditional date of the founding of Rome
	750–680	Greek colonization of Sicily
	707	Foundation of Taranto
	650–500	Etruscans dominant in Italy
	600	Foundation of Marseilles
	550	Gauls invade northern Italy
	535	Battle of Alalia
	509	Rome becomes a Republic
	494	Plebeians elect Tribunes
	480	Battle of Himera
	474	Battle of Cumae
	450	Decemvirs at Rome Laws of the Twelve Tables
	424–420	Samnites capture Capua and Cumae.

CHAPTER II

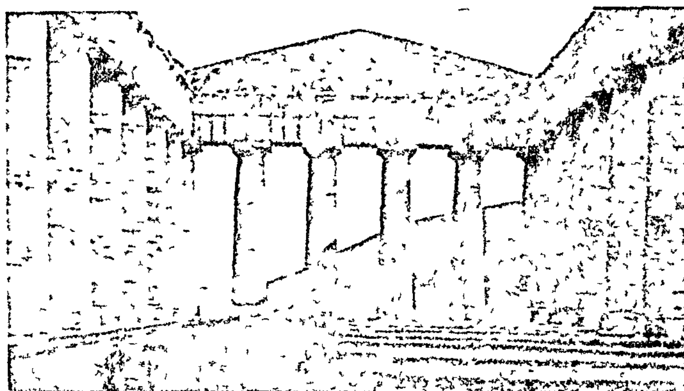
ROME AND ITALY

ALTHOUGH she was not hampered by the geographical barriers which divided Greece, Italy lagged far behind the eastern Mediterranean peninsula in achieving racial unity By the beginning of the eighth century Aryans and Aegeans had been blended into a single race The fourth century found Italy still divided between many races, and few could have guessed correctly which of them was destined to win the struggle for leadership The Alps have never proved an insuperable barrier to a determined invader, and the Gauls who lived between them and the Apennines might receive reinforcements which would give them the victory The Etruscans had a long tradition of successful warfare The cities of Great Greece were richer and more civilized than the rest of the peninsula, and, if they were united by a leader, like Alexander the Great, might build up a western empire as great as the Macedonian The Italian races which had grown up after the Aryan invasion were divided by differences at least as great as those which separated Dorian and Ionian There was no strong tie between Umbrians, Latins, Sabellians, Campanians, and Lucanians

The Etruscans. The sea-fight off Cumae marked the turning-point in the fortunes of the Etruscans From that date their power declined steadily The loss of Rome and the Tiber crossing made it difficult for them to retain their hold on Campania, and the Gaulish tribes who poured over the western Alps cut them off from their outposts in the Po valley Their federal system did not stand the test of protracted warfare, the different cities were jealous of one another, and the rival lucumos seldom worked together for long The Etruscan nobles had always been in a minority, and they failed to rally their subjects against the enemies who surrounded them They were still sturdy fighters, and towns like Tarquinii gave the Romans almost as hard a struggle as Veii, but the great days of the Etruscans were over Their gladiatorial combats and their system of augury survived at Rome, as an evil legacy to their former subjects

The Greeks. Great Greece also suffered from disunion Greek sailors controlled most of Italy's coastal trade, and the work of Greek craftsmen found an increasing market up-country But the leaders of political parties in the various cities could co-operate neither with one another nor with neighbouring cities The struggles between democrats, oligarchs, and tyrants weakened the Greeks. At the beginning of the fourth

century it looked as if Dionysius of Syracuse might found a strong kingdom By stubborn fighting with the Carthaginians he won all Sicily, except the north-west corner, he made himself master of the toe of Italy, and controlled the straits of Messina, he established his predominance in the Adriatic by military settlements and judicious alliances But in the end Carthage proved too strong for him His conquests weakened the Greek cities on the western and southern coasts of Italy. In spite of their riches they lost ground to the rougher inland peoples Naples and



W N W

INTERIOR OF TEMPLE AT SEGESTA

Notice the plain Doric pillars, and compare them with the more ornate Corinthian pillars shown on p 209

Paestum came under the power of Rome Taranto and her neighbours were attacked by the Lucanians, who controlled the wool on which their wealth depended Great Greece appealed to Old Greece for help First Sparta sent her hoplites, and then Alexander of Epirus seized the opportunity of rivalling in the west the eastern exploits of his nephew and namesake of Macedonia Alexander fought well, and checked the Lucanians, though he could not enforce discipline or loyalty on his allies The Tarentines, who allowed him to be assassinated on the battlefield, recovered some of their wealth and power, but could not combine with their neighbours to form a strong confederacy

The Gauls. While the Italians pressed hard on the aliens in the west and south, another danger appeared north of the Apennines The power of the Gauls grew, as fresh clans descended into the fertile valleys North of the Po the Insubres settled round Milan, while the Cenomanni pushed on towards the Adriatic, the Boii and the Senones overran the lands south of the river The speech of the invaders was akin to Latin, but their appearance was very different, their size, their red or yellow hair, their fierce, blue eyes, and the crashing roar with which they charged made them


Milan
GAULS
Po
APPENNINES
UMBRIA
ETRURIA
ILLYRIA
Adriatic Sea
Clusium
Tiber
Elba
Veii
Tarquinii
Sabines
SAMNITES
Bovianum
APULIA
Alalia
CORSICA
Rome
Tyrrhenian Sea
Capua
Circeii
Benevento
CAMPANIA
Cumae
Naples
Taranto
LUCANIA
Paestum
SARDINIA
GREAT GREECE
Palermo
Reggio
Messina
SICILY
Marsala
Syracuse
EARLY ITALY
Rome 509 B.C.
Rome 338 B.C.

terrible to the short, dark-skinned southerners They pushed the older inhabitants towards the mountains and the sea For a while they were content with the Lombard plain, but, when fresh swarms came over the Alps, they felt cramped and turned their eyes across the Apennines for more land and loot

The Battle of the Allia The Senones poured into Etruria under the command of Brennus They attacked Clusium, which was then in alliance with Rome, and refused to withdraw at the Senate's command Instead, Brennus abandoned the siege and marched rapidly south till he met the legions at the junction of the Tiber and the Allia, eleven miles from Rome In the face of novel conditions of warfare the Roman soldier failed His nerve was broken by the gigantic stature of the Gauls, their ear-splitting war-cry, and their furious charge, his short sword and small, round shield proved no match for the sweep of the claymore The line of the legions wavered, broke, and fled The Gauls butchered most of the fugitives, and then pushed on to Rome There are many picturesque and spirited stories of what followed Fortunately for Rome Brennus and his clansmen had neither the time nor the ability for siege warfare They burnt the city, massacred a few patricians, and exacted an indemnity in gold The Capitol, defended by desperate men, was no easy capture. Brennus had enjoyed the raid, which had given his men some bonny fighting, the spectacle of their enemies' homes in flames, and a lump sum down After ravaging Apulia, he went home, leaving the Romans to recover from their wounds and remember the battle of the Allia as a black day in their calendar for all time

The Recovery of Rome. Rome showed her usual tenacity in making good the disaster, patricians and plebeians worked together to restore the army and rebuild the city They succeeded better in the former task than the latter Though their Greek friends had shown how to lay out a well-planned town, the new Rome was much like the old, a huddle of narrow, winding streets with ill-assorted houses and inadequate drainage. But it served the immediate purpose of its conservative builders, and held out against old enemies who assembled to pick bare the bones which Brennus had left Etruscans, Sabellian highlanders, and many Latin towns attacked her, but they proved no match for the tenacity of Camillus and his brother generals Brennus's successors raided southwards But the reorganized legions had learnt how to face the Gallic claymore Once the shock of Allia had passed the poorer classes became restive against conditions at home and on service They mutinied, and their military grievances were removed, life in the city grew easier, as the enemy was pushed back and Rome's trade increased There was much hard fighting to be done, and many defeats to be reversed But Rome went steadily

ahead, she won fresh food-bearing lands for her citizens to occupy, and established her grip on central Italy, by planting colonies of veterans to hold down the conquered territories, and by making treaties of alliance with old foes. There was no common tie to bind Greeks, Etruscans, and Gauls against her, and many Italian communities began to look on her as their best protector against these alien races Her merchant ships picked up some of the coastal trade which Greeks and Etruscans were losing, and she even built a few ships of war But the great sea-power of Carthage remained on friendly terms, and made another treaty with her Rome was free to trade with all Sicily, she left the rest of the western Mediterranean to Phoenician merchants, in return Carthage agreed to make no alliance with the Latin towns

Sabellians and Samnites. While the Latins were uniting more closely in support of Rome, the other great branch of the Italian stock, the Sabellians, continued to lead a primitive existence in their Apennine fastnesses The Sabellians who had overrun Campania intermarried with the earlier inhabitants, and were softened by town life in a luxurious climate But their kinsfolk, the Samnites in the mountains, remained hard-fighting highlanders Most of them were herdsmen, and their capital, Bovianum or Bulltown, was a mere market town for drovers They had made treaties with Rome, but they were determined not to allow her to push south into Campania, whose inhabitants they regarded as half kinsmen, half subjects When Rome intervened to protect a Campanian city from a Samnite raid the highlanders rejected their claims and denounced the treaty So began a dour struggle of sixty years, broken by two intervals of uneasy peace

The Samnite Wars There was little to choose between the two powers in fighting strength. The Samnite infantry were as tough and sturdy as the Roman, and the latter were glad to improve their equipment by copying the Samnite pilum, a throwing javelin used with good effect before coming to close quarters The first brief war decided nothing except that the Roman troops exacted tolerable conditions of service by mutiny and the Senate received the congratulations of Carthage Both powers had to face other enemies, Rome the revolting Latin allies, and the Samnites the Tarentines and their Greek allies from overseas The Latins were defeated and their league dissolved, its social and commercial life was brought under Roman control, its fighting men were enrolled in their conqueror's army, some as full citizens and others as citizens without a vote Rome then allied herself with the Lucanians and Apulians and prepared to invade Samnite territory But after some successes the Roman generals were out-manœuvred by Pontius and forced to surrender at the Caudine Forks The Senate

promptly repudiated the terms which their generals had accepted as the price of freedom. Fortress colonies were built in Campania and Apulia to hem the enemy in. To help the movements of the army the censor Appius Claudius began the great road to Capua which bears his name. Although Pontius followed up his success by seven years' hard fighting, he could not control his clans with the same tenacious resolution as the Senate displayed. He was joined by Etruscans, Umbrians, and Marsians. But the allies were ill assorted, and the Romans



TOMBS ON THE APPIAN WAY

defeated them one by one. When Bovianum fell, the Samnites were glad to make peace. The Senate used the six years' breathing space to build roads, plant colonies, and enrol voteless citizens. When the Gauls joined a renewed alliance of Samnites, Etrurians, and Umbrians, Rome was ready to face them. Fabius's great victory at Sentium scattered the confederacy. The northern enemy made peace, and Bovianum was sacked ruthlessly. The surrender and execution of Pontius brought the fifty-three years of stubborn warfare to an end. The Samnites remained independent of Rome, and there were no more open hostilities. But for two centuries the highlanders remained a menace to their conquerors.

The War with Pyrrhus. Rome was all-powerful in central Italy, and though some of her former enemies showed jealous animosity, many of them regarded her as the natural champion of the Italian races. When the Boii and the Senones tried to win fresh territory in Etruria, Rome

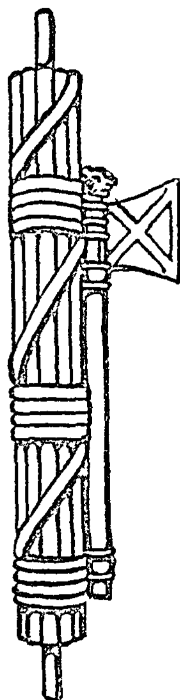


THE COLISEUM, ROME.

had little difficulty in driving back the former over the Apennines She dealt with the Senones even more drastically, Brennus's clansmen were practically exterminated, and their territory annexed as the Gallic Lands, controlled by a citizen colony. Having freed Italy from the northern invader, Rome turned south to meet the Greek danger Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, allied himself with Taranto He brought with him a big professional army of cavalry and infantry drilled in the old Macedonian fashion and reinforced with elephants He found opposed to him a sturdy militia, who had steadily improved their arms, equipment, and discipline in a century's ceaseless warfare He may have underestimated their military value, and have thought he had a comparatively easy task in southern Italy, before passing on to found an empire in Sicily and north Africa His first sight of a Roman camp undeceived him, even the best professional soldiers, trained on the principles which had given Alexander the empire of the eastern world, would find it difficult to wear down men who could entrench and fortify and build roads as these Italians could His first brilliant victory did not mislead Pyrrhus, and, as the struggle went on and the novelty of the elephants wore off, he realized that his enemies had advantages which outweighed his own generalship and the professional training of his men. Rome could recruit her losses, he could not, his communications lay overseas and Carthage, determined to allow no growth of Greek influence in Sicily and lower Italy, made an alliance with Rome Pyrrhus had to hold together quarrelsome Greek cities, whose cultured democracies hated military discipline and military taxation equally His enemies were securely based on a single, united city, controlled by a determined Senate After his second victory Pyrrhus tried to make a reasonable peace which would leave him free to attack his more distant objectives The Senate refused to negotiate while he remained on Italian soil He crossed the straits of Messina and overran all Sicily except Marsala Foiled by that grim fortress, he returned to Italy, was defeated at Benevento, and retired to Greece to meet an ignominious death Great Greece breathed a sigh of relief at his departure, and hastened to become the friend of Rome But his failure was ominous for the military ascendancy of his race Alexander's Successors became uneasily aware that a new army had arisen, which challenged their supremacy The most far-sighted of them, Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt, made a treaty with Pyrrhus's conquerors and thus recognized the new Great Power of the Mediterranean Senate, army, colonies, alliances, and roads made Rome the undisputed mistress of Italy

Internal History of Rome. During the century which stretched from Brennus to Pyrrhus patricians and plebeians had fought each other

within the city walls with the same stubbornness that they had shown against foreign enemies In the end the patricians recognized that they could not withhold forever political power from those who had proved themselves the best soldiers in Italy Coriolanus, the hero of the earlier wars with Veii, had resisted plebeian claims to the death Camillus, who captured Veii and fought Gauls, Etruscans, and Sabellians for thirty years, knew when to give way He persuaded the patricians to assent to the reforms demanded for ten years by the tribunes, Licinius and Sextius The poorer citizens were again relieved of their debts, they were promised a fair share of the public lands, which they had conquered with their swords, one of the consulships was to be reserved solely for plebeians A few offices, such as that of Pontifex Maximus, were still denied them, and their womenfolk suffered through the snobbish exclusiveness of patrician matrons But from the day when the common sense of Camillus secured the passing of the laws of Licinius and Sextius the old quarrel was dead The citizens of Rome were no longer divided by the bar of blood, and the Republic entered on its golden age

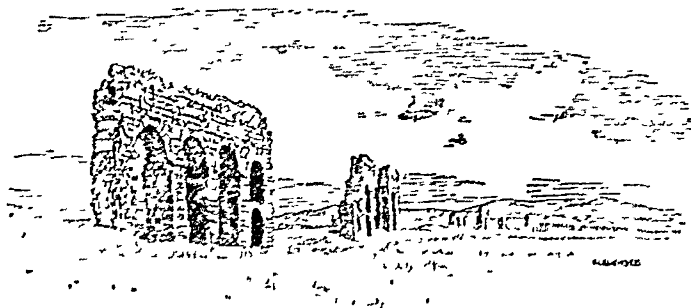


FASCES
An axe and a bundle of rods carried before the consul as a sign of office

The Senate. During the century that followed Licinius's victory a foreign observer might have classed Rome as a democracy The interests of the commons were protected by their own officers, the tribunes, they elected the other magistrates and passed laws But the power lay with the Senate, the council of old men, who had advised the kings and continued to advise the republic They represented the collective experience of the nobles who had served as magistrates, they had tradition and continuity behind them, they were convinced firmly that Rome was the greatest city in the world and themselves the greatest people in it Even when plebeians obtained admission by serving as consuls, the lump had no difficulty in absorbing the leaven The Senate's motto was 'the custom of our ancestors,' and its iron tradition bound the new-comers and repressed would-be reformers It could discuss everything or refuse to discuss anything The Assemblies passed the laws, but no magistrate ventured to bring forward any proposal which the Senate had not sanctioned It controlled finance by voting the magistrates their revenues and exacting account when they left office It dealt with all foreign powers and expressed to them the considered policy of Rome Indi-

vidual generals and magistrates passed away, but the Senate remained, the embodiment of Roman tradition and determination.

The Magistrates. Aristocracies are always jealous of the individuals who compose them. At Rome this jealousy had taken the practical form of dividing the powers of each office between two or more magistrates, and limiting their tenure to a year. The two consuls led the army and presided over the Senate and the Assemblies. Only bitter experience taught the Romans that it is unwise to change generals every twelve months, and forced them to allow successful commanders to continue as



RUINS OF THE AQUA CLAUDIA

proconsuls after their year of office had expired. They learnt that a divided command may be disastrous, and sometimes appointed a single dictator in place of the two consuls. The noble who entered public life had first to be elected quaestor; in that office he supervised the treasury or served as aide-de-camp to the consul in the field. As aedile he dealt with the domestic side of government, police, markets, streets, and public works. When he reached the praetorship he controlled the growing body of Roman law, judging cases between citizens and also between citizens and foreigners. After his consulship he might continue to command an army as proconsul. He could even hope to be chosen dictator or censor, if he had won the admiration and confidence of the Senate. In the latter office, which was filled every five years, he controlled the composition of the Senate and the Assemblies, striking from the official lists all whom he considered unworthy or unqualified. He also dealt with the construction of the great works which the growth of the city's power rendered necessary; there were military roads, which took their names from the censors, Appius Claudius and Flaminius, and the former also gave the city her first good water-supply in the Aqua Claudia.

The Assemblies. The growth of the citizen body made the old Assemblies almost unworkable. As colonies spread farther and farther afield, the Assemblies fell into the hands of the traders and artisans, and the farmer

class ceased to attend The voting power of all the tribes was equal, no matter how large or small the tribe might be, this allowed intriguing politicians to nullify the will of the majority by bribing the members of the smaller tribes The Council of the plebeians elected the tribunes, whose personal immunity and public power of vetoing the decisions of other officers supplied the chief weapon in overcoming the oppositions of the patricians The resolutions of the Council acquired the force of laws, and in this respect it stood on an equality with the Assemblies. But it was only in times of embittered civil strife that either body attempted to override the wishes of the Senate Their chief function was the election of magistrates, the growth of Roman power is a tribute to the wisdom of their choice

Republicanism In theory every citizen of Rome was eligible for office after the passing of the Licinian laws In practice the choice of the Assembly was confined to the old patrician families and the rich plebeians The Roman nobility, both patrician and plebeian, was chary of admitting to its ranks any one whose ancestors had not served as magistrates. The republic did not throw open the political career to talent. The memory of the kings had left a deep-rooted dread of tyranny The nobles were determined it should be impossible for any single individual to impose his rule on the community, no matter how distinguished his services. They did not hesitate to murder any of their number whom they suspected of aiming at monarchical power Every magistrate was a member of a board, not an individual official who could use his power without the restraint of a colleague One consul might interfere with another, the results were sometimes disastrous, but the system checked any possibility of one-man rule Besides this power of veto another check lay in the fact that the magistrates, consuls, praetors, quaestors, and aediles were elected only for a year The consuls could not interfere with one another on the field of battle, but only in the city itself The veto was the great instrument which the tribunes used in their struggle to secure the plebeian demands But, unless the whole board of ten tribunes agreed on a common policy, it was always open to their patrician enemies to win over to their side a tribune, who would block the acts of his colleagues The whole system of checks and balances, designed to prevent the restoration of monarchy, might have rendered the republican form of government unworkable That Rome grew greater and happier under it is a strong proof of the practical sagacity of the Roman people

You will find in Plutarch's Lives *an excellent account of many of the old Republican worthies of Rome Shakespeare's* Coriolanus *gives a dramatic picture of the struggle between patricians and plebeians.*

DATES

B C	
396	Camillus's capture of Veii
390	Battle of the Allia
381	Roman citizenship granted to Tusculum.
367	The Licinian Laws
351	Votéless citizenship granted to Caere
348	Second Treaty between Rome and Carthage
343	Beginning of Samnite Wars
338	Dissolution of Latin League
323	Death of Alexander the Great
321	The Surrender at the Caudine Forks
312	Beginning of the Appian Road.
306	Third Treaty between Rome and Carthage.
305	Capture of Bovianum
275	Battle of Benevento
273	Treaty between Rome and Egypt

CHAPTER III

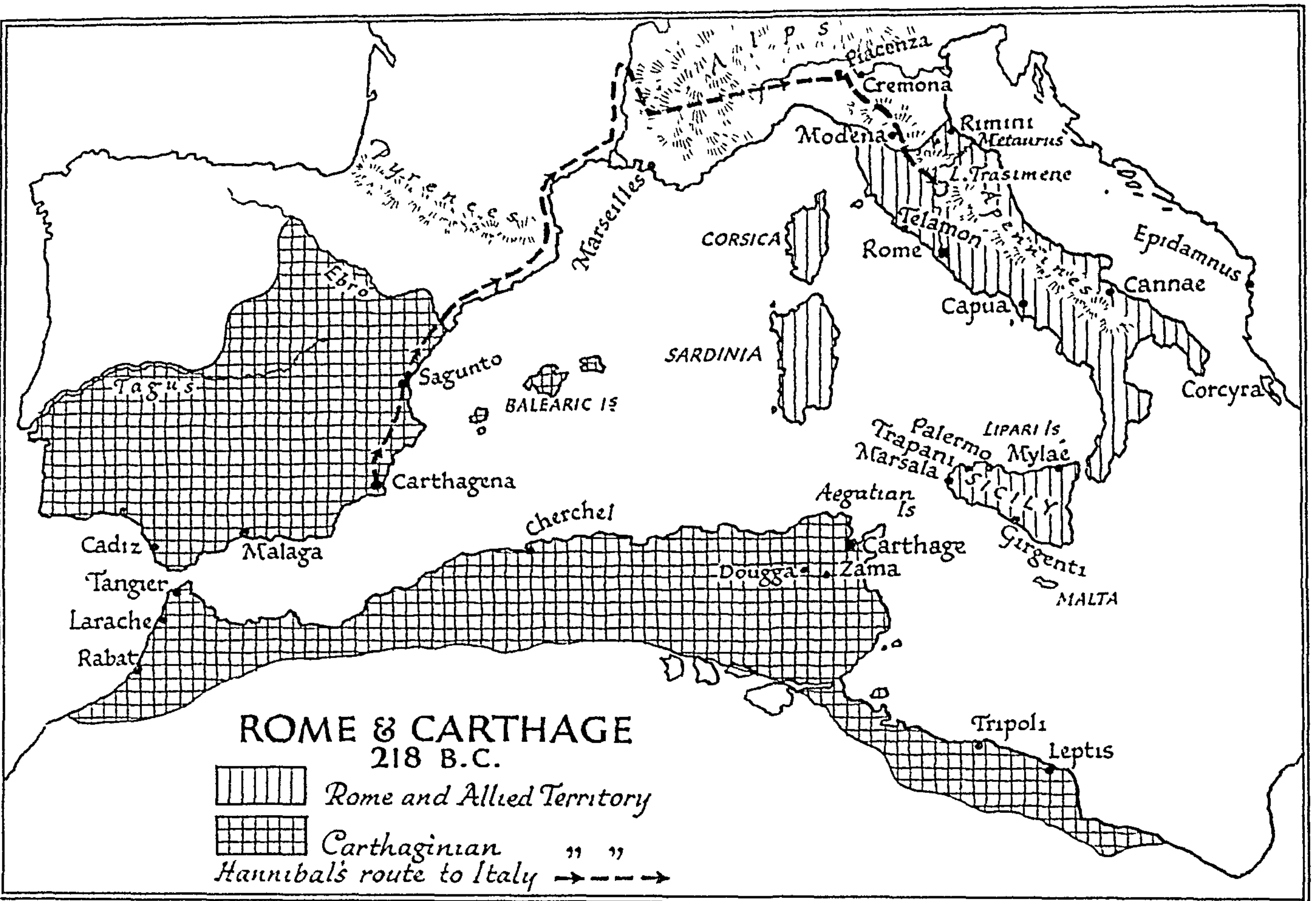
ROME AND CARTHAGE

WHEN Pyrrhus abandoned Sicily he is said to have regretted the fair battlefield he was leaving to Carthage and Rome In spite of appearances it was a shrewd prophecy The two nations had made treaties with one another Their soldiers and sailors had never met in battle Carthage had done nothing to hamper Rome in her wars against Etruscans, Samnites, and Greeks, her fleet assisted in the war against Pyrrhus, and Roman merchants were given trading rights in Sicily itself But at last the restless ambition of Rome stirred even the peace-loving nobles of Byrsa to action They abandoned old prejudices, and joined Hiero, King of Syracuse, to suppress the ravages of some disreputable Campanian freebooters, who had seized Messina Military and mercantile ambitions were too strong for Rome's sense of decency Quite shamelessly she accepted the besieged ruffians as allies, threw an army across the straits, and drove off Hiero and his Carthaginian allies In this odd fashion the two great powers began the first of what the Romans called the three Punic Wars,

and entered on the struggle which was to decide whether Semitic Africa or Aryan Italy was to rule the western Mediterranean

Resources of Rome. Rome had great military and considerable naval resources for the struggle Her army was still a citizen militia, normally disbanded every year She was weak in cavalry, but in the artisans and the farmers of the capital, the colonies, and the Italian countryside she had inexhaustible material for her 'astonishing infantry' Equipment and discipline had improved steadily since the days of Brennus The legionary had confidence in himself and in the generals, whom he and his kinsfolk had elected in the Assemblies There were few military geniuses among the Fabian, Cornelian, Claudian, Lutatian, Livian, and other great families who commanded the armies and the fleets But the Roman noble was often a competent tactician, and always a stubborn leader of men He never took kindly to the sea, and preferred to watch the other fellow's ship on the storm-tossed waters But he was ready to command a navy manned by Greek and Italian allies or slaves Rome had maintained a small fleet since the middle of the fourth century As the war went on Great Greece came over solidly to her side, from Marseilles to Syracuse and Taranto the cities sent her ships and sailors, who accepted her leadership gladly against the hereditary enemy If her nobles often misused their skill and her historians ignored their services, she provided a rallying-point which the Greeks could not produce themselves The Roman Senate had learnt from long experience how to direct a war Usually cautious and unimaginative, it had occasional flashes of genius and pursued its purpose with inflexible resolution

Resources of Carthage. The rulers of Carthage had behind them a longer tradition of empire The centre of the city's power was the richly phosphated Tunisian plain, which secured it a better corn supply than Italy provided The capital itself was strongly fortified, and probably had a population of nearly a million at the outbreak of the war It possessed two admirable harbours and extensive naval and military stores But few of its inhabitants were fit or willing to take the field Their motto was 'Business as usual,' and they were content to leave the fighting to the more distant parts of their empire Carthage held Cadiz, Malaga, and other districts of southern Spain, which formed a good recruiting ground, the Balearic Islands supplied her with slingers, she controlled Sardinia, Corsica, and half Sicily She made alliances with Berber, Moorish, and Spanish chieftains Everywhere her chief object was the money that comes from trade, and as trade demands a certain standard of good feeling and fair dealing, her government was not oppressive, though her sailors maintained their maritime monopoly by brutal methods But merchant princes rarely win sympathy or admiration from the rest of the world


ROME & CARTHAGE
218 B.C.
Rome and Allied Territory
Carthaginian
Hannibal's route to Italy
Pyrenees
Alps
Apennines
Piacenza
Cremona
Modena
Rimini
Metaurus
L. Trasimene
Telamon
Rome
Capua
Cannae
Epidamnus
Corcyra
Marseilles
Ebro
Tagus
Saguntо
Carthagena
Malaga
Cadiz
Tangier
Larache
Rabat
BALEARIC Is
CORSICA
SARDINIA
LIPARI Is
Palermo
Trapani
Marsala
Mylae
SICILY
Girgenti
MALTA
Aegatian Is
Carthage
Zama
Dougga
Cherchel
Tripoli
Leptis

Carthage never secured the enduring loyalty of her African or Spanish allies, or even of her Punic and Libyphoenician kinsfolk in the towns She possessed 'the sinews of war' in abundance, and she used them to hire mercenaries for her armies and slaves to row her fleet Her navy had a great reputation, but, as it was dangerous to keep the numerous slave crews together in peace time, she never had a fleet in being Both navy and army were officered by Carthaginians; most of them must have been able and versatile men to get good work out of mixed races They held their commands till they brought captives and plunder back to Byrsa or were crucified for failure. The world was full of broken men and trained soldiers, who could be hammered into a good fighting force by an able commander, but lacked the stubborn loyalty which patriotism gives Carthage enrolled Greeks, Samnites, Campanians, Gauls, Moors, Spaniards, and Balearics to fight her battles She enrolled admirable cavalry from the Berber clans As far as army, navy, and money went, Carthage was as well off as Rome, if she could find good officers in the field and resolute and far-sighted leaders at home The Carthaginian Council had a long record of expanding trade and domestic peace, which stirred the admiration of Greek political thinkers But the merchant princes had little enthusiasm for fighting, and still less for prolonged warfare They were jealous of their admirals and generals, and grudged them the necessary support They rarely did the right thing, and never at the right time



BERBER MAUSOLEUM AT DOUGGA, TUNISIA
Built about the time of Hannibal
Notice the blend of Egyptian and Greek architecture

The First Punic War Rome's swift aggression gave her control of inland Sicily Hiero changed sides, and she gained an excellent base of operations in Syracuse Carthage lost Girgenti and crucified her unsuccessful general Most of the coast towns still held out for her, and she sent a fleet to ravage the Italian seaboard This spurred the Romans

to strengthen their navy, and to perfect a new device in sea-warfare Some inventive genius, probably a Greek, designed boarding-gangways, twelve yards long, which could pivot on a mast in the bows and, when released, grip the enemy's deck with an iron beak, along these 'crows' the legionaries could pass two abreast to board the enemy. If the Carthaginians learnt of the new invention from their intelligence service they thought that superior handling of their ships would enable them to dodge the crow's beak and use the ram's horn on the enemy's side, they forgot the pivot Off Mylae they sank seventeen ships of the leading squadron But Duilius led the main fleet into action, the crows held their prey fast, and the soldiers did the rest Carthage was no longer mistress of the seas The Romans were freed from anxiety for the Italian coastline, it is pleasant to learn that they rewarded Duilius by providing him with an escort of torch-bearers and musicians whenever he went out to dinner The victory enabled the legions to drive the Carthaginians into the north-west corner of Sicily, conquer their garrisons in Corsica and Sardinia, and send Regulus to Africa He was joined by many of the Punic towns, and tried to end the war by capturing Carthage, but his troops were insufficient for the task, and he was beaten and captured by a Spartan soldier of fortune The remnants of Regulus's army were re-embarked by a victorious Roman fleet, which later was lost at sea owing to the arrogance of its noble admiral These two disasters allowed Carthage to reinforce her generals in Sicily But Rome was undaunted Caecilius Metellus beat off the reinforcements, stormed Palermo, and adorned his triumph with captured elephants The war seemed over, when suddenly Carthage discovered a competent admiral and a good general Adherbal defeated Claudius off Trapani, and destroyed nearly a hundred ships Hamilcar Barca seized Mount Ercta, and exhausted his enemies by brilliant guerrilla warfare He even harried southern Italy, and for five years the Romans could make no headway But though it felt the strain of the last twenty years, the Senate resolved on a supreme effort Through the generosity and patriotism of the richer citizens two hundred fresh vessels were built Lutatius Catulus won the 'crowning mercy' of the Aegatian Islands, and occupied the harbours of Marsala and Trapani The Carthaginian nobles wanted to recover normal conditions of trade, and decided that further resistance was useless They acknowledged that Rome was supreme on land and sea, gave up Sicily and the Lipari Islands, promised to pay an indemnity of half a million pounds over a number of years, and withdrew Hamilcar's troops to Africa

The Truceless War and the Barcas in Spain To the merchants of Byrsa the war had been an unmitigated disaster They had lost their Sicilian towns and their monopoly of trade in the western Mediterranean

They decided to keep the peace with Rome, build up their trade again, and restore the State finances by rigid economies. They began by withholding the pay of the mercenaries who had returned from Sicily. The motley crowd of soldiers revolted, and found many allies in north Africa. But Hamilcar came to the rescue and, after a bloody struggle in which no quarter was given, smashed the army which had held Rome in check for five years. He then turned to the great task of revenge, to which he and his house devoted themselves. Spain offered incomparable opportunities; he could rebuild Carthaginian commerce there, enrol troops, discipline a long-service army, and secure a base for the attack on Rome. For seventeen years Hamilcar and his son-in-law fought and planned; they built a new Carthage, now Carthagena, on the east coast, and won most of Spain south of the Ebro. Hamilcar's sons, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago, carried on the work. When Hannibal attacked Sagunto, Rome sent Fabius to protest, first to the general himself, and then to the Carthaginian Council.



HANNIBAL
(*Naples Museum*)

The Expansion of Roman Power. Meanwhile Rome had made good use of the peace. After seizing Sardinia and Corsica, she turned eastward, crushed the Adriatic pirates, received Corcyra and Epidamnus as subject-allies, and made treaties with Athens, Corinth, and Rhodes. This policy alienated Macedonia, but the Ptolemies of Egypt became close friends of Rome. Fresh Gaulish tribes poured over the Alps and joined their kinsmen in an attempt to recover the Gallic Lands from the Roman settlers. The Gauls were beaten decisively at Telamon. The territories of the Boii and the Insubres were annexed and colonies were built at Modena, Piacenza, and Cremona. Flaminius, the conqueror of the Insubres, extended the great military road which bears his name to Rimini. In Spain Rome fixed the Ebro as the boundary with Carthage; she accepted Sagunto as an ally though it lay south of the river. Her sea-power seemed to secure her from invasion, and she was not seriously troubled by the growth of Carthaginian trade and power in the distant west. The attack on Sagunto took her completely by surprise, and she was sure that the Carthaginians would give way, as they had when she

annexed Corsica and Sardinia But Hannibal's friends at home stood by him It was war once more

Beginning of the Hannibalic War. Rome could put seven hundred thousand infantry and seventy thousand cavalry into the field, and she had no fear of the Carthaginian navy With leisurely confidence she prepared to fight in Spain and Africa But she had to deal with one of the world's greatest soldiers In spite of the odds Hannibal had determined to crush Rome by striking at Italy itself As the sea was denied him, his plan was to overcome the appalling difficulties of the land route, descend into the Po valley, enlist the Gauls, fight his way down the Apennines, and establish himself in Apulia There he hoped to receive reinforcements from Carthage and Macedonia, and to raise against Rome the Italian cities and tribes she had conquered After capturing Sagunto he left Hasdrubal behind to complete the conquest of Spain, and with Mago as a leader of cavalry led his hard-bitten professional force across the Ebro to attack an army eight times as large By the time he had fought his way across the Pyrenees to the Rhône he had lost nearly half his strength Rome sent Publius Cornelius Scipio to conquer him in Spain. Hannibal out-manœuvred him north of Marseilles and reached the Alps Scipio sent his brother with the army into Spain, and himself returned to command in Italy After terrible hardships, Hannibal reached the Po, but barely twenty-five thousand men had survived the icy horrors of the mountain crossing The gaps were filled by Gauls, and he pushed on to defeat Scipio in a cavalry skirmish At the Trebia the skilful use of Mago's Berber horsemen enabled him to overwhelm Scipio's colleague and win all Lombardy except the Roman colonies Next year Hannibal crossed the Apennines and wiped out another army under Flaminius at Lake Trasimene Though the dictator Fabius harassed his advance, he established himself in Apulia, and so completed the first part of his daring plan

Hannibal's supremacy after Cannae. A year later he won his greatest triumph at Cannae, where he captured ten thousand prisoners and killed at least fifty thousand men, including the consul Paullus The victory gave him overwhelming prestige, and he was joined by Capua and most of southern Italy But the other consul 'did not despair of the republic' Rome raised fresh legions, enlisted slaves, and appointed generals who were beginning to learn their job from disaster itself The colonies and the Greek cities held out for Rome, and Hannibal had neither time nor siege equipment to reduce them Against Fabius, Marcellus, and their like he maintained his supremacy in the field, while he urged Philip V of Macedonia and the Carthaginian Council to send troops into Italy But the old mercantile spirit reasserted itself on Byrsa

Armies were raised in Africa, but they were sent to countries from which Carthage could draw revenue and trade, such as Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily, which had revolted after the death of Hiero Hannibal's hopes rose when the Greek cities of the south joined him, and provided naval bases, through which he could draw reinforcements from Africa and Macedonia But the Senate and the People of Rome stood firm in Italy and maintained the struggle in the distant theatres of war. They kept Philip busy at home, they sent Marcellus to recover Sicily, they reinforced the two Scipios in Spain and enabled them to baffle Hasdrubal, even when Mago brought troops to his support



Naples Museum

SCIPIO AFRICANUS
Conqueror of Hannibal

The Turning of the Tide. Hannibal's great mistake lay in his belief that the towns of Italy would desert Rome, when her armies were defeated, as the African towns deserted Carthage But, whatever their grievances, the Italians preferred Roman rule to African Hannibal received some help from Samnites and Etruscans, but the ties of blood were too strong for him Five years after Cannae he lost Capua. His last hope lay with his brothers They had defeated and killed the two elder Scipios, and held at bay a fresh Roman army under Claudius Nero Publius Scipio the younger retrieved the situation and captured Carthagena But Hasdrubal out-manœuvred him, and led the last army of the Barcas across the Alps Nero, who had returned to command in Italy, captured Hasdrubal's dispatches to Hannibal, and, leaving a covering force to mark the elder brother, joined his colleague in the north Hasdrubal was defeated and killed at the Metaurus, and Hannibal's last chance had gone. His own skill and Rome's exhaustion enabled him to hold out for five years more But the Greek cities abandoned him, Philip made his peace with Rome, young Scipio defeated Mago in Spain and made alliances with the Berber chieftains, the peace party at Carthage grew in power

The End of Hannibal. The Senate knew the terrific wastage that Rome had suffered and would have been content to stop fighting But its hand was forced by Scipio, who was elected consul despite his youth

and insisted on invading Africa With Cato as his quaestor, he crossed from Sicily and was joined by the Berber king, Masinissa, and many of the African towns Hannibal led his handful of veterans back to save Carthage, but he was defeated by Scipio at Zama, and the long war ended Carthage surrendered Spain and all the Mediterranean islands, her fleet was cut down to ten warships, she agreed to pay an annual tribute of two hundred talents for fifty years, she yielded to Masinissa all the territory his ancestors had claimed Hannibal accepted the terms loyally, and, as shophet, broke the corrupt mercantile party and reorganized the administration of the city His peaceful triumphs stirred Roman jealousy to demand his surrender He escaped to Asia and worked skilfully to build up an alliance, which should revenge the Barcas Nineteen years after Zama he poisoned himself to avoid being surrendered to Rome

Rome's Vengeance. The two Punic wars left Rome supreme in Italy and mistress of the western Mediterranean By crushing the Gauls of the Po valley and annexing their territory she had pushed the boundary of Italy from Apennines to Alps She had created four overseas provinces in Sicily, Sardinia-with-Corsica, and Nearer and Farther Spain She had checked Macedonia by arms and discreet alliances and become supreme in the Adriatic She had established friendly relations with Egypt, Rhodes, and Pergamum Once Hannibal was dead, she was free from the Carthaginian menace But the shadow of the Barcas still lay on her nobles, and the revival of Carthage's commerce roused the jealousy of her merchants Cato united the two classes by his slogan, 'Carthage must be destroyed' For fifty years Masinissa encroached on her territory vigorously and unscrupulously. Carthage appealed vainly for protection to her overlords at Rome In despair she took up arms against the Berbers, but laid them down at the Senate's command A consular army landed in Africa, assuring the Carthaginians that they could entrust their rights safely to Rome First, three hundred hostages were demanded from their noble families, then they were ordered to surrender all warlike weapons and stores, finally they were told to evacuate Carthage, which was to be destroyed utterly, while the inhabitants were at liberty to build another town ten miles inland The soul of the Semitic traders was stirred to heroic frenzy. By incredible efforts the disarmed city was put into a state of defence, and for three years the despairing Africans kept the Romans at bay It fell to the lot of Scipio Aemilianus, grandson of the consul Paulus who fell at Cannae, and adopted son of Hannibal's conqueror, to complete the work of his forefathers. He cut off Carthage from the sea, captured the outer suburbs, and stormed Byrsa, street by street, and house by house; the last defenders perished in

the flames of the temple of Eshmun The Senate ordered every building that survived the sack to be razed to the ground, and dedicated the site to the Infernal Gods

DATES

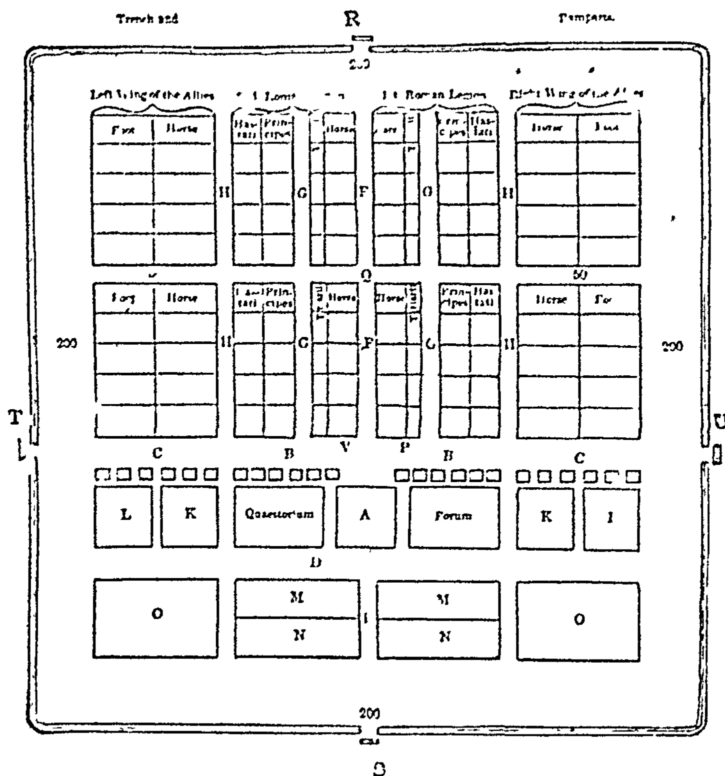
B C	
264	Capture of Messina by Claudius
260	Battle of Mylae
247	Hamilcar Barca at Mount Ercta
242	Battle of the Aegatian Islands
241	The Truceless War.
236	Hamilcar in Spain
230	Rome's War with the Adriatic Pirates
227	Praetors sent as governors to Sicily and Sardinia
225	Battle of Telamon
216	Battle of Cannae
207.	Battle of the Metaurus
202	Battle of Zama
183	Death of Hannibal.
168	End of the Macedonian Kingdom
146	Destruction of Carthage.

CHAPTER IV

THE RULE OF THE SENATE

THE long struggle with Carthage showed clearly the strength and the weakness of Roman character Even when he had conquered Hannibal, the Roman remained a simple, forthright individual, working hard and worshipping the old gods, as his father had done before him Long contact with the Greeks had taught his betters to attach to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva the legends told of Zeus, Hera, and Athene, and to blend the rough old Latin gods with the more splendid divinities of Olympus But the ordinary Roman thought more of the Lares, who were the presiding deities of his own household, than of any other gods, except Jupiter, whose temple stood on the Capitoline hill He was quite unlike the Periclean Athenian in his qualities and his defects He lacked his Greek predecessor's ear for music and eye for beauty He had clumsier fingers and a sturdier hand He could not have designed and painted

Attic vases or sculptured the Parthenon bas-reliefs But he could handle a spade to entrench a camp against all comers and he knew how to build a road. He had shrewd common sense, but little imagination, and he was content with the clothes, food, housing, and rustic amusements



ROMAN CAMP

A, praetorium —B, tents of the tribunes —C, tents of the praefecti sociorum —D, street 100 feet wide —E, F, G, and H, streets 50 feet wide —L, select foot and volunteers —K, select horse and volunteers —M, extraordinary horse of the allies —N, extraordinary foot of the allies —O, reserved for occasional auxiliaries —Q, the street called Quintana, 50 feet wide —R, Porta Decumana —S, Porta Praetoria —T, Porta Principalis Dextra —U, Porta Principalis Sinistra —VP, Via Principalis, 100 feet wide

of his ancestors His wife bore him many children, and he ruled her and them firmly He was convinced that he was the salt of the earth and was ready to fight all comers in that belief In a successful war he wanted his share of portable plunder and captured lands; when defeat came, he went on fighting, stubbornly sure that Rome always won the last battle There was a vein of cruelty embedded in his tough character, and prolonged warfare made him callous to his enemies, he came to enjoy

the gladiatorial combats, which his Etruscan foes had organized. With all his rough jollity he was close-fisted and he loved to quibble about his legal rights But, as a practical man, he knew how to give and take, whether it was a matter of business with his neighbour or of political rights with the richer classes. So long as he could farm his bit of land or run his shop profitably, he had no objection to the rule of the old families and the big merchants

The Senate. The union of patricians and rich plebeians effected by the Licinian laws had made the Senate an admirable council for carrying on a protracted war Its general level of ability was high; it had unlimited self-confidence and inflexible determination, it was not too conservative to learn from experience, it knew when to yield to the united demand of the commons for better conditions of military service, a greater share of public lands, or the election of a popular favourite Senators were saved from the commercial vices, which corrupted their Carthaginian foes, by the law which forbade them to own more than one merchant ship They had the virtues and the vices of great landlords, their worst blunder was to cut down free labour and work their estates with the slaves who poured into the market from the battlefield

The New Nobility. The old barrier between patrician and plebeian was replaced by another between the nobiles and the ignobiles. Except after a disaster like Cannae, it was hard for a 'new man,' whose ancestors had not been magistrates, to secure election The noble, whose father had been praetor or consul, worked hard to keep others outside the charmed circle He was jealous too of his brother nobles, and especially of youthful generals, he wanted his share of military glory and of the wider opportunities which came with the increase of Rome's dominions. As governor of the new provinces, he ruled his subjects with rough justice, which sometimes became cruelty, though he despised trade as he despised foreigners, he did not always withstand the temptation of making money out of the provincials He began to be influenced by the nations he had conquered Men like Cato still preached the simple life, but most nobles thought that Africanus was right in saying that Rome could learn much from Greece, even if they were not prepared to listen to the teaching of Greek philosophers A captive from Taranto showed that it was possible to copy the masterpieces of the Athenian stage Greek doctors cured senatorial aches and pains The noble acquired a taste for literature and the theatre, he read the eighteen books of the *Annals* in which Ennius's rough hexameters told the story of Rome's great destiny He acquired an ear for rhythm, and the clumsy Latin speech grew in grace and dignity When he met the Greek rulers of Asia and Egypt he liked their luxury and added statuary and pictures to his home Even Greek sailors had their

uses, but he had destroyed the great Carthaginian sea-captains who had explored the distant seas

The Knights Outside the senate there gradually grew up a new order of knights Many of these had made their fortunes from handling army contracts and supplying food, arms, and uniforms for the legionaries who defeated Hannibal. The rich traders, who had supported Cato's vendetta against Carthage, found a growing market for their wares, once they were freed from Punic competition The Senate excluded them from office, but senators were shut out from the profits that came from maritime trade The knights reaped a rich harvest from the newly formed provinces by moneylending and the collection of the State taxes Experience taught them to work together in defence of their financial and commercial interests, and they became an important factor in Roman politics through the power of the purse

The Growth of Exclusiveness. While senators, knights, and commons became more conscious of their separate interests, they united in defending their privileges from the rest of the world Latins and Italians had served Rome magnificently in the struggle with Hannibal; but she grudged them a share in the fruits of victory They wanted Roman citizenship, but they were forbidden to settle in the city, and the censors struck them off the lists of voters The commons were not anxious to have too many outsiders jostling them for seats at the public shows, or drawing a share of the corn which friendly kings sent to the city Gradually the Italian began to forget the dangers he had escaped from Etruscan, Gaul, Greek, and Carthaginian, and to resent the Roman taskmaster who had led him to victory

The Slaves. The richer Roman matron found she could make good use of some of the captives, who were sold in the slave markets Though Cato growled that Greeks and Syrians corrupted the simplicity of Roman life, she learnt to use them as cooks, painters, potters, and weavers, to increase the comforts of her home Sometimes she entrusted the education of her son to a cultured Greek, who trained him in history, literature, and oratory But the bulk of the prisoners were used for rougher tasks They were sent into the countryside, a few worked as agriculturists, but most became herdsmen At night they were crowded into slave barracks They were brutalized by hard labour, poor clothing, wretched food, and a hopeless outlook Some escaped to join brigand bands, with whom they had a short life of plunder, ending in capture and crucifixion As their numbers grew, they became a menace to the society they supported by their toil

Army and Navy. The legion was still a citizen force, but the raw recruits were now leavened by long-service volunteers who felt themselves



ONE OF THE LARES OR ROMAN HOUSEHOLD GODS
(*Altar of the Lares Augusti, Rome*)

unfitted to return to the life of the farmer or the artisan As her dominions spread Rome enlisted the services of races she had conquered as auxiliaries To her Italian heavy infantry she added Berber cavalry, Balearic slingers, Gaulish swordsmen, and Greek skirmishers A naval career never appealed to Roman nobles, and they did not trouble to keep a fleet in being When occasion demanded they relied on slave oarsmen and Greek navigators Consequently piracy began to flourish, as the great sea-powers of the Mediterranean decayed. The wars left many ruined men to fill the pirate ships, and, in spite of spasmodic efforts to crush them, the corsairs harassed commerce and plundered the coastal districts for a century and a half The Romans were forced to abandon their heavy quinqueremes and build lighter ships to cope with swift and unexpected raids

The Struggle with Macedonia. Two years after Zama and seventeen years too late Philip V decided to defy Rome His attack on Athens brought the legions across the Adriatic as 'friends of Greece' His restless ambition had frightened other Greek powers, and Rome found strong support in Aetolia, Rhodes, Byzantium, Egypt, and many commercial cities The Macedonian troops were loyal to their king and imbued with the great traditions of Alexander. But in man-power Philip had not the resources of Rome, and his men were trained on old-fashioned lines The heavy phalanx with its long spears might smash its way through the Roman line, but it was clumsy on broken ground, and was no match for the more mobile legionaries, who harassed it with their javelins, and poured into any opening, while the cavalry charged its flanks Flamininus, elected consul at thirty, crushed the Macedonians at Cynoscephalae, with the help of Aetolian cavalry Philip paid a heavy indemnity, surrendered most of his possessions in Greece, and agreed to make no alliance without Rome's permission Flamininus declared the Greek cities free, which meant they were free to manage their own internal affairs, and do anything that did not annoy Rome Philip spent the rest of his life in filling his treasury and reorganizing his army His son, Perseus, rallied the Macedonian supporters in the Greek cities, and threw off the Roman protectorate He won some victories over the incompetent and rapacious consuls who were sent against him But Aemilius Paullus, son of the consul who fell at Cannae, restored discipline, defeated Perseus at Pydna, and took him to Italy The historic kingdom of Philip and Alexander was broken up into four small states Later the Aetolians were conquered, the minor military powers suppressed, and Corinth sacked and burnt Macedonia became a Roman province Athens and Sparta remained free and paid no tribute, but the territory of other cities became public lands Rome was mistress of the Balkan peninsula

Wars with Syria. The Seleucids were still the greatest power in Asia, although they had been weakened by the rise of Parthia When Hannibal visited Syria, and appeared at the court of Antiochus III, there was a chance that a great coalition might be formed against Rome. The Carthaginian exile designed to unite the Successors of Alexander, the Gauls, the Spaniards, and his own city against the power which threatened the whole Mediterranean world But Antiochus was entirely confident in his own resources, and quite incapable of showing the industry or the diplomacy necessary for such a vast design He attacked Greece, but was beaten at Thermopylae Aided once more by Rhodes, the Romans drove his fleet off the sea and invaded Asia Africanus helped his brother, Lucius, to annihilate the fighting power of Syria, which was finally crushed at Magnesia Antiochus suffered the fate of Philip, paying tribute and losing territory But Rome did not aim at extending her dominions, and her Senate was not prepared to create a province in Asia She made alliances with the smaller kings who ruled parts of the old Seleucid empire, and opened another field for Italian traders and financiers The power of the Seleucids dwindled rapidly The Jews broke into rebellion in defence of their religion There were quarrels in the royal house, and appeals to the Senate to act as mediator Wars with Egypt were frequent When Rome appointed a guardian to Antiochus V it was clear that she had nothing more to fear from the Seleucid dynasty

Alliance with Egypt. The Ptolemies had proved themselves good friends of Rome and, as their military power declined, they trusted themselves more and more to her protection against their Seleucid rivals After the first three kings, the royal house lost its Macedonian vigour. It was glad to send Egypt's abundant wheat to make good the deficiencies of Italian harvests and to welcome Italian traders to Alexandria, unquestionably the richest port in the world since Carthage and Corinth had been destroyed When there were disputes about the succession, Roman nobles settled them and grew rich from their labours Cyrenaica was separated from Egypt, and the kingdom became weaker politically, though her wealth increased and her navy was still a useful force under the protection of Rome

Spain and Southern Gaul. Roman traders pushed into the Rhône valley and joined the Greeks of Marseilles in trafficking with the Gauls They were forced to rely mainly on the sea-route, as the Ligurians of the western Alps were hostile They were attracted also by the mineral wealth of Spain, but it was many years before that country gave them an opportunity of peaceful trade The Senate's generals showed little of the skill which the Barcas had displayed There were many wars which accomplished little The Spanish service was unpopular, campaigning

was rough, and there was no chance of easy plunder, such as rewarded the legions in Greece and Asia Nagging warfare breeds brutality on both sides, and the stronger army is tempted to replace skill and courage by terrorism. Some of the mines were reopened, and a few colonies were planted in the two provinces of Nearer and Farther Spain; but many of the tribes maintained their freedom in the mountains of the centre and the west Disorder and rebellion were the rule till the governorship of Sempronius Gracchus He was vigorous, firm, and just, and he gave Spain peace for a generation. But the incompetence and cruelty of his successors brought back the old troubles, and their bad faith drove the tribes to desperate resistance Galba persuaded the Lusitanians to surrender by promising them their lives, and then massacred them Viriathus, a Lusitanian shepherd, baffled the Roman generals till they bribed an assassin to do their work It was left to the conqueror of Carthage to complete the work his forefathers had begun Scipio Aemilianus restored discipline in the legions and appointed good subordinates, Jugurtha, Masinissa's grandson, came from Africa to serve under him, Gaius Gracchus showed the Spaniards that he could follow his father's example; in the cavalry there was a brilliant officer from Arpinum, called Marius Scipio broke the resistance of the natives by capturing Numantia, and there was little further trouble Good roads were driven through the land, the mineral and agricultural wealth of the peninsula attracted settlers, and Spain became peaceful and prosperous

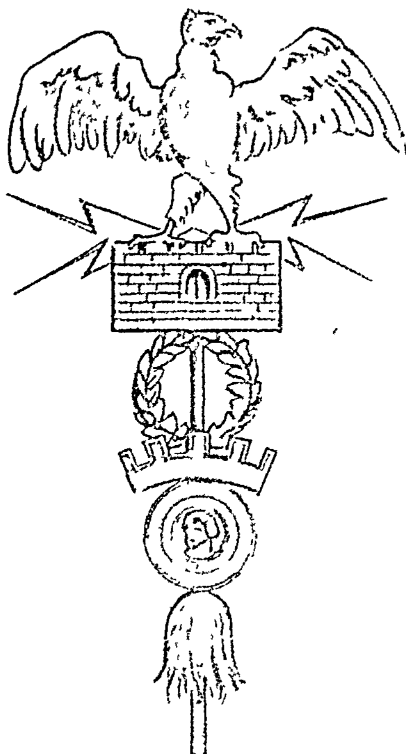
Provincial Organization. The Senate was reluctant to annex distant lands, and Roman dominion outside Italy grew piecemeal She did not create a new organization to meet the new problem, but followed her usual practice of extending old institutions At first she appointed practors to govern the provinces As these grew in number they were governed by men who had served as consuls or practors, and were called proconsuls or propraetors The governor took with him a quaestor, as chief of staff, and comites or companions, whose service was honorary, he had no trained civil servants to help him His term of office was short, and he looked upon it as a tedious interruption of his career at Rome Generally he tried to rule with a certain hard justice, and to train his subjects to profit by good roads, more towns, and less warfare But often the provincials must have felt that they had exchanged one oppressor for another In backward countries the inhabitants paid a lump sum to their conquerors annually But where there was already in existence a regular system of handing over a yearly percentage of crops, Rome allowed her knights to pay a fixed sum for the privilege of collecting the revenue It was a vicious system, and led to ruthless extortion by which the tax-gatherers grew rich Traders and financiers came from

Italy, and they too skinned the provincials Only men of exceptional integrity and strength, like Gracchus, opposed the evil custom The natural course for a governor who valued his political career at Rome was to wink at the wrongdoing of comites, financiers, traders, and tax-gatherers, and to take a share of their profits

The Gracchan Revolution Roman dominion had grown steadily since Zama But thoughtful men saw that the Senate had been corrupted by wealth and power The old farmer stock was being undersold by the big landowners Latins and Italians were discontented The city assemblies were controlled by an idle, demoralized mob, who could be bribed by ambitious politicians The bulk of the Senate thought that all was well, as long as the republic was governed by and for the best people or optimates But there were patriotic nobles who desired reform, and in the year of the capture of Numantia, Gracchus's son, Tiberius took the first step against the domination of the Senate In spite of his family connections he championed the people's party or populares and he decided to revive the old legislative powers of the Assemblies under the tribunes' leadership He tackled the problem of the public lands and had a commission appointed to enforce the old Licinian laws and cut down the encroachments of the rich But he could do little in a single year The Senate blocked his re-election as tribune, a convenient riot was stirred up, and, with the Pontifex Maximus at their head, the optimates murdered the reformer His younger brother, Gaius, saw that continuity of office was essential, if a programme of reform was to be carried out, and he was elected tribune twice He tried to unite knights and populares against the Senate To the former he gave control of the jury courts, to safeguard their money interests in the provinces To the city mob he gave cheaper corn, and he revived Tiberius's land commission. But when he attempted to help the Italians, he lost much of his popularity He went to Africa to supervise the foundation of a colony on the desolate site of Carthage The Senate seized their opportunity to bribe and cajole the Assembly Gaius was not re-elected to a third tribunate The Senate ordered the consuls to protect the republic, and Gaius and his followers were massacred The deaths of the two Gracchi made it clear that tribunes unaided could not overthrow senatorial rule

The Jugurthine War Though the Senate consolidated Rome's power in the west by founding Narbonne and creating the province of Gallia Narbonensis, it soon showed its inability to grapple with resolute enemies abroad Jugurtha had learnt from his service in Spain to believe that every Roman had his price He was as vigorous and unscrupulous as his grandfather, Masinissa He killed the two cousins with whom he shared the rule of Numidia, and bribed the envoys sent out by the Senate to

report in his favour. Unfortunately he had also killed Italian traders, and the knights forced the Senate to summon him to Rome for an explanation. There he bribed a tribune to stop proceedings, had a third cousin murdered, and returned to rule his Berber kingdom. A competent general, Metellus, was appointed to command in Africa, with Marius on his staff, and Jugurtha was driven westward from his fertile territory to seek alliance with the Moors. Marius, who had made money and entered politics, was elected consul by the populares in spite of Metellus and the optimates. He returned to Africa with Cornelius Sulla as his quaestor. After Marius had won several victories, Sulla's diplomatic skill induced the Moorish king to surrender Jugurtha, who found that some Romans were not for sale, and was put to death. Both the Berber and the Moorish kingdoms remained under their native rulers, but Marius had established Roman supremacy from Cyrenaica to the Atlantic. He had shown that if knights and populares united, they could not only force the Senate into war, but could produce a general to wage it successfully. But the optimates hailed Metellus and Sulla as the real conquerors of Jugurtha.



THE EAGLE ON A LEGION'S STANDARD

The Invasion from the North. While her best generals were in Africa, Rome was threatened by a danger nearer home. Peoples beyond the Rhine began to move westward in search of fresh settling grounds. Some were of Gaulish race, others of Teutonic, there was no sharp division between the two stocks. Tribes, whom the Romans called Cimbri, Teutones, Ambrones, and Tigurini, crossed the river carrying their families in wagons and driving their herds to new pastures. They defeated several Roman armies, overran the open country of central and southern Gaul, and invaded Spain. All classes united to re-elect Marius to the consulship, and he used the breathing-space to reorganize his legions

Most of them were men who made soldiering their profession, they took the oath to their general, and looked to him to reward them when they were discharged Marius improved the infantryman's kit and cut down the heavy baggage, armed the third line of the legion like the first and second, and gave them the eagle as their standard The whole legion had metal helmet, cuirass, greaves, and round shield as defensive armour, with sword and javelin for offence, they were trained to use their swords for thrusting rather than cutting, and to work in cohorts under centurions, either in the legion or apart from it The heavy infantry was supported by auxiliary cohorts and squadrons, and other light troops, who served as cavalry, slingers, archers, and skirmishers With his new model army Marius was ready for the barbarians, when they recrossed the Pyrenees He beat one invading column to pieces at Aix-en-Provence, and butchered warriors, women, and children at their wagon encampment Next year he joined his noble colleague Lutatius in Italy and annihilated the rest of the invaders Rome and Italy were free from the barbarian terror, and turned to their domestic quarrels, with the knowledge that they had been saved by the general of the populares

Bloodshed in Rome. Marius's five consulships only whetted his appetite for more But he was a poor speaker, whether he had to address the Senate or the mob He proved utterly unable to control the fiercer leaders of the populares Elections took place amid rioting and bloodshed and, when the Senate ordered him to see that the republic took no harm, he was forced to kill his own followers He was discredited as a political leader and left Rome to study the dangers which were threatening in the east The Senate had shown that it could defeat the general who was no politician, just as it crushed the tribune who had no army at his back It was safe, unless a general arose who could also lead the populares Meanwhile the government ignored the grievances of Italians and provincials These affected neither the knights nor the mob, and when an honest noble, called Drusus, tried to redress them, he was assassinated No one troubled to bring the murderer to justice, and optimates and populares drifted to disaster

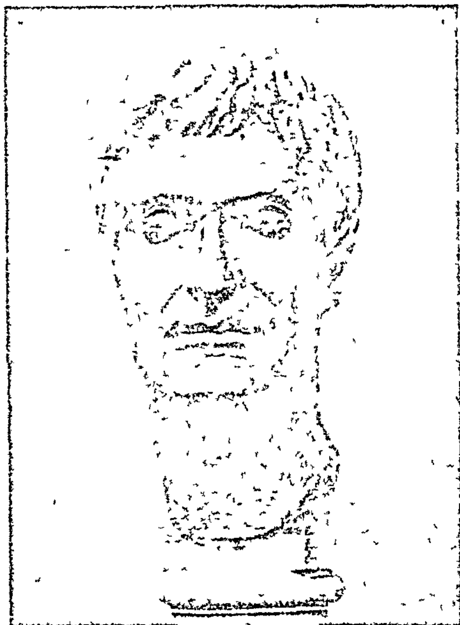
The Social War. The Italian allies had been driven to the conviction that only by force of arms could Rome be compelled to grant their claims Drusus's murder was the signal to realize their aims These were twofold, most of the Italian leaders wanted to enjoy the full advantages of Roman citizenship in peace and war, the Samnites of the south nursed a fierce hope of revenging ancient wrongs Corfinium was renamed Italica, and made a rival capital to Rome, magistrates were chosen on the Roman model, the government was entrusted to an Italian senate The Roman generals had greater experience in command, but their troops were

inferior. In the north old Marius and young Pompey defeated the enemy, but in the south the Samnites were victorious, till Sulla came to the rescue Rome saw that she must yield if she was to save her eastern dominions She granted full citizenship to all who had remained loyal or would lay down their arms at once. The Samnites still fought on sullenly, but the back of the rebellion was broken The optimates obstructed the registering of the new citizens, but many of the popular leaders came to the support of the Italians There was rioting and bloodshed at the elections Sulla was made consul to carry on the war in the east, when the populares passed a law giving the command to Marius, he marched six legions into Rome, massacred his opponents, and drove Marius into exile

The Mithradatic Wars. Mithradates VI of Pontus was an ambitious man, whose mind and body had been strengthened by the dangers that beset his youth He spoke twenty-five languages, and his kingdom included Greeks, Orientals, and mountaineers who hated the growth of Roman power. He controlled the northern coast of the Black Sea, which gave him corn and ship-timber, and had pushed far into Asia Minor, while Rome was busy with Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and her Italian allies He forced the Dardanelles with his fleet, took possession of the Aegean, captured Bithynia and Cappadocia, and set up his rule in Athens and other cities of the Greek mainland To commit his Asiatic subjects irrevocably to his cause he ordered the massacre of eighty thousand Roman citizens. Sulla led his legions against this new 'friend of the Greeks,' conquered his army at Chaeronea, and with the aid of Rhodes secured command of such parts of the Aegean as were not in the hands of the pirates He ignored the orders and the troops of his enemies who had regained power in Rome, and continued his victorious career against Mithradates till the king made terms Many of Mithradates's conquests had revolted from him, and Sulla contented himself with ruining the Asiatics by insisting on their paying Rome the taxes they had already paid to the king during the last five years Then he returned to Greece, re-established Rome's power in the cities, and prepared to deal with his enemies at home

First Civil War. The populares had made poor use of the power they had regained when Sulla crossed the Adriatic Marius returned from Africa to enjoy his seventh consulship, he hounded his followers on to butcher the optimates, and approved the enfranchisement of the Italians But his death left them without any general to oppose Sulla's swift march from Brindisi Young Pompey raised three legions to support him, and with Crassus as one of his subordinate leaders Sulla swept up Italy and entered Rome. The massacre of political opponents

had become the normal practice of a victorious general, Sulla brought a cold and calculated cruelty to the process, publishing careful lists of the proscribed and confiscating their wealth Pompey recovered Africa and Sicily, but Marius's partisans held out in Spain for many years The Samnites fought on and made a dash on Rome, but Sulla defeated them and practically exterminated the stubborn nation



SULLA

Tyranny of Sulla. Sulla was now, in all but name, king of the Mediterranean world The Ptolemies, the Seleucids, and Mithradates were his vassals and, except in parts of Spain, no man questioned his supremacy But he remained at heart a Roman noble, and was content to restore the Senate to the place it had held before it had been challenged by the Gracchi and Marius He assumed the dictatorship and passed laws to break the power of the tribunes he handed back the jury courts to the Senate, whose ranks he recruited from the richest knights Knowing the influence of women in an aristocracy, he even interfered with the married life of the nobles Wives connected with the popular cause were to be divorced Pompey obeyed him, but Marius's nephew, young Julius Caesar, refused and went into exile With a grim prophecy that the young man would prove worse than many a Marius, Sulla let the rebel go Though the populares were still the most numerous party in Rome, the restored Senate continued to govern the Roman world under Sulla's orders But the latter had no desire to found a monarchy When he felt the nobles had regained their power he laid down his dictatorship and retired to Campania, to die peacefully in his bed

The Failure of the Senate. The Senate soon lost power It showed its old vacillation, arrogant stupidity, jealousy of good service, and sympathy with extortionate governors It did nothing to help the broken men, who swarmed throughout Italy It dared not rescue the exchequer from the growing expense of supplying the city mob with cheap corn and free amusements It could not secure honest

government for the provinces, nor control its own generals or its armies Caesar returned to put heart into the populares, and Crassus and Pompey made short work of Sulla's reforms Pompey crushed the Marians in Spain, while Crassus was dealing with the last great rebellion of the slave class against its masters The two united their forces outside Rome, and demanded to be elected consuls as a reward of their services Crassus was a competent general, but his power rested chiefly on his wealth and the support of the knights Pompey was a fine fighter and a brilliant organizer. The two gave the knights partial control of the jury courts and restored the powers of the tribunes When the city began to suffer from the growing power of the pirates, Pompey was given an extraordinary command against them In three months he cleared the seas of pirate craft, and, proceeding to Asia, crushed the reviving power of Mithradates



CICERO

The Catilinarian Conspiracy Pompey's absence let loose the revolutionary forces in Italy Many of Sulla's veterans made poor farmers, and found themselves unable to pay the high interest on their loans The fiercer leaders of the populares were bitterly discontented with senatorial rule Some of the more reckless nobles saw no hope except in revolution and the cancelling of debts Catiline, an impoverished aristocrat, tried to combine the opponents of the existing order of things in a revolutionary movement He hoped for the support of Crassus and Caesar, but they stood aloof He failed to secure election to the consulship, and, when he raised the standard of revolt in Etruria, he was beaten, mainly owing to the firmness of the consul, Cicero Like Marius, Cicero was a 'new man' from Arpinum, but he was a lawyer, not a soldier He had great belief in the virtues of the optimates, who had received him unwillingly into their ranks, and he worked for a union of all parties to support senatorial rule But, while he made eloquent speeches, he knew that the final word rested with Pompey and his victorious legions The Gracchi had failed because they had no armed force at their backs Marius had failed because he lacked political ability Sulla had showed that a successful general could deal with

the State as he pleased Cicero's dream of a union of parties was certain to be shattered when a victorious general of the populares learnt how to control the politics of Rome

DATES

B C	
264	First gladiatorial games at Rome
240	Production of first play at Rome by Livius Andronicus
239	Birth of the poet Ennius
197	Battle of Cynoscephalae
190	Battle of Magnesia
183	Death of Hannibal
173	Expulsion of Epicurean philosophers from Rome
168	Battle of Pydna
148	Macedonia a Roman province
146	Destruction of Carthage
140	Death of Viriathus
133	Capture of Numantia Tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus
121	Murder of Gaius Gracchus
118	Foundation of Narbonne
106.	End of Jugurthine War
103–99.	Slave War in Sicily
102.	Battle of Aix
91–88	The Social War.
83–82.	First Civil War.
82–79	Sulla's Dictatorship
70	Consulate of Pompey and Crassus
62	Death of Catiline

CHAPTER V

FROM REPUBLIC TO EMPIRE

THE nobles had lost the power of pursuing a consistent and patriotic policy, such as their forefathers had followed, when confronted with the Samnite, Punic, and Macedonian dangers. Each wanted the honours and the perquisites of office, and was jealous of those who stood out from the common ruck Yet experience had shown that consuls who held their magistracy for a single year could not deal satisfactorily with such enemies as the Cimbri, Mithradates, or even Jugurtha A single reckless and stubborn tribune could block the working of government More serious still were the Senate's powerlessness to control the State's military forces, and the inequalities of wealth, which had driven men to follow the banner of Catiline



POMPEY

The First Triumvirate. When Pompey returned from his victories in the east, he made no attempt to threaten the Senate with his army His mildness encouraged the nobles to refuse to ratify his settlement of Asia or to award lands to his veterans Rome became the prey of political clubs, and the elections were interrupted by riots and murders To secure the granting of his demands Pompey joined Crassus and Caesar The three became supreme in Rome, and they were nicknamed the Triumvirs Caesar, who was already Pontifex Maximus, was elected consul, and was given command in Gaul, later Pompey was appointed to Spain and Crassus to Asia Pompey stayed in Rome and sent legates to govern his provinces Crassus determined to win glory by crushing the Parthians But at Carrhae the archer-cavalry of the east shot his heavy infantry to pieces The Romans lost thirty thousand killed or captured Crassus was murdered, and his head was used as a stage

property to please the Parthian king His quaestor, Cassius, fought his way back to Antioch with the demoralized remnants of the legions

Caesar in Gaul Caesar invaded central Gaul in the traditional Roman role of 'friend' of those he proposed to rule. He made alliances with the Aedui and other tribes to protect them against invading Germans, and drove the Sueve, Ariovistus, back across the Rhine By his victories, his courage, and his personal charm he won the devotion of his legions. He



Capitoline Museum, Rome

THE DYING GAUL

The warrior, mortally wounded, is lying on his large oval shield, and his curved horn is broken in two beside him

chose good officers, and with their help trained a magnificent army, loyal to himself and confident in his leadership After crushing the Nervii and the Belgae in the north, he marched into Brittany and defeated the navy of the Veneti He invaded Britain twice, and crossed the Rhine to overawe the German tribes But the Gauls were not yet beaten Vercingetorix led a rebellion, and destroyed some Roman garrisons After bitter fighting Caesar captured the chief rebel stronghold, and broke up the rebel confederacy He organized his conquests as Gallia Comata, and attached them to the civilized province of Gallia Narbonensis

The Second Civil War While Caesar was extending Roman rule to the Bay of Biscay, the English Channel, and the Rhine, Pompey found political parties at Rome harder to subdue than Mithradates or the pirates The optimates, led by Cicero and Cato the Younger, grudged the victories of the general, who was the champion of the populares Pompey was persuaded to support their plan of attacking Caesar, when he laid down his command But Caesar's friends hampered the Senate's intrigues,



ROMAN GAUL
Tribes and Races, thus... VENETI
The Five Administrative Areas under Augustus and Tiberius, thus.. .BELGICA
Area of Roman Province at the commencement of Caesar's campaign
GERMANIA
(Upper)
(Lower)
Rhine
Cologne
Coblentz
MORINI
NERVII
Boulogne
AMBIANI
BELGAE
BELGICA
Meuse
Rheims
PARIS
Seine
LUGDUNENSIS
VENETI
SENONES
Tours
Loire
AEDUI
Lyons
SEQUANI
HELVETII
ALLOBROGES
Rhone
NARBONENSIS
Bordeaux
AQUITANIA
Garonne
AQUITANI
Toulouse
Nimes
Arles
Aix
Marseilles
Narbonne
Pyrenees

and there was no adequate force in Italy to check the legions who had conquered Gaul Caesar was too quick for his fumbling opponents He marched south, and drove Pompey and his new friends across the Adriatic He secured Sicily to ensure the food supply of Rome, beat Pompey's legates in Spain, and transported his army to Epirus in spite of the senatorial navy Pompey was surrounded by a glut of nobles, all suffering from their traditional delusion that they were the best people He won a victory, which encouraged the optimates to force on a decisive battle at Pharsalus Caesar, outnumbered by two to one, beat off the attacking cavalry, and ordered his legions to charge, using their javelins as pikes The Senate's army was shattered, and Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was murdered It was a miserable end to a fine general, who had done the State great service, and only wished to be recognized as the first citizen of an aristocratic republic But the days of the aristocratic republic were gone The senatorial generals were beaten in detail Caesar left Antony to govern Italy, established his power in Egypt, and secured naval predominance over the Mediterranean Mithradates's son attacked him, but Caesar 'came, saw, and conquered' western Asia Cato and the surviving optimates held Africa in alliance with the Berber king, Juba I But Caesar beat them, and drove Cato and Juba to suicide Then he celebrated his fourfold triumph over Gaul, Egypt, Asia, and Africa, and was made dictator for ten years

Caesar's Task Despite his many years of fighting Caesar had not forgotten the lessons he had learnt when he was a leader of the populares Sprung from one of the oldest patrician families, he was convinced that the Senate was utterly unfitted to rule either Rome or Italy or the provinces But he was equally sure that he could not leave the control of the civilized world to the chance decisions of the Roman mob in their clumsy and corrupt Assemblies For defence against foreign foes he was content to trust the army he had trained, supplemented from the nations he had conquered But for civil government he relied on himself and his friends He was contemptuous of old formalities, and he ignored the conservative traditions which had done well in the past, but had failed to adapt themselves to changed conditions Consuls, praetors, tribunes, and quaestors continued to be elected, but the Assemblies merely accepted Caesar's nominations In one year no elections were held The numbers of the magistrates were increased to meet the growing needs of government This policy diminished the power and prestige of the republican officials, and it was clear that they were less important than the prefects and legates who were appointed directly by Caesar, and were responsible to him alone The Senate met for discussion, but Caesar filled it with men of no family, whose presence was offensive to the nobles; knights,

Italian townsmen, Gauls, and even the sons of freedmen sat side by side with Metelli and Scipios Caesar decided all important business beforehand in a small circle of his intimates, prominent among whom was the Spaniard Balbus, destined to be the first provincial consul It was clear that all power was in the hands of one man For the purpose of dealing with countries outside Italy, it would have been best to revive the title of king, but the bitter prejudices of five centuries made that inadvisable Caesar, like Sulla, was granted the dictatorship for life, unlike Sulla, he had no intention of retiring, but was determined to reform the abuses left by senatorial rule and civil war

Practical Reforms. As a clear-sighted realist Caesar acted quickly, and preferred the advice of experts to the traditions of his brother nobles The old Roman system had produced a three months' error in the calendar, he turned to the wisdom of the ancient East, and made the Julian calendar, which served men well for sixteen centuries The Senate's curse rested on Carthage, he knew Rome's most fertile province needed the best possible port, and planned a colony there He had Alexander's eye for a site, he planted colonies at Corinth and in the Po valley, refounded Narbonne, and gave Cadiz citizen rights He passed laws to encourage and organize municipal life in the provinces Social and civil wars had checked prosperity in Italy, Caesar made the rich invest half their capital in Italian land and employ free men on pastoral estates He issued a gold coinage to encourage trade, and passed laws to check luxurious living He beautified Rome with buildings, drained marshes, built roads to develop backward districts, settled his veterans on farms, and encouraged the city mob to work for its living He dispersed the political clubs, and cut down the number of those who received the dole of corn

Provinces and Frontiers. If Roman rule was a benefit, Gaul was fortunate to get her conquest over in eight years of straightforward, if merciless, fighting She had learnt from the Greeks to appreciate some of the comforts of civilization, and had made a beginning of town life, most of her chieftains were willing to share the burdens and the privileges of Roman rule The old tribal centres grew more important, and were soon ready to follow Narbonne's example and accept the municipal life Caesar had laid down in his laws The Germans had been checked and there was ample man-power to hold the Rhine frontier under Roman leadership But the angle of the Rhine and the Danube was a real danger if the barbarians made an invasion in force A strategic frontier was necessary to protect the Balkan peninsula from raids In spite of the Berber passion for freedom, there was little to prevent Africa from developing

attacked them and, after merciless fighting between the veteran armies, killed the elder Pompey, his brother Sextus escaped, and organized a navy to carry on the family vendetta The monarchs of Asia and Egypt were loyal Only Parthia threatened danger to Rome's power in the east and reminded Caesar that he had not yet avenged Carrhae Rome's wide dominion began to recover from the ravages of war, as the trade routes became safer and fresh towns sprang up on the new roads Prosperity was helped by the breaking down of language barriers Greek had long been the common speech of the eastern Mediterranean, and had spread to parts of the west Now Latin began to be spoken over the whole wide area In the west it ousted Greek, Punic, and the ruder Berber, Spanish and Gaulish tongues, and it shared the east with Greek All educated men could converse freely with one another, and this great gift of a common speech helped men to work together in peace, whether they were ruled by their own kings or the men Caesar sent out from Rome Governors realized that they and their staffs must account to the dictator for the well-being of the governed They were encouraged to protect the provincials from the moneyed classes of Italy Financiers and traders were taught to seek their reward in the increased profits which came from peace, good government, and better communications



British Museum

JULIUS CAESAR

The Murder of Caesar Caesar's victory had not been followed by such massacres as Marius and Sulla had carried out He tried to win over old enemies like Cicero, and he took into his service men like Cassius, who had saved the Roman remnant at Carrhae, and Brutus, who had surrendered with Cassius after Pharsalus But Cicero could not forget the excitements and the rewards of the old political life The abler soldiers who had fought on either side in the civil war had not learnt to lay aside that jealousy of a single citizen's greatness which had been the besetting weakness of senatorial rule While Caesar was making final preparations for the war against Parthia, a conspiracy was formed under the leadership of Brutus and Cassius With no plan for the future and no great army at their back, they murdered Caesar in the Senate house which Pompey had built

The Third Civil War. The conspirators thought that the old republican life would reappear automatically, with the Senate nominally supreme and themselves free to bribe Assemblies, govern provinces, win triumphs, and keep the mob in good humour with corn and games But Antony was still consul; Lepidus, master of the horse, had a legion outside the city, Octavian, Caesar's great-nephew and adopted son, was safe in Epirus Cicero worked hard to inspire and unite the nobles, but the old jealousies were too much for him The next twelve years are a tedious record of faction fights and changing alliances between rival nobles Some championed the Senate, others revived the Pompeian tradition, others claimed to be Caesar's successors The Senate's cause collapsed quickly in Italy, and Cicero was murdered Antony and Lepidus joined forces with Octavian, and the three were formally elected as Triumvirs or commissioners to govern the republic Brutus and Cassius were beaten at Philippi, and young Pompey was driven from the seas by Octavian's friend, Agrippa

The Second Triumvirate. The second Triumvirate, like the first, proved too strong for its opponents, but fell apart after victory Lepidus lost ground to his two colleagues, and was restricted to his duties as Pontifex Maximus, while Antony and Octavian divided the Roman world between them Antony mismanaged the Parthian war, and lost Italian sympathies by his entanglement with Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt Meanwhile Octavian did good work on the weak north-eastern frontier of Italy, and with Agrippa's help subdued Pannonia and Dalmatia When war came, men felt that it was a struggle between Rome and Alexandria rather than between two rival Roman leaders Octavian and Agrippa with their light vessels defeated the heavier fleet of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium The conquered rulers fled to Egypt and committed suicide Octavian ended the dynasty of Ptolemy and annexed Egypt He was thirty-six when he was given the name of Augustus and all men recognized him as Master of the Roman World

The Principate The two Caesars were widely different in birth and character Augustus's grandfather had been a prosperous citizen of a Latin town, while Julius belonged to one of the oldest patrician families Augustus looked at most problems from the Italian point of view, and worked hard to secure the co-operation of the nobles Julius had a brilliant creative brain, but, despite his personal charm, he failed to hide his contempt for the pretensions of incompetent senators Augustus dealt with problems as they arose, and by his tact persuaded all classes to work with him He was the responsible ruler of the state, but he chose to be neither king nor dictator, but princeps or chief citizen. The Roman world was weary of war; yet it could [illegible] given peace by a ruler who

respected its deep-rooted prejudices Augustus might have modelled his rule on the monarchies of the Antigonids, Ptolemies, and Seleucids He decided to maintain the old republican forms as far as possible, making only such changes as were essential to secure efficient government. He held the proconsular office, to control the armies and the provinces, the tribunician power, which rendered him the inviolable representative of the people, and a collection of individual rights, which enabled him to deal with details not covered by the spheres of proconsul and tribune The legions were his first care Every soldier swore allegiance to him, he was the sole commander of the troops who protected the empire which their fathers had won by their valour and almost ruined by their discord He took as his first name the old title of Imperator, with which the legions hailed their victorious generals In this way he founded the Principate to rule the Roman Empire It was a curious system From the first, it had one obvious defect Augustus was first among his peers, who held office with him But there was no clear rule to decide who was to follow the Princeps when he died He wanted to maintain the republic and yet found a dynasty to rule it Fate was unkind He had no son, his daughter, Julia, was a worthless woman; though he made his kinsmen marry and divorce one another with bewildering rapidity, he was forced in the end to designate as his successor his stepson and son-in-law, Tiberius, whom he disliked



THE YOUNG AUGUSTUS
(*Vatican, Rome*)

The Senate. Augustus made the Senate his junior partner in the complicated business of governing the empire Unlike Julius, he treated it with respect Though he curtailed its powers in some ways, he extended them in others He gave it the right of legislation, and its decrees became laws He presided at its debates, which covered the whole field of government It lost control of the jury courts, but became a high court of justice for important cases It appointed governors for the peaceful provinces and retained control of the public treasury to defray provincial expenses The great magistrates sat in it Most of them realized that Rome was now under one man's rule and served the new order faithfully. But the very tact and courtesy of Augustus

encouraged others to form an opposition which regarded Cato, Brutus, and Cassius as its heroes.

The Assemblies and the Knights. The Assemblies still met to elect magistrates, most of whom were Augustus's nominees, but they were clearly useless and gradually lost all political importance The knights were organized carefully and given personal marks of distinction Augustus made them play a useful part in the work of government apart from their service in the jury courts A young knight began his career by serving on one of the boards which dealt with such things as roads, aqueducts, drainage, and the corn supply After military service, usually in command of auxiliary infantry or cavalry, he could become a procurator, dealing with imperial finance or ruling a small district The great prizes of a knight's career were command of the fleet, the governorship of Egypt, and the prefectship of the Praetorian guard



ROMAN LEGIONARY
Armed with javelin and short sword

The Freedmen. The knights served the Princeps, not the Senate, and were dependent entirely on his vour As a citizen he could not appoint them to his ousehold Important work was done there, but adition prevented Augustus from employing his llow-citizens to do it So freedmen managed what ere nominally his private affairs and actually impor- int departments of imperial administration Most of iem were able, educated men, who were fully competent to control is treasury, his correspondence, and the petitions which were sent from ll quarters

Army and Navy. Augustus found sixty legions on his hands at the d of the civil war He disbanded many of them and settled the veterans n lands which he bought with the treasure he had won from Cleopatra e decided to maintain an armed force of about three hundred thousand en to defend the empire The backbone was the legion, a division of ive thousand five hundred heavy infantry and one hundred and twenty orsemen They were strung out along the frontiers under the command of Augustus's legates in permanent camps The legionary served for twenty years, and was foot-soldier, sapper, road-builder, and mason. He was supported by the auxiliary cohorts and squadrons Their pay was about a third of the legionary's, and there was considerable jealousy between the two services Auxiliaries were recruited from recently conquered tribes, and were useful in supplementing Rome's inveterate weakness in cavalry They usually served at a distance from their

homes; Germans protected the Euphrates frontier while Berbers guarded the Rhine. The defence and the good order of Italy and Rome were entrusted to the urban cohorts and the Praetorian guard; the latter was highly paid, and like the legions might become a political power under an ambitious commander. The fleet was based on Misenum and Ravenna, and was organized to protect the peace which Pompey had won for the Mediterranean, and repress any revival of piracy.

The Provinces. All the legions except one were stationed in provinces controlled directly by Augustus. It was his duty to protect an immense and irregularly shaped territory bounded by the Sahara, the Atlantic, the English Channel, the Rhine, the Danube, the Black Sea, and the Parthian kingdom. Egypt became the private property of the Princeps, guarded by three legions; it was ruled by a knight and no senator was allowed to enter it. The Third Augustan Legion protected Africa, which was placed in charge of the Senate. Westward to the Atlantic ruled Juba II and his wife, daughter of Antony and Cleopatra; through their influence the civilization of Rome and Greece spread rapidly. Of the three Spanish provinces Baetica was under the Senate; the Princeps took Tarraconensis and Lusitania, where an army was required to watch the mountain tribes. Gallia Comata was divided into three provinces, Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica. They became Romanized like Gallia Narbonensis, and the legions were able to move into the districts of upper and lower Germany with the Rhine as frontier. After hard fighting in the difficult Alpine country the provinces of Rhaetia, Noricum, and Pannonia were formed south of the upper Danube. The defence of the three districts was entrusted to the governor of Pannonia, whose army was the nearest to Rome, and therefore important in times of political crisis. South of the lower Danube Augustus relied on Moesian and Thracian kings to hold one another in check and keep northern invaders from attacking Macedonia and Greece. In Asia Minor, too, there were client kings, under whose rule Roman influences spread steadily; as the royal houses died out, Rome absorbed their territories. The chief difficulty was Armenia, which remained a bone of contention between Rome and Parthia for nearly three centuries. This made Syria one of the most important commands in the empire. The governor had four legions under him, and was responsible for the good behaviour of the client kings and the defence of the Euphrates frontier against the Arsacid kings of Parthia. Besides Africa, Baetica, and Narbonensis, the Senate controlled Greece, Cyrenaica, Macedonia, Asia, and Sicily. This division of responsibility in the provinces was a curiously unsystematic arrangement, which would have been repugnant to the logical Julius, but it worked well enough under his adopted son, and did much to reconcile the Senate to the rule of the Princeps.

Life in the Provinces Augustus's greatest task was to wipe out past resentment, and make the provincials loyal to Rome and her first citizen Eastern monarchs from time immemorial had been recognized as divine by their subjects, and neither east nor west had hesitated to hail Julius as a god after his death Altars began to spring up to Rome and Augustus and, as men felt the blessings of peace and fair government, this worship spread through the empire, it was a genuine expression of loyalty and gratitude, and made men of different races feel that they were one with another The empire was above all a league of cities, each modelling itself on the imperial city by the Tiber, these cities kept many of their own characteristics, but added others borrowed from Rome In the east Greek and Egyptian influence had produced varying types of municipal life, in the west a single type prevailed Magistrates, assemblies, finance, buildings, amusements, all copied the Roman model In Gaul and Spain the villages which had served as markets to the clans became towns, and received municipal privileges The richer provincials took pride in beautifying their towns, while real ability might hope to play its part at Rome itself Men remembered that Julius had made Gauls senators, and raised Balbus of Cadiz to the consulship Outside the cities life went on much as before under the rule of chiefs, who were responsible to the legates of the Princeps But even where old racial customs ruled men's lives, Italian traders made their way, and spread the common civilization of the Mediterranean world Men like Juba II of Mauretania and Herod of Palestine were as loyal servants of Rome and Augustus as any legate or proconsul

Shakespeare's Julius Caesar *and* Antony and Cleopatra *may help you to understand the characters of the men who fought the Second and Third Civil Wars Read John Buchan's* Julius Caesar

DATES

B C	
67–63	Pompey's Conquest of the Pirates and Western Asia
63	Caesar Pontifex Maximus
60	First Triumvirate
58–51	Caesar's Conquest of Gaul
53	Battle of Carrhae
49–45	Second Civil War
44	Murder of Caesar
42	Battle of Philippi Birth of Tiberius

DATES—*continued*

B C

40 Parthian Invasion of Syria

32–30 Third Civil War

27 Octavian becomes Augustus 'Restoration of the Republic.'

21 Marriage of Agrippa and Julia

12 Augustus Pontifex Maximus Death of Agrippa

11 Marriage of Tiberius and Julia.

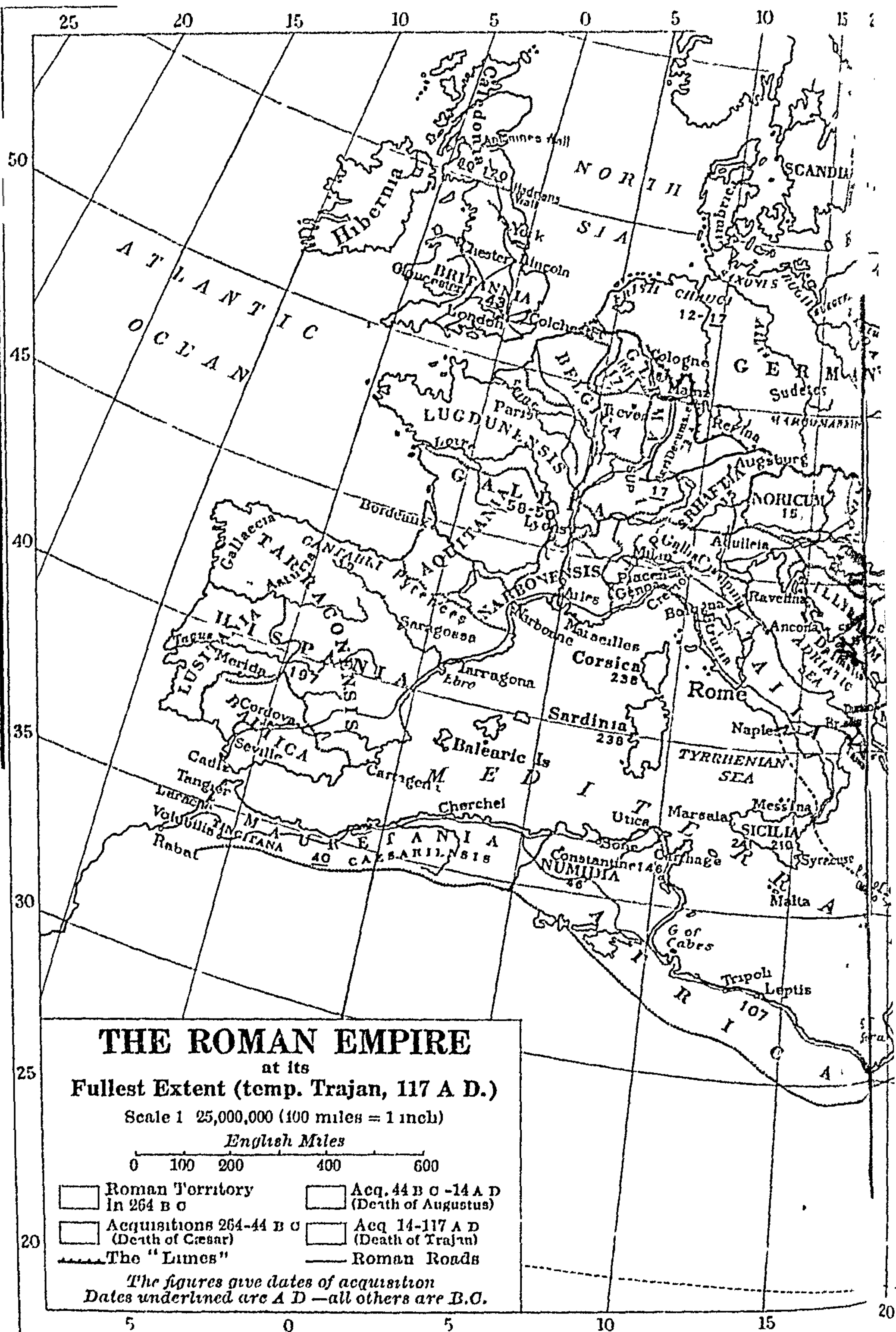
CHAPTER VI

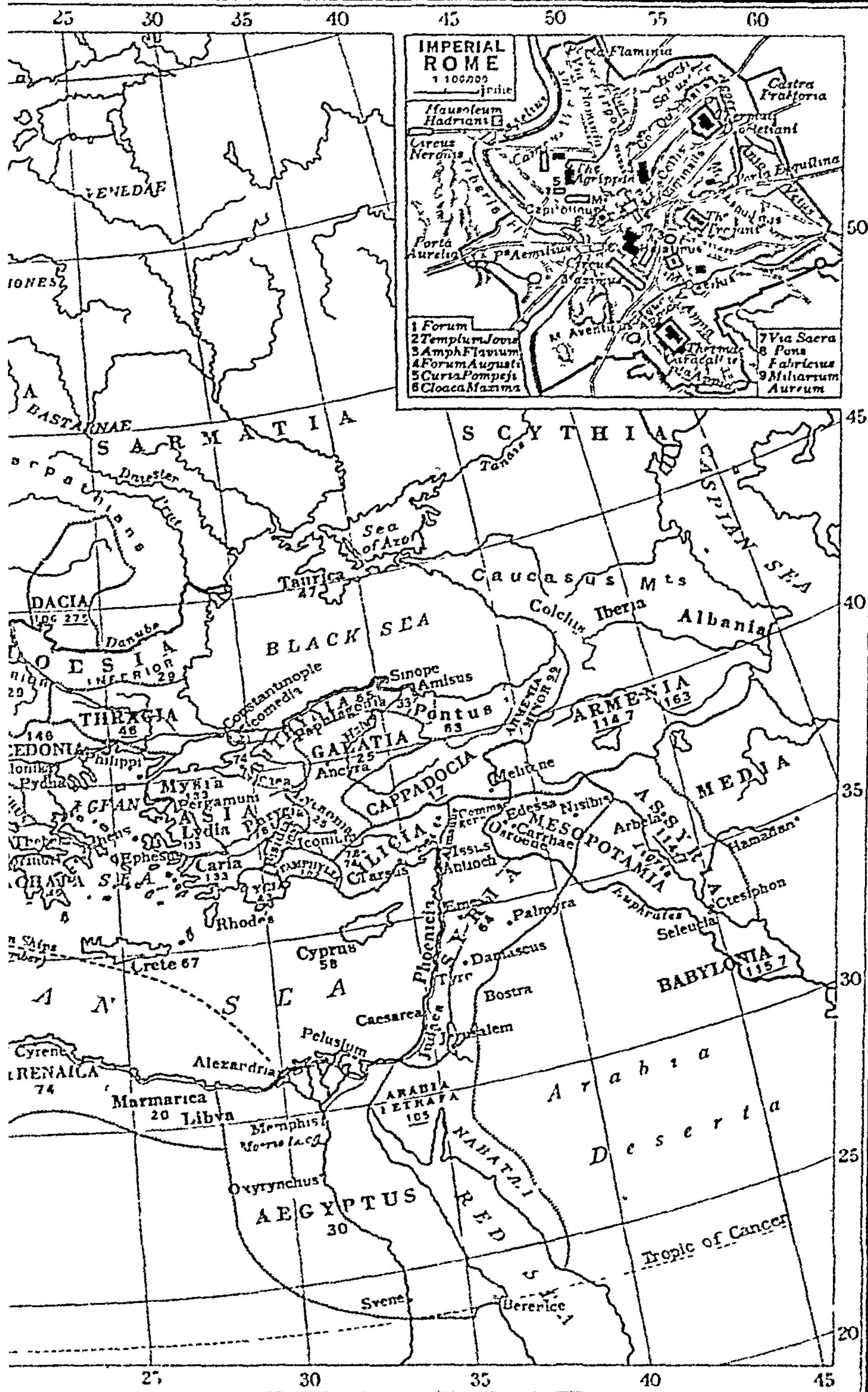
THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

I MORNING

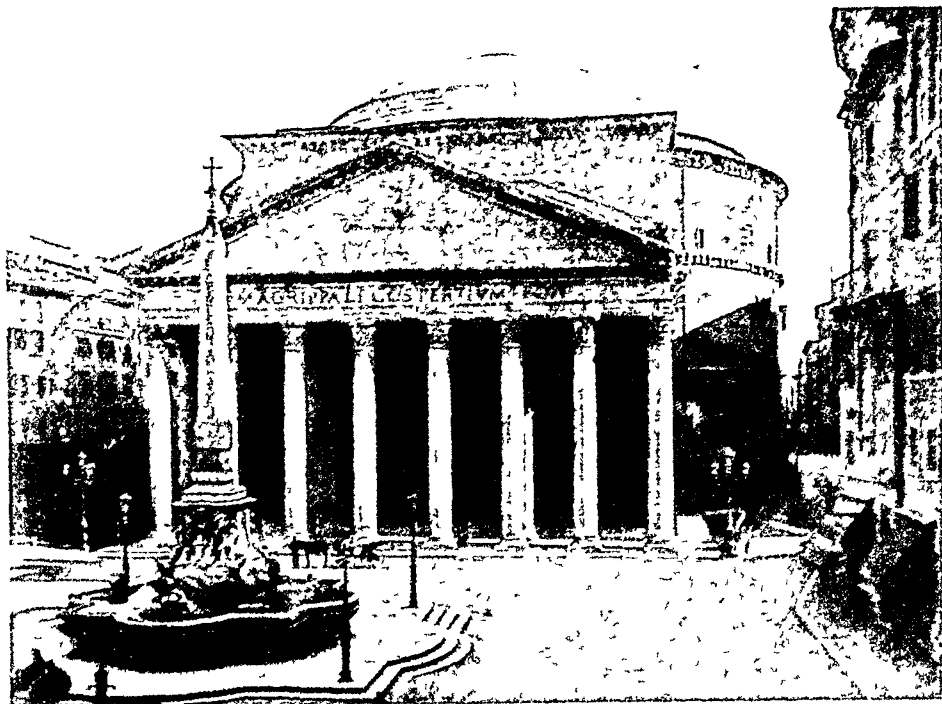
THE noble who ackowledged Augustus as Rome's first citizen was a different man from his ancestor who had faced Pyrrhus and the Barcas He still served as soldier or governor, but he could not fight or govern at his own sweet will His house in the capital and his estate in the country or by the sea were no longer enriched from the sufferings of the provinces But he had a full and interesting life There was racing to be seen in the circus and gladiatorial or beast fighting in the arena There were plays and pantomimes in the theatre, and a man could still enjoy watching a triumph, the glitter of the eagles, the ranks of shouting legionaries, the long lines of silent captives When he came home, he had many interests He might admire the latest statue or bronze from a Greek workshop, or a new mosaic in the bathroom, or the hunting fresco in his dining-room It was stimulating to listen to his Athenian friend talking cleverly on philosophy His wife might have invited some Oriental traveller, who spoke of the old religions of the East Husband and wife both worshipped the family gods, who had been revered in the days of the kings, as well as the splendid divinities of Olympus, but they were beginning to believe that there was one supreme spirit that ruled, as the Stoics taught If the traveller knew Judaea, he might speak of Jehovah, or the talk might turn to Isis and Serapis of Egypt, if the Roman had studied at Athens, they might compare the teaching of the Greek mystics and the Egyptian priests on the future life beyond the grave

Augustan Literature. In such a household there might well be differences in literary taste Perhaps the parents delighted in the


THE ROMAN EMPIRE
at its
Fullest Extent (temp. Trajan, 117 A D.)
Scale 1 25,000,000 (100 miles = 1 inch)
English Miles
0 100 200 400 600
Roman Territory In 264 B C
Acq. 44 B C -14 A D (Death of Augustus)
Acquisitions 264-44 B C (Death of Cæsar)
Acq 14-117 A D (Death of Trajan)
The "Limes"
Roman Roads
The figures give dates of acquisition
Dates underlined are A D —all others are B.C.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Hibernia
BRITANNIA
York
Chester
Lincoln
Gloucester
London
Colchester
LUGDUNENSIS
Paris
GALLIA
58-50
Bordeaux
AQUITANIA
Lyons
NARBONENSIS
Arles
Narbonne
Marseilles
Corsica
238
Sardinia
238
Balearic Is
HISPANIA
TARRACONENSIS
Gallaecia
LUSITANIA
Merida
197
Cordova
Seville
BAETICA
Cadiz
Saragossa
Tarragona
Ebro
Cartagena
Tangier
Volubilis
Rabat
TINGITANA
MAURETANIA
CAESARIENSIS
40
Cherchel
Utica
Carthage
Constantine
146
NUMIDIA
46
Marsala
SICILIA
241
210
Messina
Syracuse
Malta
G of Cabes
Tripoli
Leptis
107
AFRICA
MEDITERRANEAN
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Rome
Naples
Milan
Placentia
Genoa
Cremona
Bologna
Ravenna
Ancona
Aquileia
ADRIATIC SEA
ITALIA
Gallia Cisalpina
NORICUM
15
RHAETIA
Augsburg
17
Regina
Mainz
Cologne
Treves
GERMANIA
Sudetes
12-17
SCANDIA
BELGICA
Hadrian's Wall
Antonine's Wall
120
Caledonia
50
45
40
35
30
25
20
0
5
10
15


IMPERIAL ROME
Mausoleum Hadriani
Circus Neronis
Porta Flaminia
Castra Praetoria
Porta Esquilina
Porta Aurelia
M. Aventinus
1 Forum
2 Templum Jovis
3 Amph Flavium
4 Forum Augusti
5 Curia Pompeji
6 Cloaca Maxima
7 Via Sacra
8 Pons Fabricius
9 Miliarium Aureum
VENEDAE
BASTARNAE
SARMATIA
SCYTHIA
Dniester
Tanais
Sea of Azov
CASPIAN SEA
Caucasus Mts
Taurica 47
Colchis
Iberia
Albania
DACIA
Danube
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
Sinope
Amisus
Pontus 63
ARMENIA MINOR
ARMENIA 114
THRACIA 46
GALATIA 25
Ancyra
CAPPADOCIA 17
Melitene
MEDIA
Philippi
Pydna
Pergamum
ASIA 133
Lydia
Caria 133
Ephesus
Edessa
Nisibis
MESOPOTAMIA
Carrhae
Arbela
Tarsus
Issus
Antioch
Palmyra
Ctesiphon
Hamadan
Euphrates
Seleucia
BABYLONIA 115
Rhodes
Cyprus 58
Crete 67
Damascus
Tyre
Bostra
Phoenicia
Caesarea
Jerusalem
Judaea
Pelusium
Alexandria
Cyrene
Marmarica
Libya
Memphis
ARABIA PETRAEA 105
NABATAEI
Arabia Deserta
Oxyrynchus
AEGYPTUS 30
RED SEA
Tropic of Cancer
Syene
Berenice
25
30
35
40
45
50
55
60
20

writings of the republic, Ennius's sturdy *Annals* or Cicero's rolling speeches, or the great, rugged poem in which Lucretius had preached the gospel of death and the philosophy of Epicurus But the younger generation took pride in the writers of the day, who had tempered the stiff Latin speech to serve many kinds of poetry Vergil and Horace



W I Mansell

THE PANTHEON

had mastered the rhythms of their Greek models Both proclaimed the return of the Golden Age Vergil had celebrated the greatness of Rome's destiny in his poem on the farmer's life and his epic tale of Aeneas, ancestor of the Julian house. Horace had put into happy verse what every decent man of the world felt about Augustus and his work for city and empire Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, and many others made the younger generation proud of Italy's poets There was a further source for pride in the picturesque and garrulous record, half legend and half history, in which Livy described the great days of old.

Rebuilding the Capital The memory of those great days inspired some nobles to criticize the new order. But most Romans appreciated the new energy which Augustus had breathed into the State everywhere,

and not least in Rome itself. The republican city had contained a few fine houses and gardens, some venerable temples and a vast expanse of squalor. Augustus tried to make the capital worthy of its dominions. He built stately new law courts in his new forum and, as Pontifex Maximus, encouraged the rebuilding of many temples, which had fallen into decay during the civil wars. Public gardens were laid out and theatres erected. Agrippa built an aqueduct, baths, an artificial lake, and the Pantheon. The emperor claimed that he found a city of brick and left a city of



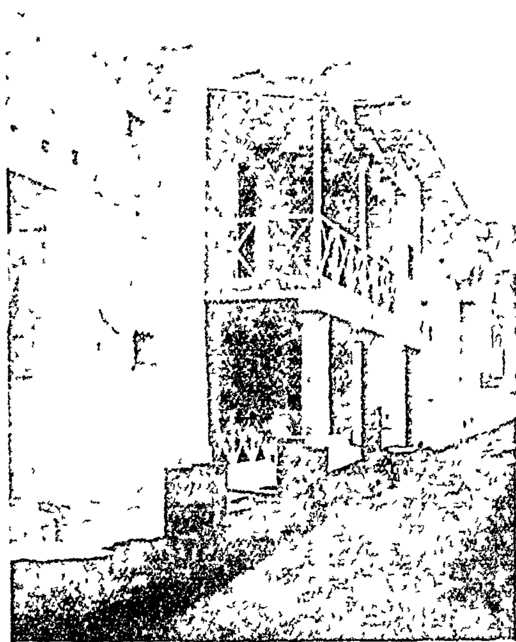
ROMAN VILLA AT HERCULANEUM

Buried for nearly nineteen centuries under the lava of the volcano Vesuvius

marble; from his day Romans became the world's most diligent masons. Rome was not merely beautified, it was also made reasonably safe. Augustus broke up the riotous political clubs, and policed the streets with the urban cohorts. But there was another side to the picture. Even Augustus could not do everything. The poorer classes could enjoy public buildings and public amusements, but they took their free corn back to wretched homes. Most of them were herded together in tall blocks of flats with lower stories of brick and upper of wood. They were crowded, insanitary dens, easily destroyed by flood or fire. The rich man's slaves were better housed than the poorer citizens.

Trade of the Empire. With the suppression of piracy and the end of civil war trade flourished as never before in the Mediterranean world. Peace and secure communications made every one anxious to produce more and sell it, to buy the products of other lands. In the main the eastern provinces supplied manufactured goods, the western raw materials. At first the bulk of the carrying was done by Greek and Asiatic

merchants, but in time Africans, Gauls, and Spaniards took their share The traders of Antioch and Alexandria used the land routes to southern and eastern Asia, they also sent their ships down the Red Sea and began to grope towards the rich lands which Alexander had not reached From Egypt they brought papyrus, marble, gold, and silver to the capital, from the Asiatic provinces purple stuffs, glass, marble, ointment, canvas, oil, and wine But the greatest trade was in foodstuffs dates, figs, dried fish, and, above all, corn Alexandria is said to have shipped twenty million bushels annually to feed Rome, as Africa recovered prosperity further supplies came from Carthage and Cherchel The commerce of the western provinces was on a smaller scale, much of it was in the hands of established ports, like Marseilles, Carthagena, and Cadiz Spain was important chiefly for its minerals, gold, silver, lead, iron, and tin, it also exported wool, oil, and corn Gaul traded in wool and hides, and its wines began to compete with those of Italy and the Greek islands Gaulish workmen copied the manufactures of the west, especially in glass and pottery The same thing happened on a smaller scale in the other western provinces Berber, Spaniard, Gaul, and civilized German imitated the Roman way of living The leading men wanted houses built and furnished after the pattern of the imperial officials Local traders and artisans were quick to supply the demand and to produce the many requirements of civilized life

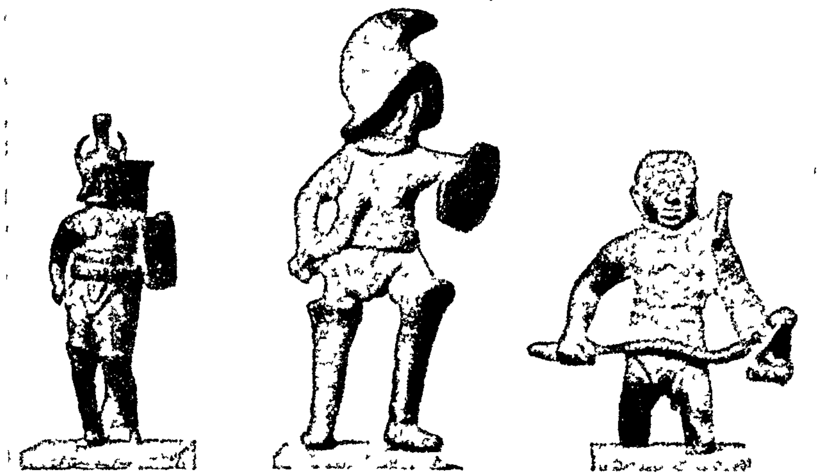


W N W

BALCONY OF ROMAN HOUSE AT HERCULANEUM
Notice the irregular street pavement and compare it with the street on p 227

Town and Country Life Augustus and Tiberius alike were interested chiefly in Rome and Italy, but they carried on Julius's tradition of developing the provinces To govern their immense empire it was necessary to enlist the best brains of all lands in the service of Rome Provincials were appointed prefects and legates, and elected to the old

magistracies The newly founded municipalities grew rapidly in prosperity. Towns like Tarragona and Lyons became the meeting-places for councils drawn from large areas These councils formed centres for the worship of Rome and Augustus, and for the creation of a public spirit, loyal to the empire and yet protecting provinces from imperial officials In the smaller cities as well as the greater, magistrates were elected on the Roman pattern; civic pride grew and men repaid their fellow-citizens for electing them by spending freely on public buildings



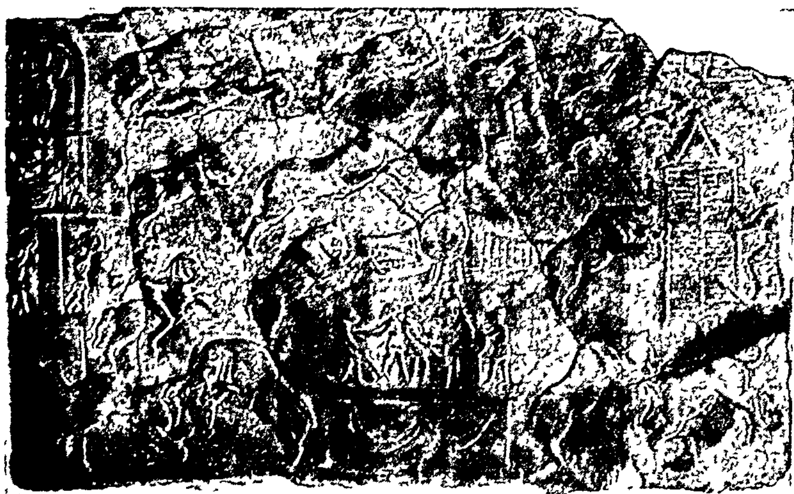
British Museum

STATUETTES OF ROMAN GLADIATORS

or entertainments Outside the towns there were vast estates, many of them the property of the emperor These were mainly worked by slave labour The richer had some of the attractions of the towns, such as baths and small amphitheatres On others the chieftain ruled his free neighbours largely by the old clan laws, and was responsible to the Roman authority for their good behaviour In the remoter country districts racial customs went on much as they had done before the Romans came, but life became easier and happier under the Roman peace

The Eastern Frontier. The price of this peace was wise government in the capital and constant vigilance on the frontiers. In Syria successive governors were worried by the Jewish problem, whether Jerusalem was ruled by a Herod, as client-king, or by a procurator Augustus and Tiberius did everything possible to win over the Jews, but they found it hard to avoid offending the religious prejudices of the fiercest defenders of the Jewish law Matters were made more difficult by the fact that there were many Jews outside Palestine, especially in Rome, Alexandria,

Antioch, and other big cities. The governor of Syria had always to consider the possibility of troubles in Jerusalem, when he dealt with the danger across the Euphrates. The defeat of Crassus rankled in Roman hearts. But Augustus avoided Antony's mistake, and did not waste his legions in desert and mountain warfare. He took advantage of the family quarrels which weaken Oriental monarchies. He established a friendly



EXHIBITIONS AND CONTESTS OF WILD BEASTS
(From a relief)

king on the throne of Armenia, and recovered by diplomacy the eagles lost at Carrhae. Without much fighting Tiberius managed to carry on his predecessor's policy, and force Parthia to recognize the claims of Rome.

The Problem of Germany. During his conquest of Gaul Julius had pointed the way to Britain and Germany. In the island Augustus decided to allow the Italian trader to spread his influence, and contented himself with a vague suzerainty over the kings of the south-east. But Germany was a different matter. Many of the tribes west of the Rhine, such as the Belgae, had Teutonic blood in them, and they might call in their kinsmen and disturb the peace of Gaul. The Rhine was a good natural frontier, but its length made it difficult to defend, and its upper reaches formed an awkward angle with the Danube, through which invaders had found their way into central Gaul in the past. In spite of the absence of roads traders had taken their wares into Germany, Julius had enlisted Germans to fight for Rome, and Augustus used them in the imperial guard. Rome would secure splendid fighting material and a more defensible frontier, if she pushed on to the Weser or the Ems. Augustus's stepsons, Drusus and Tiberius,

began the advance successfully, defeating some tribes, and receiving the submission of others. But the task was entirely different from that which Julius had accomplished in Gaul, a land of towns, roads, and an advanced system of cultivation. Many of the German tribes were still half nomadic, leaving their rude settlements as soon as they had exhausted the surrounding soil by their primitive methods of agriculture. Swamps and forests made it difficult to maintain communications. Troubles farther south prevented the princes from being given an overwhelming force and, though they reached the Elbe, they did not break the German's love of freedom. Five years before Augustus's death the Cheruscan Arminius cut to pieces Varus's three legions. This disaster proved decisive for the future of the Teutonic tribes, and its anniversary became as black a day in the Roman calendar as that of the battle of the Allia. When Tiberius ruled, his nephew, Germanicus, again advanced to the Elbe, but his victories did nothing to persuade his enemies to exchange the free life of their forefathers for the advantages of Roman civilization. Tiberius recognized that, while Arminius lived, he could not conquer north Germany; he accepted the Rhine frontier, and protected it by devastating a stretch of land along the eastern bank. The safety of Gaul depended on the legionary camps and the internal feuds of Cherusci, Sugambri, and their neighbours.

The Alpine Frontier. Julius had left the frontier at the foot of the Alps. Augustus decided rightly that it must be pushed farther away from Italy, and linked up with the defensive systems of the Rhine and Danube. His two stepsons fought well in the Alps; Horace's poems describe the pride and relief that Rome felt in their victories. But, as in northern Germany, the conquered tribes did not take kindly to Roman rule; revolts broke out in Pannonia, and further danger threatened from a confederacy of tribes under the Sueve king, Maroboduus. It was these troubles that helped Arminius. Tiberius crushed the revolt, and Pannonia was organized as a province, to link the western and eastern halves of the European frontier. The severity of the struggle left its marks on the legions; there was a dangerous mutiny, shortly after Tiberius's accession, and it was only suppressed by easing the conditions of military service.

The Balkan Lands. Thrace had made little advance in civilization since the days of Pericles and Alexander. The mountain tribes fought one another, and were attacked by more savage races who crossed the Danube in search of food and plunder. Macedonia had lost its fighting men, and was liable to invasion, when the policy of playing off one barbarian chieftain against another failed. Both Augustus and Tiberius had considerable trouble with the mountaineers, and it became plain that the frontier must be advanced to the lower Danube, and Moesia must be held

as a buffer state between Thrace and the Dacians north of the river Here, as elsewhere, the extension of Roman rule was gradual, first client kings ruled, and a province was formed later Round the Black Sea the old Greek cities, which had once been subject to Mithradates, formed useful outposts of empire in touch with the wandering Slav tribes

The Central Government. For fifty years the curious system which Augustus had set up worked well at Rome. There were occasional plots, and more frequent quarrels between the members of the reigning family The uncertainty of the succession gave great opportunities of intrigue to the imperial ladies, Roman historians devote much space to the suspicions which the scandal of the day attached to Augustus, his wife, Livia, and their children and grandchildren Though the Julian and Claudian families intermarried, they were jealous of each other, the rest of the nobility did not easily acknowledge the pre-eminence of the household of Rome's first citizen Tiberius followed his predecessor's example of deference to the Senate, but he had not the geniality which was necessary for the easy working of the Principate The majority of senators were willing to co-operate with their ruler, but some flattered him outrageously, and others obstructed him needlessly Tiberius's private life was unhappy, as time went on he became gloomy, suspicious, and cruel. The senatorial opposition which had died down under Augustus revived Ambitious men saw an opportunity of winning power and wealth by denouncing or inventing plots against the Princeps To this unsavoury class of informers was due the reign of terror, which embittered life in the capital Trials for treason struck down men and women alike in the noblest families By the end of Tiberius's reign the feud between Princeps and Senate had become so bitter that it was clear that the partnership which Augustus had planned with such care had broken down Some other form of government must be found, if the ruling classes of the capital were to enjoy the happiness they had given to the provinces



A ROMAN TRIUMPH
Victory crowns the Emperor in his four-horse chariot

II. Noontide

For thirty years after Tiberius's death, while the provinces grew richer and more prosperous, the capital was the stage for scenes of suspicion, cruelty, disloyalty, fear, and moral corruption There was an odd strain in the Julio-Claudian house, which proved unable to withstand the temptations of supreme power and unbounded wealth Historians found little good to record of the three princes who followed Tiberius. The uncertainty of the succession was bound to provoke intrigues among the men and women of the reigning family. Livia Augusta, Julia, the Agrippinas, and other imperial ladies exercised great influence on the government in spite of the old Roman tradition that the right place for woman was the home. They courted popularity with Senate and soldiers to strengthen the position of a husband or a son after the death of one ruler the Senate approved his successor, and passed the law which gave him certain vital powers It was important to secure the support of the Praetorian prefect and his cohorts Gaius made sure of them at the death of Tiberius When he was assassinated, a handful of the guard, who were looting the palace, found Claudius shivering behind a curtain, and carried him off to be proclaimed emperor in their camp Nero's mother used the Praetorian prefect to secure her son's accession He lost his throne because he neglected the frontier armies, who decided to make emperors of their own choice It became clear that, if the empire was to be saved, Augustus's subtle system must be replaced by some simpler and stronger plan

The Western World. The African provinces grew steadily in prosperity as trade returned to the second city of Carthage, and increased in the old Phoenician coast towns, such as Cherchel, Bône, and Leptis Juba II's Mauretanian kingdom was annexed after the assassination of his son, Ptolemy The Third Augustan legion moved westward, and Suetonius Paulinus won victories over the Moorish tribes of the High Atlas This protected Baetica from the old danger of Moorish raids, and it shared the growing prosperity of Lusitania and Tarraconensis In spite of occasional unrest Gaul accepted the rule of Rome, and her frontier was kept secure by Corbulo and other vigorous generals. Claudius was content to hold the Rhine valley, largely with German levies, and to strengthen Roman influence by the foundation of the great colony of Cologne But he decided to extend the empire to the north He had suppressed Druidism in Gaul, where it had stubbornly encouraged rebellion He resolved to follow it across the Channel, and invaded Britain with fifty thousand men. There was little resistance in the south-east, where Roman influence was already strong Claudius's troops crossed the Thames and stormed Colchester, which became a colony and the seat of the new government.

Meanwhile his general Vespasian had pushed his way to the Bristol Channel after fierce fighting with the Belgic warriors of the south-west Druid priests inspired many of the tribes to a lengthy resistance, till Suetonius Paulinus captured their island stronghold and extirpated them He also crushed a dangerous rebellion led by Queen Boadicea

Fighting in the East. Claudius completed the organization of the Balkans, and strengthened the Danube line by making Thrace a province



Algerian Government

LAST BERBER KINGS
Left to right Ptolemy, Juba I, Juba II

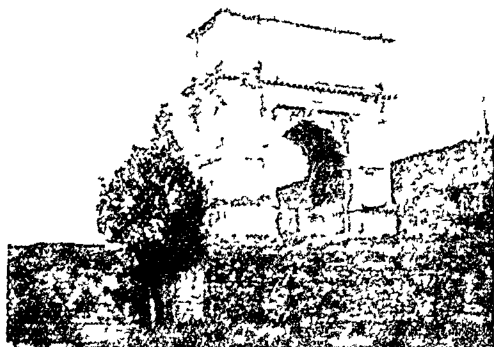
With Parthia he maintained Augustus's cautious methods Nero assented to a more vigorous policy The command was given to Corbulo, who had conquered the Netherlands and checked the pirates of the North Sea His first task was to restore discipline among the eastern armies, which had been corrupted by being quartered in the rich and luxurious towns to repress religious disturbances He out-manœuvred the enemy by a brilliant march across the Armenian mountains, and crushed the king whom the Parthians had put on the throne In his absence the Parthian cavalry won some successes, but Corbulo retrieved the blunders of other commanders and forced the enemy to make peace on his terms It was agreed that the Armenian king should be chosen by Parthia, but should receive his crown as the vassal of Rome Corbulo's work secured peace on the Euphrates for fifty years, and relieved Syria from all danger of invasion But the internal problem of religion remained In many of the eastern towns frequent rioting between the

Jews and their enemies provoked severe punishment from Claudius. The replacement of the client king of Judaea by a Roman procurator aroused resistance Nero ordered Vespasian to suppress the rebels He overran the north, persuaded the moderate Jews to surrender, and shut up the extremists in Jerusalem. While Vespasian and his son Titus were carrying on the siege they heard that Nero was dead

The Year of the Four Emperors. In spite of the great fire which destroyed ten out of the fourteen divisions of Rome, Nero had been popular with the mob because of the lavish spectacles he provided The Senate liked his rule in the first five years of his reign, but he lost its support by encouraging informers to prosecute prominent nobles and by performing in public as a musician and a charioteer Senatorial conspiracies failed But, while he toured Greece and won singing competitions, the legions moved against him Though he had alienated the Syrian army by the murder of Corbulo, the first danger came from the west Vindex, the legate of Lugdunensis, rose in rebellion, and offered the crown to Galba, the governor of Tarraconensis Galba accepted the task of dethroning Nero, and marched on Rome, assisted by Otho, governor of Lusitania The army of upper Germany crushed Vindex, but the Praetorians supported Galba Nero killed himself, lamenting the death of the world's greatest artist The Senate welcomed Galba and voted him all the imperial powers But the great armies were beginning to develop a spirit of local pride, and they envied the Praetorians as emperor-makers The German legions proclaimed Vitellius, and marched towards Italy Meanwhile Otho had killed Galba, and been acknowledged emperor The Syrian army refused to accept the choice of their fellow-soldiers on the Rhine, and Vespasian was proclaimed at Antioch and Alexandria He left Titus to finish the siege of Jerusalem, secured the corn supply of Egypt, and marched westward With Suetonius Paulinus in support, Otho faced Vitellius's troops in the Po valley, he was defeated and committed suicide Vitellius's reign at Rome was short Pannonia declared for Vespasian, and Vitellius's troops were beaten on the field where they had conquered Otho There was bitter fighting in the streets of Rome, in which Vitellius and Vespasian's brother were murdered, and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus burnt The frontiers were weakened seriously, Civilis led a revolt in the German provinces and the Netherlands The Treveri rebelled, and proclaimed a Gaulish empire. To many it seemed the end of Rome's rule

The Flavian House. Flavius, the father of the new emperor, Vespasian, had been a tax-gatherer and his grandfather a centurion. He could not boast the blue blood of his predecessors, but he was free from the prejudices of the Roman noble, and he had had a long training in warfare

and civil government Men trusted him, though they smiled at his Sabine speech, and said that he had the small farmer's idea of economy He was a practical man, who won the co-operation of the ablest men in putting down rebellion and restoring imperial rule Two things had been made clear by the disastrous Year of the Four Emperors the army must be the emperor's first care, it was no longer possible to govern on the lines of Augustus From the Flavians onwards almost every ruler was trained as a soldier and understood the needs of the army He could no longer be merely first citizen, dependent on the goodwill of the Senate He must be sole ruler, and in many parts of the empire he was openly called 'Lord and God' There was still the republican tradition of the nobles to overcome, but civil strife and informers had lessened the numbers of the old families The Senate itself was changing Claudius had added many provincials to its ranks, Vespasian and his sons added more Most senators recognized the new order of things, and thought more of the present and the future than the past


W N W

THE ARCH OF TITUS
Depicting with bas-reliefs his capture of Jerusalem

Restoration of Prosperity Vespasian's first task, like Augustus's, was to secure peace Titus's capture of Jerusalem had ended the Jewish trouble for a time The empire of the Gauls collapsed, and the Netherlands were recovered Discipline was restored in the armies, and their energies were turned against foreign foes At home Vespasian found a treasury emptied by Nero's follies He imposed high taxes and, like his father on a smaller scale, saw that they were paid The western provinces grew wealthier, as more towns were built and more provincials received citizen rights Titus's short reign showed signs of a return to the extravagance of Gaius and Nero, but his brother, Domitian, resumed his father's policy Great energy was shown in Britain, where Vespasian's generals had been slowly subduing the mountaineers south of the Tyne Assisted by the fleet the legions invaded the lowlands of Scotland, beat the clansmen, and fixed the frontier on the Tyne-Solway line with a string of fortified camps Similar fortifications were built beyond the upper reaches of the Rhine and Danube This flattened out a dangerous angle,

and lessened the danger of Teutonic invasions. There was much hard fighting to be done against barbarians north of the Danube, and Domitian was hampered by plots and rebellion. But he held on tenaciously, he summoned a legion from Spain under Trajan to suppress the rebels, and retrieved the defeats which the vigorous Dacian king had inflicted on the Balkan legions He restored the Danube boundary, and made the Dacian king his vassal But, in spite of his care for Italy and his lavish rebuilding of Rome, he became unpopular in the capital, and was assassinated, leaving no heir

The Adoptive Emperors. The Senate seized the opportunity to choose as emperor the old lawyer, Nerva He had little hold over Praetorians or legions, and to secure the army's loyalty he adopted Trajan as his son and colleague. This practice was followed for the next three generations, and historians agree in calling the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, and Aurelius the happiest age of the civilized world There were wars on the frontiers, and conspiracies and treason trials in the capital, but never before or since have so many men and women been able to live out their lives in peace and prosperity The man who finished his threescore years and ten when Antoninus died had seen the Roman peace bringing increasing happiness to the whole empire, and might well believe that both were eternal The choice of the adoptive emperors showed how completely the provinces had been Romanized and how well they repaid their debt to their conqueror The families of Trajan and Hadrian came from Spain, those of Antoninus and Aurelius from Gaul, when Aurelius's son was murdered, the empire went to a family from Africa, who married Syrians Not merely had the City become the World, but the World had become the City. Asiatic, Greek, Egyptian, Berber, Spaniard, Gaul, German, Pannonian, Thracian, all alike felt themselves Romans The capital gained splendour as she lost power Her traditions were shared by the races of the civilized world She had been the pupil of Greece. Now she taught others not merely what she had learnt from her brilliant teacher, but the lessons she had hammered out from her own rough history Gauls read the literature of Greece and Rome, Spaniards trod the great roads the legionaries had built, Berbers lived in well-planned, sanitary cities, Phoenicians studied Roman law, Thracians and Egyptians recognized the ties of a common citizenship All men went about their lawful occasions in the sunshine of the Roman peace

Peace and Plenty The greatest prosperity came in Antoninus's reign The big provincial cities of the west, such as Lisbon, Merida, Saragossa, Nîmes, Lyons, London, and Cologne, were equipped with aqueducts, baths, markets, law courts, porticoes, theatres, amphitheatres,

and temples, their citizens enjoyed a creditable imitation of the life of the capital Even on the distant wall, which Hadrian had built to



W N W

THE THEATRE AT TIMGAD, ALGERIA, SHOWING AUDITORIUM, STAGE, AND FOYER

mark off civilized Britain, the auxiliaries bought their goods in a forum, drank water supplied by an aqueduct, and sweated out their stiffness



W N W

THE PONT DU GARD

The great aqueduct which supplied Nimes with water

in steam-heated baths Manufactures increased and life grew more comfortable throughout the west, but it did not rival the wealth and luxury

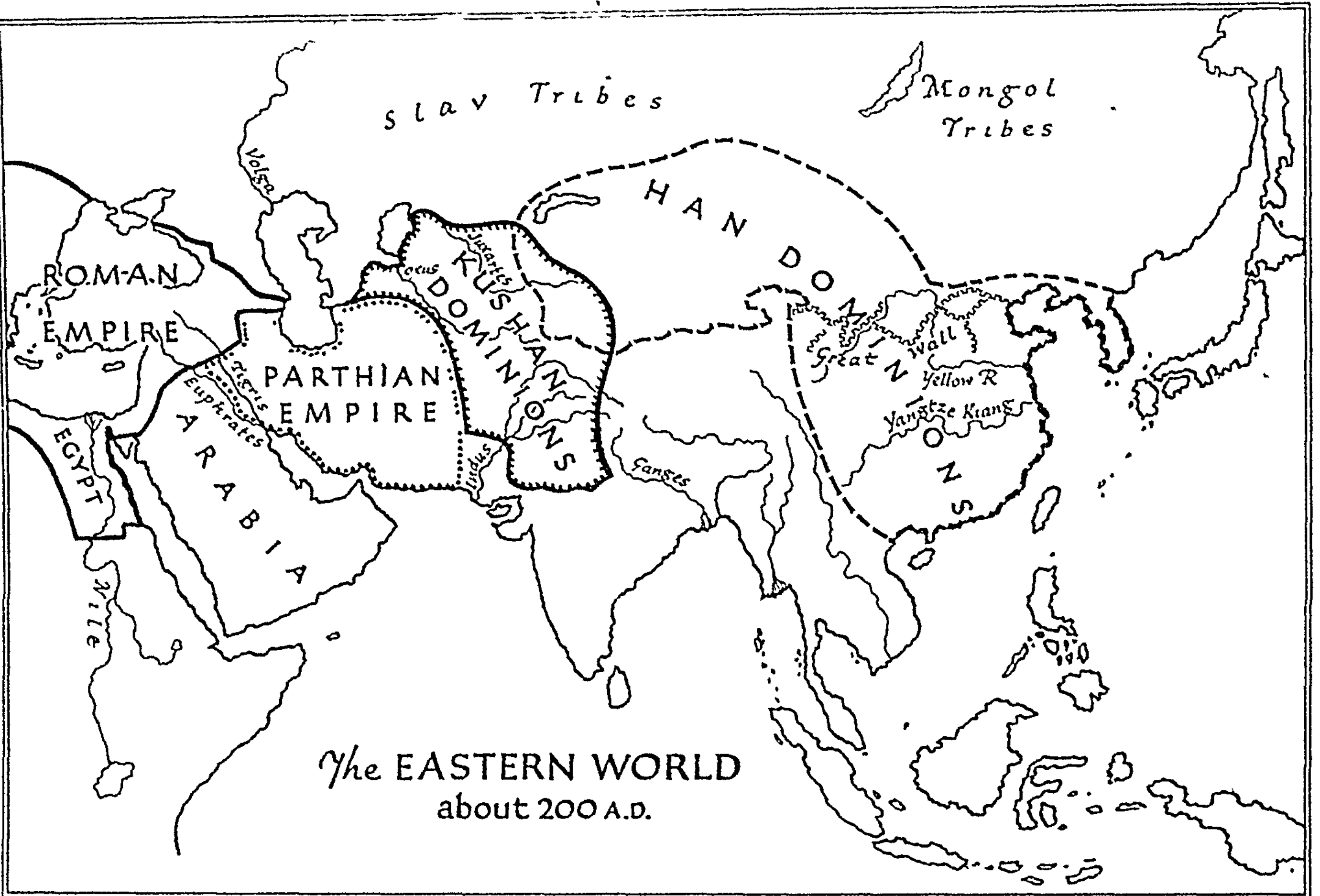
of the east There were no pirates to trouble the big corn ships which brought food to Rome from the quays of Alexandria, to be supplemented by the cargoes of Carthage, Cherchel, and Tarragona Roman ladies could buy jewels, pepper, and spices, brought from the distant east. Greek, Egyptian, Arab and Phoenician sailors pushed down the Red Sea to north-west India and Ceylon, and through Malayan waters to Tonking Others coasted along Africa to bring cinnamon from Zanzibar. Though Trajan's



THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

soldiers established a brief contact with Chinese troops across the Caspian, the land route to the east was controlled by Parthia. It was liable to interruption if the Arsacid kings were unfriendly, but maritime trade between Rome and China grew steadily under Antoninus

China In the reign of Antoninus's successor a treaty was made between the two great empires Aurelius bore his adopted father's name, and he is 'King Antun' in Chinese records Long ago China had developed a beautiful native art but she did not become a formidable military power till the Ts'in dynasty united the smaller states, which filled the Yellow River and Yangtse valleys, in the middle of the third century B C The industrious craftsmen of the towns and the peasants who cultivated the swampy ricefields had suffered much from the swift raids of the Mongolian horsemen, whom they called Hiungnu and the Romans were to know as Huns To check their destructive forays the Ts'in rulers built the Great Wall, protected at frequent intervals by towers and carrying a road on top, later generations extended the wall to a


Slav Tribes
Mongol Tribes
HAN DOMINIONS
KUSHAN DOMINIONS
Jaxartes
ROMAN EMPIRE
PARTHIAN EMPIRE
ARABIA
EGYPT
Volga
Tigris
Euphrates
Indus
Ganges
Great Wall
Yellow R
Yangtze Kiang
Nile
The EASTERN WORLD
about 200 A.D.

length of nearly fifteen hundred miles, almost twenty times the length of Hadrian's Wall The first Chinese empire soon broke up, but, when Rome was defeating Hannibal, Liu Pang re-established unity and founded the Han dynasty, Under his vigorous leadership an advance began which carried Chinese arms far into the west, and opened up trade routes through the Pamirs to Parthia, Bactria, and India The Hiungnu were driven off, Korea annexed, and the Chinese frontiers advanced to the south and to the coast The weak maritime states were absorbed, and Chinese merchants began to make short voyages An examination system, based largely on a study of literature, produced a governing class, which brought uniformity to the rule of the cities and provinces of the empire For four centuries after Liu Pang's death the Han dynasty held their huge empire together, and the Hiungnu, deprived of their booty in China, moved westward and pressed other nomads towards the prosperous countries of Europe. The collapse of Han power began at the same time as the weakening of the Roman empire, which is described in the next chapter, possibly the same virulent plagues that attacked Rome hastened the downfall of the Han emperors

Intercourse between China and India. The legendary history of the Chinese shows that they despised their merchants, and the early rulers refused them admission to the governing class There was no coinage system to give financiers control of the wealth created by the industry of the rice-eating labourers. Trade went on by barter or the use of stamped ingots like those which had been superseded in the west when Lydia invented coins But the silken fabrics of the distant east attracted Indian traders Ships began to voyage past Malaya to fetch Chinese goods to the courts of the Maurya kings and their successors. Overland there was communication through Bactria, Parthia, and Tibet. It was through the latter that Buddha's teaching spread to the Yangtse and Yellow River valleys. Buddhist missionaries made converts under the Ts'in and Han dynasties, though the teaching of Confucius and Lao Tse still claimed most of the ruling and educated classes The artists who served the Greek rulers of Bactria portrayed in sculpture and bas-relief the figure and the life of Gautama, and examples of their work have been found both in India and in China When the Chinese empire broke up, Buddhist monasteries gave a haven of refuge to the victims of civil war

India. Buddhism continued to hold its own in the land of its birth even after the overthrow of Asoka's and Milinda's dynasties Many Buddhists lived the simple life Gautama had taught, but, as their numbers grew, mercenary and idle folk were attracted to the religion Asoka's generosity had made Buddhism wealthy, monasteries were founded, in which men could live together to practise prayers and contemplation,

and, as other benefactors followed Asoka's example, the rulers of the monasteries grew rich It was hard to maintain the earlier simplicity, when it became necessary to organize vast numbers of believers and manage property and estates Yet the early enthusiasm still inspired the devout disciples, who wandered east, north, and west to carry Gautama's teaching Their success in Tibet, China, and Siam was widespread They made no converts in the Roman world, but in its eastern half their teaching mingled with the many-sided speculations on morals and religion which were rife in the first and second centuries A D Buddhists carried with them stories of their monasteries, which may have served as examples to other devout thinkers who sought for communion with the divine by withdrawing from the world When fresh invaders, possibly pressed forward by the Huns, came down through Afghanistan, and set up the Kushan dynasty, the new line of kings was converted But the early unity of Buddhism disappeared under their rule, and the Indian followers of Gautama began to draw away from their converts in Tibet and China Meanwhile the older Brahman religion still held its own in many parts of India The original warrior caste had lost ground under Buddhist rulers, and the priestly caste of Brahmans grew more powerful They continued to study the Vedic hymns, and to control men's lives by their knowledge of the sacrifices which pleased the gods Though the kings of northern India were mainly Buddhist till the middle of the seventh century, Brahmanism became stronger and built up the worship of the many gods who held and still hold the allegiance of the majority of Indians

Rome's Military Problem. While Roman citizens traded to the distant east, and treaties were made with Han and Kushan princes, it was natural that the adoptive emperors were seldom at Rome Their place was often on the frontiers, their task was to know the needs of the provinces and the armies, and to discover what was happening in the forests of Germany, the plains of Hungary, the steppes of Russia, and the Syrian and African deserts. They aided internal prosperity by keeping up the road system, decreasing taxation, and bringing the knights into the civil service All of them travelled the empire, Hadrian's friends jested at him as the tourist emperor, and condoled with him for 'tramping through the Netherlands, lurking about Britain, and freezing in Russia' But the first business was always the army The question of the higher command was a constant difficulty If the legions were kept separate there was the danger of jealous generals failing to help one another at the critical moment If too many were placed under a single command they might give their loyalty to him instead of Rome, as they had done in the past to Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, Vitellius, and Vespasian. An

ambitious man might profit from the fact that his troops were drawn from many races, and were becoming almost a hereditary service The army lists show that the majority of recruits were 'born in the camp,' and were following their fathers' footsteps As the Roman peace deepened, small towns grew up outside the great camps, and the legionary began to feel a patriotic pride in the country where his father had served, and he himself had been born. This was particularly strong in Britain, where the second, sixth, and twentieth legions were quartered, it also existed in the German, Pannonian, and Syrian armies Another difficulty was the growing aversion of the more civilized provincials to military service The defence of the empire began to slip into the hands of the rustic population and the rougher tribes, who were barely influenced by Roman ideas



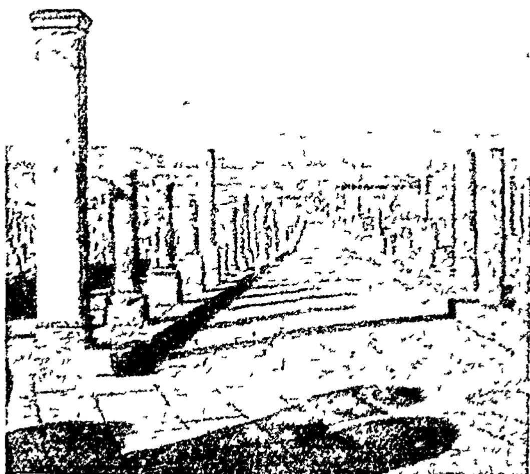
COIN OF HADRIAN

The Frontiers. The general policy of the adoptive emperors was to maintain the frontiers reached under the Flavians Only Trajan chose a policy of expansion, and unfortunately he decided to advance the frontiers of the eastern half of the empire He conquered the Dacians, and founded a great province north of the Danube It was splendid farming land, the Dacians were Romanized completely, the new conquest protected Moesia and Thrace, but it had no natural boundary for its own protection Trajan ended the long peace with Parthia, and pushed the frontier from the Euphrates to the Tigris He created provinces in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria and, like Alexander, captured Babylon, and reached the Persian Gulf His Asiatic policy was reversed by Hadrian, who gave up the three new provinces, and withdrew to the Euphrates No emperor tried to reach the Elbe-Danube frontier, of which Augustus and Germanicus had dreamed Arminius had taught the Romans a disastrous lesson

III. Evening

In material prosperity and outward appearance there was little decline in the three generations after Antoninus In spite of frontier wars, civil struggles, plagues, and famines, the general well-being of the provinces was maintained, and the towns were adorned with more magnificent buildings and amused with more lavish spectacles than before. Pride in Roman citizenship increased, until Caracalla's edict gave it to all free men in the empire

Roman Law. The edict meant that every free man within the frontiers enjoyed the protection of one law, which safeguarded the decencies of life for the different races. In nothing was the Roman genius for adaptability so marked as in the legal sphere The code of the Twelve Tables had been framed for the needs of a small Italian town of farmers, traders, and craftsmen. It regulated private disputes between families, and gave almost unlimited power to the father of the family over his offspring and dependents. The praetors, who presided over the law courts, added decisions to govern the relations between citizens and foreigners As time went on a class of *juris prudentes*, or men learned in the law, created a legal tradition of jurisprudence as a branch of statesmanship Commercial custom helped to modify the cruder parts of Roman law, while other national institutions were recognized as fit for universal law Though this progress owed much to foreign, especially Greek, influence, its method was purely Roman, the reasoning of the *juris prudentes* was supplemented by the decisions of the praetors, sitting as magistrates in their several courts to deal with laws passed by the republican Assemblies



W N W

NORTH STREET OF TIMGAD, ALGERIA

Built by the Third Augustan Legion for the veterans of Trajan's Thirtieth Legion Note the ruts made by chariot-wheels The drainage system was underneath, and on the right was a public library given by a generous citizen Compare the well-finished squared pavement with the rougher work shown on p 211

The Codes. Under the empire the Senate's decrees and the monarch's edicts added to the mass of law, created by praetors and *juris prudentes*. There was a danger of principles of justice being lost in a crowd of details The great lawyers created the idea that jurisprudence was 'the art of the good and the just', it was not to be a series of enactments laid down from on high by the legislator, but something progressive and adaptable, which could be perfected by reason and experience. By their work the

rude customs of a peasant city state became the civilized law of a world empire. In Hadrian's reign Julian codified the edicts of the praetors in the Perpetual Edict, which became the accepted guide for civil cases. Aurelius's devotion to Stoicism familiarized men with the idea of a natural law or a law of nations, governing the whole world. Under the Septimian house Papinian and Ulpian not only served as ministers, but also helped to lay down the principles of jurisprudence. The work of Julian, Papinian, and Ulpian paved the way for the theory that all power resided in the monarch. But the codes destroyed much of the harshness of the old republican law. They weakened the father's arbitrary powers, freed women from many disabilities, reinforced the sanctity of contracts, checked unjust wills, and even did something for the slave.

Internal Dissensions. After Antoninus's death the unity of the empire was disturbed again by disputed successions and civil strife. Aurelius had to face a dangerous rebellion led by a successful general in Syria. His son, Commodus, was murdered, and the Senate set up a transient ruler, who was replaced by the equally transient choice of the Praetorians. Against the household troops the armies of Syria, Britain, and Pannonia put forward rival candidates. The latter were nearest the capital, and their general, Septimius Severus, a native of Leptis, crushed his competitors after two fierce campaigns, which weakened the best elements in the legions. A generation later his dynasty was interrupted for a year by another mutiny in Syria. It was difficult for a vast empire to be loyal to one man, when there was no fixed rule of succession. Marcus Aurelius had Lucius Verus as his partner in empire, but on the death of his adopted brother he reverted to the hereditary system, and chose his son, Commodus, to succeed. Septimius adopted himself into the Aurelian family, and left the imperial power to be shared between his two sons as Augusti. The hereditary principle was confirmed, when Caracalla's cousins, Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, occupied the throne in succession. The women of the imperial house continued to exercise great power; the wives of Marcus and Septimius both bore the title of 'Mother of the Camp,' as Agrippina had before them.

Frontier Troubles. The wars which followed Antoninus's peaceful reign did not greatly disturb the inner peace of the empire. Rome's enemies were only dangerous when well led. The African provinces were enlarged when Septimius and Caracalla pushed southward, and drove the unruly Berbers into the Sahara. Baetica was troubled by a few Moorish raids. There were more serious enemies in the north. The pirates, whom Corbulo had punished, began to build better boats, and to raid Britain and Gaul. When the British legions crossed the Channel to support their pretender to the throne, they exposed the island to attacks

by land and sea. Septimius made good the damage He fought three vigorous campaigns in the Scottish Highlands, rebuilt Hadrian's Wall, reorganized the Channel fleet, and left Britain to enjoy a century of prosperity. The German tribes threatened danger, as they were beginning to improve their equipment, and to unite into larger confederacies, such as those of the Franks and the Alemanni Aurelius, Caracalla, and Severus Alexander took the field against them, generally with success The most vulnerable point was the middle Danube, where a vigorous king of the Marcomanni united many Teutonic and Slav tribes, attacked the Alpine and Balkan provinces, and even penetrated into north-east Italy. Aurelius drove them back and overran their country In spite of a disastrous plague, which spread from the east over the whole empire, and defied the skill of the great physician, Galen, Aurelius planned the foundation of two fresh provinces, but his death saved the barbarians from annexation Commodus made peace, their union broke up, and the Pannonian frontier was restored.



W N W

HEAD OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS
(*Museum of Djemila, Algeria*)

The New Persian Kingdom. Aurelius, Septimius, and Caracalla all claimed victories over the Parthians. As the Arsacid power declined owing to revolts, plagues, and Hun raids, the native Persian element grew stronger Artaxerxes, who claimed descent from the old Achaemenid house, conquered the last Parthian king, destroyed all trace of Macedonian and Greek influence, and founded the Sassanid dynasty He was fanatically attached to the ancient Magian faith, and bitterly opposed to all whom he deemed idolaters He drove back the Huns, extended his power to the Oxus, the Indus, and the Caspian Sea, and laid claim to all the countries Cyrus had ruled He was a much more dangerous enemy to Rome than the Parthians had been, and tried to push her citizens back into Europe Severus Alexander met his invasion courageously, and after prolonged fighting Artaxerxes was checked But the war proved a terrible drain on the legions, and it was clear that the Sassanids were a real threat to Rome's dominions in Asia

Municipal Life. Behind the shelter of the legions the average citizen

when the Jews were scattered through the empire they clung stubbornly to their belief that only Jehovah was god Hadrian had deported the rebellious Jews, planted a Roman colony on the devastated site of Jerusalem, and built a shrine of Jupiter where the temple had stood But the scattered Jews clung to the god of their fathers, and rejected the religion of the State

Christianity. In their secret resistance to Roman rule the Jews found inspiration in their belief that from the blood of David would be born a Messiah or Anointed King, who would bring them dominion over the Gentiles Some of them believed that this Messiah had already appeared in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, who had been crucified in the reign of Tiberius The Greek word for Anointed was *Christos*, and these Jews were called Christians, when they [illegible]ared in Antioch. At first they remained members of the Jewish C[illegible] practised Jewish ritual, and worshipped in the temple at Jerusal[illegible]t they added two practices to the national ritual, they were baptized to wash away sins; they met together in love-feasts to commemorate the Last Supper which Jesus had shared with his Twelve Apostles They recorded, first by word of mouth, and then in writing, what they remembered of the words and acts of Jesus The Christians tried to practise in their daily lives his teaching that men and women should love God, and be pure and kind to one another They obeyed the leadership of the Twelve Apostles, who had been Jesus's closest friends during the three years he had taught in Galilee. In spite of the opposition of the Jewish priests, they began to make converts among the poorer classes in Syria, owing to the preaching of the Galilean Peter When he was joined by Paul, a Roman citizen of Tarsus, the great decision was made to carry the Good Tidings or Gospel to the Gentiles Titus's destruction of the temple at Jerusalem freed the Christians from their connection with Judaism, and they became organized as a separate Church. Travel was safe and easy under the Roman peace, and following Paul's example the Christians made many converts in the Mediterranean world In each city communities were formed, which met under the leadership of elders called presbyters or priests, and an overseer called episcopus or bishop Most of the early converts were poor citizens, freedmen, or slaves The new religion made a particular appeal to women, though these could not be priests or bishops By Domitian's reign it had reached the imperial household, Commodus's favourite, Marcia, was a Christian, Severus Alexander placed Christ among the gods he worshipped

Christian Opposition to the Roman State. The emperors had abolished the political clubs of the capital, but they encouraged the social clubs and benefit societies, which workmen formed for their protection

and welfare. One of the objects of these clubs was to provide decent burial for their members, and it was as burial clubs that the government first took notice of the Christians. They were unpopular with other poor men, who worshipped the familiar gods of the sunlight They

PAGE FROM THE CODEX SINAITICUS

This shows the Greek capitals in which the Gospels were written in the fourth century

could not share in the life of men who adored idols, revelled in the bloodshed of the amphitheatre, and considered unchastity the normal condition of personal happiness The Jews hated them as renegades and egged on the Gentiles to riot against men who lived aloof from their fellows and met for secret worship These riots formed one of the minor troubles of the provincial governor, and the execution of a few Christians was an obvious way of winning popularity In the capital a handful perished

lived long enough to assure him that Rome had faced worse troubles and it would be all right in the end

Your best guide for the Golden Age of the Roman Empire is Wells and Barrow's Short History of the Roman Empire *You will find pleasant reading in Lytton's* Last Days of Pompeii, *and Kipling's two short stories about St Paul*

Dates

B C
70 Birth of Vergil
65 Birth of Horace
63 Birth of Augustus.
42 Battle of Philippi Birth of Tiberius.
12 Augustus Pontifex Maximus
9 Tiberius in Pannonia. Death of Drusus in Germany
A D
9 Defeat of Varus by Arminius
14 Augustus succeeded by Tiberius
16 Recall of Germanicus from Germany.
42 Two provinces of Mauretania formed
43 Britain made a province by Claudius
61 St Paul at Rome Corbulo in Parthia Boadicea's revolt
68–69 Year of the Four Emperors
70 Capture of Jerusalem
96 Assassination of Domitian
98 Adoption of Trajan by Nerva
105 Dacia a Roman province
116 Trajan on the Persian Gulf
135 End of Jewish War against Hadrian
150 Justin's *Apology* for the Christians
161 Death of Antoninus Pius Empire ravaged by plague
180 Death of Marcus Aurelius
210 Septimius Severus in Britain
215 Edict of Caracalla
226 Conquest of Parthia by Artaxerxes the Sassanid
235 Murder of Severus Alexander.

CHAPTER VII

THE EMPIRE, THE CHRISTIANS, AND THE BARBARIANS

THE empire suffered disastrous consequences from its failure either to establish a stable rule of succession, or to control the jealousies of the imperial house, or to create a steady loyalty among the governing classes After the murder of Severus Alexander there were thirteen years of growing weakness, followed by twenty of almost unrelieved disaster Twelve emperors reigned during this period, under the last of them, there were nineteen other claimants to the throne in various provinces, historians called them the Thirty Tyrants. A few of these transient rulers were men of old family, most of them rose from obscurity by military service, two were barbarians. As in the Year of the Four Emperors and the struggles that followed Commodus's murder, the different armies wasted their strength in civil wars The frontiers lay open to invasion By the latter half of the third century it was clear that only military talent could restore peace and prosperity to the Roman world, and save it from being broken by its enemies

I COLLAPSE AND RECOVERY

Even if generals and soldiers had been loyal to a hereditary dynasty, the army was faced by the difficulty of recruiting its ranks The man-power of the empire had begun to dwindle Once a certain stage of prosperity is reached, there seems to be a fixed tendency for men and women to insist on a level of good living which means smaller families This begins with the rich, their example is copied by the poorer classes, as comforts and amusements spread downwards The process is quickened, if the State imposes heavy taxes without considering their effect on the ordinary citizen Septimius and his successors had realized the necessity of better pay and conditions for the troops, and they cared little how the money was raised from the civilian population The rich were subject to heavy irregular payments, but they were exempt from most of the ordinary taxes, the chief burden fell on the middle classes, who should have furnished the best fighting material Their numbers decreased and they lost energy and initiative If the struggling farmer or artisan was willing to sacrifice his self-respect and independence, he could exchange unremitting toil and the demands of the tax-gatherer for a life of free amusements and gratuitous bread, wine, and oil It was hardly worth while to work long hours to support a large family,

when the government left barely enough to keep a man in what he considered reasonable comfort

Growth of Caste in the Towns. For two centuries the colonies and municipalities had increased in numbers and prosperity throughout the provinces Local patriotism had flourished, and leading citizens had been generous to the towns they governed as duumvirs or decurions. But this liberality was checked by the hard times of the third century, and extinguished by the growth of taxation Men shirked the offices their fathers had held The government was anxious to have responsible magistrates to collect its revenue, and answered this refusal by making the magistracies hereditary. The old families found themselves tied to the task of sending their town's allotted share to the imperial exchequer The trading and municipal gilds were made hereditary in the same way The butcher's son must be a butcher, the baker's a baker, the smith's a smith The system was bound to destroy enterprise and self-respect The more active simply ran away, and ferocious edicts were issued to drive them back to their uncongenial tasks Some returned, and naturally became inefficient workmen, others joined the bands of brigands, who plundered the provinces when the government was weak

Impoverishment of the Countryside. The ancient world manufactured few commodities on a big scale, when a man grew rich, he invested his money in land. The wealth of the decurions, who beautified the towns, came from the countryside The Roman peace had allowed the fertile provinces to produce the necessities of life in abundance But by the middle of the third century, they felt the effects of increased taxation and falling birth-rate The big domains were cultivated mainly by slave labour. When victory no longer brought captives for sale and plagues devasted the empire, even the slave population dwindled This would have given the free farmer his chance but for the grinding pressure of the land-tax The State and the agriculturist were caught in a vicious circle Heavy taxes drove many farmers out of business, there were fewer men to pay taxes, therefore the few had to pay more The free farmer began to seek a new way out of his troubles The big landowner wanted labour to fill the gaps in the slave population From these two needs came the institution of the colonate The small men gave up their farms and transferred themselves to the large estates, where they worked as coloni They escaped the tax-gatherer and received their landlord's protection; in return they cultivated his domain and either handed over part of the produce of their holdings, or worked for fixed periods on some other part of the estate The big estates of Gaul were well managed, and she could usually feed the Rhine armies, occasionally her harvests had to be supplemented from prosperous Britain.

In all the provinces big estates grew bigger, while the number of free men decreased.

The Persian Peril. On the east the emperors had to face the great civilized power of the Sassanids, who carried on with increased vigour the struggle which the Arsacids had waged against the Seleucids and Crassus Artaxerxes's son, Sapor I, was a fanatical Magian, who hated the Roman idolater and resented Roman occupation of lands that Cyrus



W F Mansell

INTERIOR OF THE CATACOMBS, ROME
Here the early Christians of the Capital buried their dead

had once ruled The disputed succession threw the eastern legions into confusion, and Sapor conquered Armenia and overran the frontier provinces. He captured the emperor Valerian and sacked Antioch Through his victories Armenia remained in Persian hands for a generation Roman power reasserted itself towards the end of the third century, but in the fourth the Sassanids again became aggressive Sapor II used his mailed cavalry effectively against the legions, when they met in battle on the sandy plains, but he made little impression on the fortified towns He won back Mesopotamia after the Romans had exhausted themselves in a fruitless invasion. The organized strength of the Sassanids was a constant threat to the rich eastern provinces, their horsemen were

fighting to drive the bulk of the invaders back to their homes Many of them settled permanently within the empire and, like the Goths, enlisted in the Roman armies

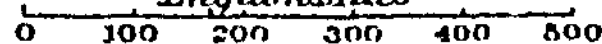
The Soldier Emperors. The twenty years of disaster were ended by a series of good soldiers, sprung from Balkan peasant stock. Most of them had short reigns, some were murdered by their own men; but between them they saved the empire They built up a good corps of officers, restored discipline, attacked the invaders continuously, and proved that under rigorous leadership the Roman soldier was still the best fighter in the world As there was not enough of him for his gigantic task, the emperors enrolled Goths, Sueves, Franks, and Arabs Rome and the great provincial cities were walled; frontier fortifications were strengthened to free the legions for other duties Claudius II, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian, and the rest crushed pretenders and invaders with a strong hand The frontiers were restored, though Aurelian wisely gave up Dacia to the Goths The Senate, heirs of an irritating and exhausted tradition, ceased to trouble the unity of the empire Men saw that all power lay with the emperors, whose work was on the frontiers; Rome sank to the position of a great city with an interesting past, and her rulers visited her only to celebrate triumphs won in more vigorous lands

Diocletian's Reforms. The greatest problem of government was how to combine unity of control with the defence of the widely scattered lands which formed the empire Diocletian divided his dominions into thirteen dioceses, each under a vicarius; these were grouped into four great prefectures The Latin-speaking West and the Greek-speaking East each had an Augustus and a Caesar to exercise the higher command Diocletian retained supreme control in his own hands, and designed that the Caesar should be trained to succeed the Augustus and then train a Caesar in his turn. The emperor became more aloof from his subjects He wore the Oriental diadem, his courtiers prostrated themselves before him, the lawyers taught that citizens had resigned all power into his hands; the public revenues became his sole property; public expenditure was his 'sacred largesse', the imperial guards protected their 'Lord and God' By these means Diocletian hoped to bind the army in reverent loyalty to the divine person of the emperor At the same time he increased and reorganized it, to ensure greater mobility and to break the tradition of rival forces setting up their own pretenders to the throne The legions were made smaller The defence of the frontiers was entrusted to the limitanei, who were two-thirds of the army, central reserves of comitatenses were created to reinforce threatened points. Apart from various corps of irregulars

EUROPE
on the Eve of the BARBARIAN INVASIONS
c 395 A.D

Scale 1 25 000000 (400 miles=1inch)

English Miles



0 100 200 300 400 500

Boundary of the Roman Empire

Boundaries of Roman Prefectures

The Roman Dioceses are coloured in flat tints and named thus, – HISPANIA (D)

Division of the Empire between the sons of Theodosius in 395

Boundary of the Persian Empire

Tribal Names thus –Huns

The sees of the Patriarchates are underlined

EUROPE

c. 476 A.D.

Scale 1:40,000,000 (640 miles-inch)

English Miles

0 100 200 300 400 500

ATLANTIC OCEAN

Picts

Scots

York

BRITAIN

Angles

Saxons

Frisians

Saxons

Cologne

Franks

Thuringians

Lombards

Slavonic Peoples

Paris

Alemanni

Burgundians

Toulouse

VISIGOTHIC KINGDOM

Alans

Cordova

Cadiz

Carthage

Moors

Alps

KINGDOM OF ODOACER

Ostrogoths

Ravenna

Corsica

Rome

Sardinia

Sicily

VANDAL KINGDOM

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

BLACK SEA

Constantinople

MOESIA

THRACE

Salonika

Athens

Rhodes

Crete

Cyprus

Antioch

Damascus

Jerusalem

Alexandria

EGYPT

Ancyra

EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE

Ostrogoths

Huns

Danube

Avars

THRACIA

Philippopolis

Constantinople

(Byzantium)

PAPHLAGONIA

Pityus

Caucasus Mts

CASPIAN SEA

Trebizond

BITHYNIA

Nicomedia

Nicaea

Ancyra

PONTUS

GALATIA (D)

ARMENIA

PHRYGIA

ASIA

LYDIA (D)

PISIDIA

PAMPHYLIA

ISAURIA

CILICIA

Taurus

Seleucia

Antioch

Laodicea

MESOPOTAMIA

Edessa

Nisibis

(Nineveh)

Tigris

Euphrates

Palmyra

Ctesiphon

PERSIAN KINGDOM

(Babylon)

Cyprus

Damascus

Tyre

Caesarea

Jerusalem

Alexandria

Memphis

EGYPT (D)

Arabia

40

35

30

25

25 from Greenwich 30 35 40 45 50

Diocletian's total military forces amounted to rather more than half a million, of whom about a third were cavalry All the financial resources of the empire were directed to their support Besides money payments for the military exchequer, the countryside had to provide oil, wine, corn, meat, and fodder. Good money was minted to replace the debased coinage. Customs receipts and the revenue of the postal service helped to increase imperial funds Every effort was made to restore the military and financial strength of the empire To stir the laggards and overawe the disloyal, a corps of secret agents was created to report what went on in every part of the empire



CONSTANTINE THE GREAT
(*Uffizi, Florence*)

Constantine and New Rome. When Diocletian resigned the throne and retired to grow cabbages, his arrangements for the succession speedily broke down Galerius, who fought successfully against the Persians, seemed likely to make himself supreme, but after a period of disunion, in which there were at one time six Augusti, Constantine reunited the empire Four years later he created a new capital on the old site of Byzantium Constantinople was admirably chosen for military and administrative purposes, from it he could control and reinforce his generals at Trier or Milan, or he could cross the Bosphorus to take up the never-ending quarrel with Persia Against attack from land Constantinople was impregnable, and no enemy could starve it while its communications with the Black Sea and the Mediterranean were kept open Constantine adorned the city with lavish generosity, and it rivalled Old Rome in its basilicas, churches, baths, granaries, and aqueducts Its circus soon bred factions of Green and Blue to disturb the public peace with their brawls, and its mob became as useless and expensive as the inhabitants of the City of the Seven Hills At Old Rome nobles sneered at 'Greekling senators,' while the lower orders complained that Egyptian corn was diverted to feed the New Rome on the Bosphorus But Constantine had founded a city which freed the emperors from the last vestige of senatorial interference and favoured the growth of untrammelled autocracy and Oriental pomp Its splendid site gave his successors a sure refuge, where for centuries they rallied their forces against all invaders

II The Victory of Christianity

In organizing the State for war Diocletian had asserted the divinity of the emperor But many of his subjects were turning their thoughts from worldly warfare to the saving of their souls in another world The dull old State religion was dying, the picturesque gods of Olympus were dead Isis and Jehovah had many followers, Mithras was still worshipped in the legions, Christianity had grown in strength since Decius's persecution But to many it seemed fatal to tolerate a creed whose followers refused to sacrifice to the Lord and God of the Roman world Diocletian



W N W

CHRISTIAN SARCOPHAGUS AT TIPAS, ALGERIA
Christ's figure in the middle, on the left spring and summer, on the right autumn and winter. Extreme right Moses striking the rock for the Israelites

was persuaded by his colleague, Galerius, to order the last and fiercest persecution of the Christians In the east Galerius saw that it was carried out with ferocious thoroughness, in the west Constantius Chlorus allowed the edict to become a dead letter.

Constantine and the Church. When Constantius's son, Constantine, became supreme, he continued to act as Pontifex Maximus The leading families in Old Rome were still devoted to the ancient gods, and he pleased them by allowing the pagan priesthoods to receive their old endowments and to carry on their different cults, unless they were licentious But he believed in One God, and, as he grew older, he thought that this must be the God of the Christians He associated a vision of Christ's Cross with his great victory of the Mulvian Bridge over a rival Augustus He joined with another rival in publishing the Edict of Milan, which gave all Romans freedom of worship The Christian communities throughout the empire supported him and hailed his final victory as the triumph of their Church His military skill and fortune secured comparative peace for the latter portion of his reign, and his greatest task during these

prosperous years was to bring the new Christian power into harmony with the State. He ruled the Church, presided at its councils, and worked hard to keep it united within itself With this object he opposed all extreme views. He decided against the Donatists of Africa, who attacked their Catholic neighbours for disloyalty in the great persecution He curbed the wilder spirits among the eastern Christians, who had a fierce love of speculative philosophy, abhorrent to the common sense of the west When three hundred bishops assembled at Nicaea in Asia Minor to consider the teaching of Arius, he approved a formula which was calculated to preserve unity Whether he was baptized on his death-bed matters little He had made Christianity the religion of the empire and earned from the eastern churches his title of the Thirteenth Apostle

The Pagan Reaction. The struggle between Christianity and the pagan creeds and philosophies was not settled finally by Constantine's policy Many of the old families believed that the greatness of Rome was bound up with the ancient gods and the divine emperors, they feared that the Gospel of Peace would corrupt the fighting qualities of comitatenses and limitanei, and they hated the Christians as men who 'turned the world upside down' In the country districts old beliefs were strong Even in the towns many Christians were lukewarm There was a pagan reaction when Constantine's nephew, Julian, held the throne for three years He was a courageous soldier, who used his position to encourage the old worship and the philosophic schools without resorting to persecution But it was a losing battle As comfort and safety decreased and the good things of this world became merely the prizes of the few, men's thoughts turned eagerly to the next Pagan priests and philosophers could not win followers by the sure promise of future blessedness as the Christians did Julian's policy collapsed with his death in battle against the Persians

Christian Divisions. The real danger to Christianity lay not in pagan reaction, but in its own quarrels The problem of defining the divinity of Christ had always been a stumbling-block to earnest believers, and had led to fierce doctrinal struggles. At the moment of triumph the Church was faced by the most far-reaching of these divisions, when Alexandria was convulsed by the dispute between the followers of Arius and Athanasius Arius wished to bring Christ closer to humanity, and made a great appeal to the feelings of the common people, he taught that Christ was divine, but less divine than God the Father. Athanasius insisted that Christ was not merely of similar divine nature, but of the same divine nature as the Father The fierce struggles between the rivals spread from Egypt over the Eastern Empire Fortunes varied with the different Church councils and the personal prejudices of the reigning

monarch But the churches of Italy, Spain, and Gaul rallied to Athanasius, the Bishop of Rome protected his followers even against the emperor, and, though some, like Constantius and Valens, supported his rival, his cause triumphed The Arians lost their hold in the East But among them had been men of great devotion, who carried the teaching of Arius among the barbarians outside the frontiers The conversion of Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, and other Teutonic tribes by these missionaries had far-reaching effects in later centuries



Alinari

AN ANCIENT BRONZE STATUE OF ST PETER, ROME
The foot has been worn away by the kisses of worshippers

Church Organization. It was the importance that the Church had attached to unity since the days of the persecutions that made these doctrinal struggles bitter; men could not tolerate others holding beliefs which divided Christians from one another. The same desire for unity led to the gradual building up of a wonderful organization which enabled the brethren to work together under a hierarchy of officers who were destined to survive the State officials, upon whose system they were modelled From the first century there had been the two orders of priests and deacons, the former controlled the worship of the congregation, the latter acted as financial and executive officers, and dealt with the work that arose from the Church being a

benefit society for the poor Both were under the bishop, who represented the unity of the Christians in the different cities As wealth and membership increased, archdeacons were appointed to control the deacons, and to advise the bishops in temporal matters A zealous and ambitious man might take minor orders, as reader or exorcist; he would become deacon and then priest, if he won the affection of his fellows he was chosen bishop by the laity, and consecrated to that office by another bishop He would be responsible for the spiritual and material well-being of his Christian townsmen and those in the surrounding countryside who had abandoned paganism In the fourth century he would find himself summoned to meet his fellow-bishops in Council; this might be a gathering from Gaul or Spain or Africa, or it might even be a Council representing the whole Church, as that of Nicaea

Canon Law. These councils did not deal only with questions of doctrine With the great example of the Civil Law before their eyes, they began the work of building up that law of the Church which became Canon Law. Individual bishops would explain the customs which had grown up in their districts From comparison and discussion of these customs there would emerge some principle, which the assembled bishops could put into clear language, and apply to the whole community of the faithful. When these edicts had been hammered out after careful debate, the bishop would return to his diocese and, with the aid of his archdeacon and others skilled in legal matters, see that they were obeyed by priest and layman In this way Christians learnt obedience to their religious rulers and to the code of law framed by them, and this organization gave them strength against rebels within the Church and enemies without

The Great Sees. In the work of the Councils all bishops were equal theoretically, 'all are equally successors of the Apostles, whether at Rome or Gubbio, at Constantinople or Alexandria.' But in practice there were marked differences in rank, and the ordinary bishop recognized the claims of metropolitan and patriarch By the fourth century three great sees stood out above the rest: Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria Occasionally others, such as Carthage, Jerusalem, Milan, asserted their claims, when their rulers were men of ability and ambition It was inevitable that Constantinople, as the seat of the imperial power, should strive for pre-eminence But claims founded on the importance of towns gave way slowly to those based on apostolic tradition Rome and Antioch alike traced their origin to St Peter, Alexandria to his nephew, St. Mark, and these three maintained their leadership against their rivals

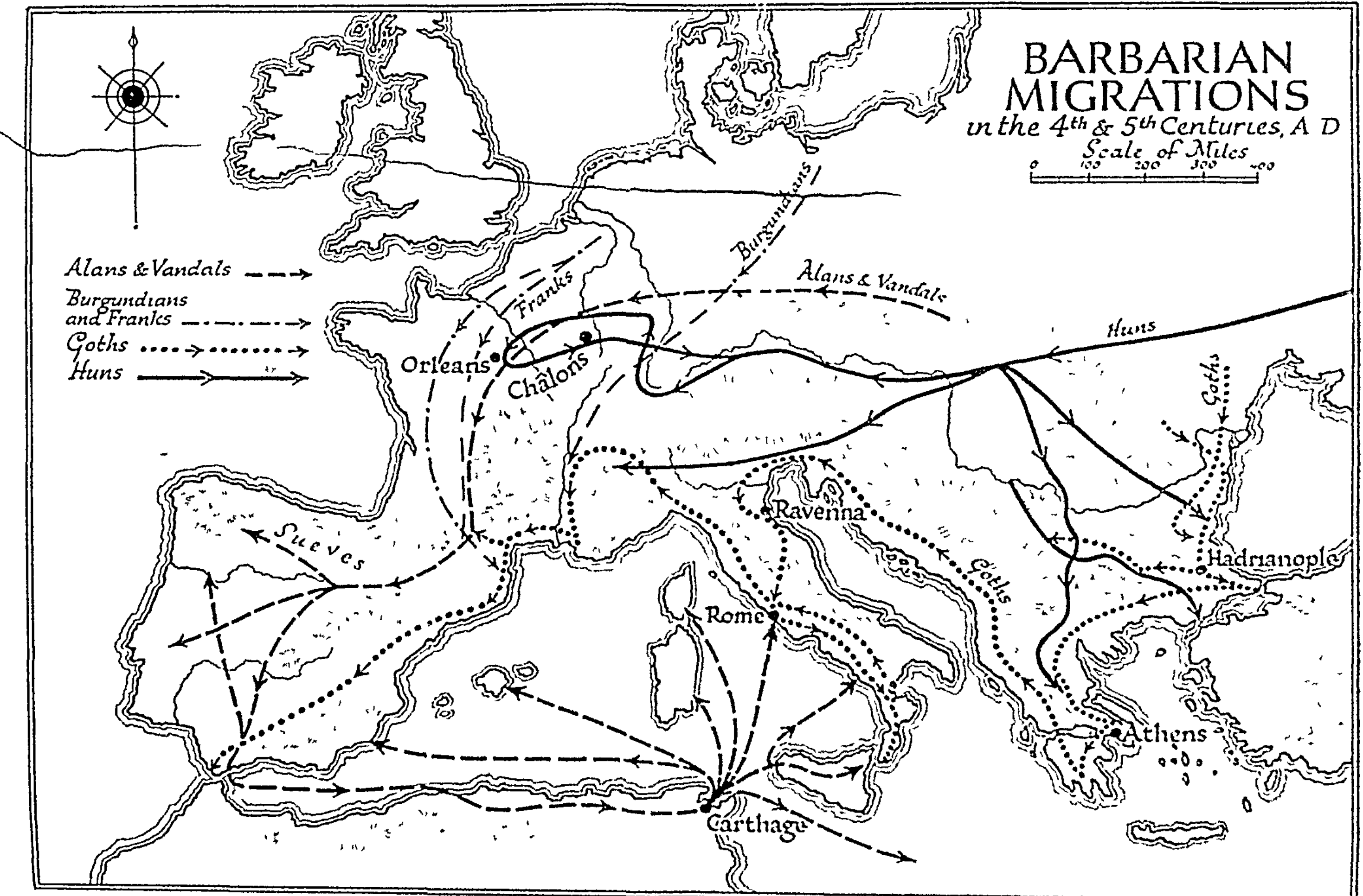
The Bishop of Rome. Christianity had come from the East and, as far as numbers went, the Eastern churches were more powerful They led the way in organization, and brought greater subtlety to the discussion

of doctrine. But the march of events favoured Rome. When the emperors took up their residence at Constantinople and Milan, her bishop became of greater importance even in civil affairs. He enjoyed far greater freedom from imperial interference than the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria The mantle of the departed emperor fell naturally on his shoulders Under Damasus the Roman claims were put forward clearly He explained in definite form the beliefs that men should hold in the creeds; he laid down the canon of books which should be accounted Holy Scripture, he asserted the claims of his own office, and said that Rome inherited the leadership of all churches from Christ's promise to St. Peter

III The Barbarian Flood

The fifty years between the accession of Diocletian and the death of Constantine had apparently given the Roman world a fresh lease of life The frontiers were reasonably secure, the army had been made more mobile for its task of defence, the government had been reorganized; the Christian Church had been brought into alliance with the State It was natural that men should speak of a renewal of the empire, and a restoration of the happy times. But, apart from the religious question, there were still three sources of weakness, dynastic, economic, and racial The numerous descendants of Constantius Chlorus were supreme in the Roman world, but they were disunited, and assassination and civil war extinguished the imperial family in a quarter of a century The breakdown of the economic machine had not been put right. Heavy taxation still made municipal life poorer and weaker. The imperial domains and the estates of the richer landowners were worked by unfree labour; the self-respecting population, which should have been Rome's chief support, dwindled steadily. While these problems troubled men behind the frontiers, the danger beyond grew increasingly urgent.

Changed Character of the Teutonic Invaders. Rome had absorbed her earlier foes, and trained them to guard the lands they had invaded But the threat now came from tribes who had learnt little from Roman civilization When settled on the frontier lands, they no longer accepted Roman ideas and, though they admired the greatness of the empire, they refused to change their old rough customs for their neighbours' softer and more civilized ways Once the petty tribes had learnt that union was strength by coalescing into nations ruled by kings, they were less anxious to form merely a part of the Roman system, and grew more devoted to their native customs The new Teutonic nations became as serious a threat to the empire in Europe as the Sassanid kingdom was in Asia Though detachments of Franks and Alemanni still crossed the Rhine



BARBARIAN MIGRATIONS
in the 4th & 5th Centuries, A D
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
Alans & Vandals
Burgundians and Franks
Goths
Huns
Burgundians
Alans & Vandals
Franks
Huns
Goths
Orleans
Châlons
Sueves
Ravenna
Goths
Hadrianople
Rome
Athens
Carthage

cavalry was an overwhelming blow to the prestige of Rome. For the first time in the long-drawn struggle between the men of the Mediterranean world and their Teutonic invaders victory had declared decisively for the barbarians The fault lay not with the emperor or his soldiers, but with his generals and ministers, who were incapable of loyal, disinterested, and efficient service, their greed and stupidity had made enemies of men who should have been Constantinople's firmest barrier against other foes There was blind panic in the new capital Fortunately Count Theodosius had left behind him a son and namesake greater than himself To him men turned in the darkest hour; he became emperor in the East and, in co-operation with Gratian, saved the Roman world He restored discipline, and won some victories over the Visigoths, whose power began to crumble after the death of Fritigern Many clans came over to the empire, and the invaders settled down to restore and protect the Thracian lands which they had ravaged

The Work of Theodosius. Theodosius's devotion to the Catholic Church made him popular with the mass of his subjects, and his vigour won for him the title of the Great While he lived the Roman world seemed united and secure He allied himself with the House of Valentinian by marrying Gratian's sister, and for five years the two emperors worked together harmoniously and successfully But Gratian alienated many of his ministers by favouring his Alan soldiers, and the army of Britain set up a rival ruler, Maximus, in the Roman interest Gratian was killed, but after a few years Theodosius defeated Maximus, and reunited the empire for the last time The Vandal, Stilicho, proved himself a brilliant leader of the Roman armies The frontiers were made secure; revolting barbarian generals were crushed, financial abuses were checked, an effort was made to lighten the crushing burden of taxation Religious quarrels died down, and once again men spoke of the return of the good old times But their hopes were shattered by the death of Theodosius His two sons divided the empire, Honorius reigning at Ravenna and Arcadius at Constantinople

The Western Collapse. The memory of Theodosius did not easily fade Under the disastrous rule of his sons a patriotic poet still hailed Rome as Mother of All Nations, 'we are all one race, and there shall be no end to the rule of Rome' The civilized world was inconceivable without the empire, disasters might come, but Rome would recover as she had from the blows of Brennus and Hannibal and Arminius The poet's dream might have been fulfilled, if Rome had possessed men to fill her armies, and loyal generals to lead them But war, plague, grinding taxation, and official rapacity steadily diminished her resistance The Visigoths found a vigorous king in Alaric They raided Greece, and, though Stilicho

checked them, he was handicapped by Moorish revolts in Africa, and a Vandal invasion of Rhaetia While he dealt successfully with these troubles, the danger zone shifted to the north Vandals and Alans crushed the Franks and overran all eastern Gaul After inflicting enormous damage on the rich country they moved south to the Pyrenees, while the Burgundians occupied the country of the middle and upper Rhine The British army revolted once more, and invaded Gaul to set up a rival emperor Alaric seized his opportunity and moved westward Any chance there may have been of recovering Gaul, defeating the British usurper, and saving Italy was thrown away when Honorius had Stilicho murdered The Visigoths made themselves masters of north Italy, while Honorius sheltered himself behind the marshes of Ravenna Eight hundred years after Brennus had captured Rome, Alaric repeated his exploit, and handed the city over to his Visigoths to plunder

Your best guide to this tangled period lies in the first two chapters of C R L Fletcher's Making of Western Europe, *Vol I Read Kipling's 'Centurion of the Thirtieth,' 'On the Great Wall,' and 'The Winged Hats' in* Puck of Pook's Hill *T R Glover's* Conflict of Religions in the Roman Empire *explains the most important question of all Warwick Deeping's novel,* The Man on the White Horse, *gives a readable account of life in a distant province*

Dates

A D

250 Decius's Persecution of the Christians Outbreak of Plague.
259 Franks in Gaul and Spain Alemanni in North Italy
260. Sapor I's capture of Valerian
269 Goths driven across the Danube by Claudius II
270 Aurelian's fortification of Rome
276 Recovery of Gaul by Probus
284 Accession of Diocletian
303 Beginning of the Great Persecution of the Christians
312 Edict of Milan
325 Council of Nicaea
337 Death of Constantine Constantius II attacked by Sapor II
328 Athanasius made Bishop of Alexandria
357 Battle of Strasbourg
378 Battle of Hadrianople
Christian doctrine defined by Damasus at Rome
395 Death of Theodosius I
406 Crossing of the Rhine by Vandals, Sueves, and Alans
408 Murder of Stilicho
410 Alaric's Sack of Rome

CHAPTER VIII

THE END OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE

ALARIC's sack of Rome struck as shattering a blow on the Western Empire as the Eastern had suffered from the Battle of Hadrianople But it had little effect on the rulers of Constantinople, who began to rebuild their power. There were still great difficulties for them to face. They were weakened by the disloyal rivalries of their generals and ministers, the Mesopotamian frontier was harassed by Persia, barbarian hordes still pressed down from the north, Egypt and the African provinces were raided from the desert, there was an ominous stirring among the tribes of Arabia But the drift of Teutonic and Mongol invaders towards the west strengthened the Eastern Empire The Ostrogoths remained too powerful, but their influence was curbed by opposing to them other Teutonic tribes and by recruiting within the empire a rival fighting force in the tough mountaineers of Asia Minor The army grew stronger and put down rebellion, order was preserved between the wrangling religious sects, in the capital itself the emperors repressed the senseless factions of the circus, where the supporters of Blue and Green charioteers formed themselves into definite political parties

Feminine Influence. The women of the imperial house, such as Galla Placidia, Eudoxia, and Pulcheria, exercised great power during the fifth century When young or feeble emperors held the throne, their mothers or their wives were often the real rulers, appointing ministers and generals and deciding which form of religious belief should prevail At times they settled the succession, the widow of a childless emperor decided who should follow him on to the throne Some of them quarrelled fiercely with bishops and patriarchs, the Empress Eudoxia exiled Chrysostom, the golden-mouthed preacher, from his see of Constantinople But generally they worked for the power of the Church, and did much to make it the strongest influence in the Eastern Empire

Quarrels in the Church. It was a time of bitter theological strife The Arians were beaten, but the barbarian foederati still supported their creed Vital questions of State policy were decided according to the religious beliefs of those who held power at the moment There were frequent Church Councils, usually split into factions by different ideas about the divinity of Christ The most important was held at Chalcedon This Council accepted the ruling of Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome, in matters of belief, but it decided 'to give equal privileges to the most holy city of New Rome' and to place Asia Minor and the Balkan

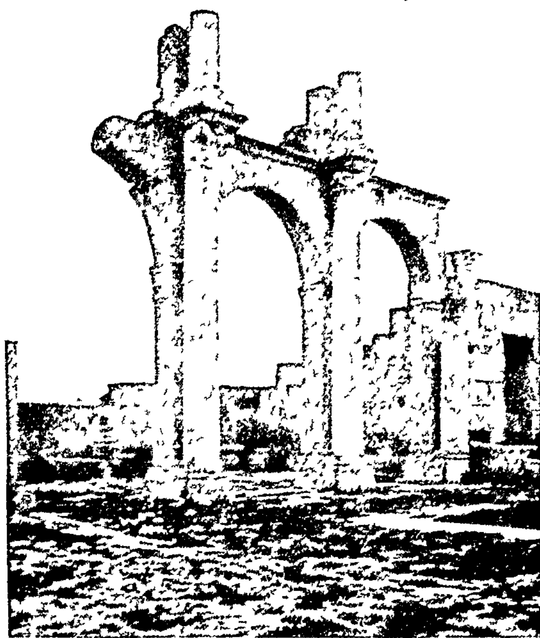
and Black Sea lands under Constantinople Thus began the division between western Catholic Christianity and eastern Orthodox Christianity, The Catholics were comparatively free from doctrinal quarrels. But the Orthodox were distracted by the struggles of rival sects, the conflicting claims of Antioch and Alexandria, and the fanaticism of imperial ladies like Eudoxia and Pulcheria The bitterness of these struggles was increased by the appearance of a new form of Christian life

The Monks of Egypt. Since the early days of Christianity there had been Egyptians who withdrew from the world to live solitary lives of strict self-denial in cave or desert At the beginning of the fourth century Pacomius turned the enthusiasm of these hermits to practical account Like the Buddhists he founded monasteries, whose inmates practised stern self-denial but lived under a common rule. The monks divided their day between reading the scriptures, attending service, and working with their hands, first to supply their own modest wants, and then the needs of other Christians They learnt the Bible by heart and devoted many hours to religious exercises For the rest of the time they were farmers, gardeners, tanners, carpenters, bakers, shoemakers, smiths, and so forth The monk had two aims by fasting, meditation, prayer, and worship he tried to win purity of soul; at the same time he worked to supply the material wants of his community and its neighbours This development was not confined to men The life of self-denial appealed to women, and they formed nunneries, which were soon almost as numerous as the monasteries Sometimes the abbot who ruled a monastery also controlled a neighbouring nunnery, but usually the nuns were governed by an abbess

Eastern Monasticism. The monastic life spread rapidly over the whole Eastern Empire In Syria the Oriental love of extremes showed itself. Many monks gave up the practice of Pacomius for that of the hermit. There were monks who lived for years on the tops of pillars, some carried heavy weights fastened to their backs, others ate grass in the fields like cattle The Syrian monks showed the same devotion to extremes in their doctrinal views, and caused much of the bloodshed which disgraced the religious quarrels of the day The Balkan lands followed the example of Pacomius, monks were taught that they should live as a community whose aim was not mere self-torture, but the doing of good to others by honest work

Western Monasticism. Athanasius brought the monastic idea to Rome, it spread quickly over Italy, Gaul, and Spain. St. Augustine introduced it into Africa Britain received it from Gaul, and St Patrick made it the foundation of his missionary work in Ireland. While other institutions were decaying over the Western Empire, the monasteries

stood out in ever-growing numbers and strength. Behind their walls the monks enjoyed comparative peace from the horrors of barbarian invasion. They carried on Christian services, studied the scriptures, fed the needy, and tended the sick. To them were committed the manuscripts of the great pagan writers, many a parchment was scraped bare of speech or poem, to receive the legendary deeds of some obscure saint, but others survived to record the ideals and the achievements of the Roman world, which was staggering beneath the blows of enemies without and traitors within.



W N W

BASILICA OF THE FORTIFIED MONASTERY AT TEBESSA, NORTH AFRICA

Breakdown of the Western Empire. Alaric had done his work. Rome was no longer inviolate and the nerve of the West was shattered. Men recognized at last that the power of the sword lay with the Teutonic invader, whether he called himself a Roman citizen or a foederatus or remained an independent chieftain, tracing his ancestry back to some dim Teutonic god. Occasionally the old Roman pride rebelled against the supremacy of barbarians within the empire, but this jealousy only weakened Rome's resistance. The Rhine barrier had been lost irretrievably. With the eastern half of Gaul in the invaders' hands, communication with the north-west of the empire was destroyed. Honorius told Britain to defend herself, and the island organized a stubborn resistance under leading citizens and tribal chieftains against marauders from Ireland, Scotland, and the North Sea. Brittany created a similar local government, and many of the cities of Gaul, such as Arles and Narbonne, defended themselves and the surrounding country either independently or as a federation. But the bulk of the Gaulish provinces were overrun. The Franks settled astride the lower Rhine and loosely acknowledged Honorius's rule. The more powerful Burgundians held

the middle Rhine A vast horde of Vandals, Sueves, and Alans burst into Gaul, moved southwards, and, after a short check at the Pyrenees, swept into Spain They plundered the countryside, but made little impression on the towns Eventually they came to terms with the big landowners, leaving them half their estates and settling on the rest, they too acknowledged Honorius and served as foederati The Visigoths recrossed the Alps after Alaric's death, and made themselves the strongest power in the west There was much confused fighting and tribes rejected and resumed their loyalty to Rome with bewildering speed None of the invading rulers could set up a durable kingdom, until he established a working agreement with his Roman neighbours and assured himself of a regular food supply It was difficult for the Arian invader to make his peace with the Catholic provincial; neither creed could be safe from famine in a countryside liable continually to plunder Africa, the land of rich harvests, was the key to the situation, and it was to Africa that Gaiseric, the able, treacherous, misshapen King of the Vandals, turned his eyes, when the Visigoths came south of the Pyrenees and threatened the other Teutonic conquerors of Spain

The Vandals. The Christians of Africa had been divided for more than a century by the bitter feud between Catholics and Donatists The latter suffered from St Augustine's rule, and welcomed the help of the Arian Vandals against their common foe Gaiseric captured Cherchel, and jealousies between the Roman generals made his task easy The Moors of the west and the Berbers of the south seized the opportunity of plunder Among the cities that offered a sturdy resistance was Bône, where St Augustine died during the Vandal siege It took Gaiseric ten years to conquer the African provinces, and so control Rome's corn supply He built a fleet, which he based on Carthage and Cherchel, and became master of the western Mediterranean seaboard

Attila and the Huns. While Gaiseric was overrunning the granary of Rome, the Visigoths were making themselves the strongest power in Spain and southern Gaul They reduced the other Teutonic tribes south of the Pyrenees, acting nominally in the service of Rome, but frequently they threw off their allegiance and fought against the imperial government In the middle of the fifth century they were faced by a greater peril, which threatened Roman and Teuton alike with destruction The Huns, who had been weakened by divisions under petty chieftains, were reunited under the unscrupulous and implacable Attila He was a stern ruler in peace and a brilliant leader in war, who was not satisfied to waste his splendid fighting material in the nominal service of the empire, or to receive a moderate tribute, disguised as military pay He ruled his Huns and their Teutonic and Slav subjects in patriarchal fashion from

his great camp in the Hungarian plain, and he enlisted both Romans and Teutons to carry on his simple machinery of government After some fighting round the Black Sea, and a threat to invade Persia, he turned his attention to the Balkan lands, and ravaged them with such ferocity that he was called the 'Scourge of God.' Having humiliated the Eastern Empire, he led his terrible cavalry into Gaul

The Battle of Châlons. After some hesitation the Visigoths, under Theodoric, joined forces with the Roman general, Aetius, and forced the invaders back from Orleans In the subsequent battle near Châlons the legend of Attila's invincibility was broken The Visigoths stood firm against the furious charges of the Hun horsemen, and then, advancing with Aetius's troops, drove the invaders back to their wagon encampment The death of Theodoric and Aetius's jealousy of his Teutonic allies spared the Huns further fighting Attila met no military obstacle when he invaded Italy, but he withdrew before the mission of Leo, the Bishop of Rome Two years later he died, and under the divided rule of his successors the Hun peril disappeared The Battle of Châlons was decisive for the fate of Western civilization, as Salamis, Metaurus, and Aix-en-Provence had been in earlier centuries Had Attila overwhelmed Theodoric and Aetius there was no army left capable of checking his career, the only other strong state lay south of the Mediterranean, and Gaiseric was his good friend The vigour and cunning of the Scourge of God would have reduced the two emperors to the status of subject princelings, docile instruments for supplying food and plunder to their ferocious master The Teuton conquerors of Rome wrecked her political and military organization, but they absorbed much of her civilization The Hun was sheerly destructive He was incapable of learning, he could only barbarize Under his rule Western civilization might have died, and Christianity become the faith of starving and degraded slaves

Gaiseric sacks Rome. Italy was once more free from invasion, but her rulers were incapable of learning from disaster Intrigues at the court of Ravenna crippled the army Aetius suffered Stilicho's fate, and was rewarded for repulsing Attila by assassination, a year later the emperor, who had ordered his death, was murdered in his turn, and the Theodosian house came to an end There was nothing to check the Vandal fleet, when it sailed from Carthage to the Tiber For a fortnight Gaiseric's men pillaged Rome at their leisure As Arians they had no mercy on the treasures of the Catholic churches, and this may have led to exaggerated accounts of the damage they did They left the capital a mere shell, when they sailed back to Carthage carrying with them the Empress Eudoxia and her daughters among their loot and their slaves There were few nobles left to carry on the life of the Senate, and all

attempts to punish Gaiseric failed, though Gaul and Constantinople tried to join forces. Personal jealousies proved too powerful for the Roman world to unite, even in avenging the crowning disgrace inflicted on Rome by Carthage. The Vandals maintained their sea-power and defeated the fleets sent against them. They repaid the Eastern Empire for landing an expeditionary force in Africa by raiding Greece and threatening Alexandria. They could always starve their Italian enemies by withholding or interrupting corn supplies. If one Teutonic king across the water led an army to help Rome Gaiseric was clever enough to ally himself with another and thwart any attempt at invasion. He held both emperors at bay, and remained the most powerful ruler in the Mediterranean world till his death.

The Visigothic Kingdom. His only possible rivals were the Visigoths. They grew in strength under a series of vigorous kings, and gradually overshadowed Burgundians, Alans, and Sueves; but they failed to subdue the Franks in the north, and they had great difficulties with many Roman cities in the south of Gaul. Their capital was Toulouse, and their rule extended from the Loire to the middle of Spain. Racial pride and religious differences prevented them forming a single nation with the Romans who acknowledged their king. The two nations lived each under its own law, but the Goths who settled in the countryside accepted some of their neighbours' legal ideas. Their Arian belief was the chief obstacle to union; they did not persecute their Catholic subjects, although they were harassed by the steady opposition of the Catholic bishops. Once chosen, their king had nearly autocratic powers; he was supported by his nobles, who served him as counts of the old Roman cities, and also as leaders of the traditional Gothic divisions. Under Euric the Visigoths reached their greatest power, and pushed their boundaries to the Alps.

The Fate of Italy. Eight emperors reigned in Italy after the extinction of the Theodosian house, but few of them were seen at Rome, where the Senate and the bishop shared all real power. Some were vigorous men; but the land they ruled could neither feed nor protect itself. Most of them were in the hands of barbarian generals. Their troops were drawn from the smaller Teutonic tribes, and the remnants of Attila's army, who had no national bond and were held together solely by the personality of their commander. Twenty-one years after Gaiseric's sack of Rome the soldiers proclaimed their general, Odovacar, king, and determined to settle down on the land, as the Goths had done in Gaul; they claimed a third as their share, perhaps not an unreasonable demand for defending the rest. Odoacer accepted the arrangement, and decided that there was no place for an emperor in the new Italy. By the irony of fate a Romulus had just succeeded a Julius as monarch; with these two historic names the

Western Empire ended The fourteen-year-old Romulus resigned his diadem to the Senate, who forwarded it to the eastern emperor With Rome's approval, the barbarian Odovacar informed the barbarian Tarasicodissa, son of Rusumbladestus, who was reigning at Constantinople as the Emperor Zeno, that there was no longer any need for two supreme rulers in the Roman world Zeno's majesty served for East and West alike, Odovacar defended Italy as patrician, and as king of the troops who had elected him Zeno recognized Odovacar's rule, and accepted the theory that east and west were reunited, his statues were set up in Rome; his head appeared on the coinage of the Teutonic kings beyond the Alps Theoretically he ruled the old dominions of Constantine, actually the future of the west lay with her Teutonic invaders and the Catholic Church

Dates

A D

412 Visigoths in Gaul

430 Vandals in Africa Death of St Augustine

451 Battle of Châlons Council of Chalcedon

466 Invasion of Spain by Euric and the Visigoths

474 Zeno Emperor at Constantinople

476. Romulus's resignation Odovacar King in Italy

477 Death of Gaiseric

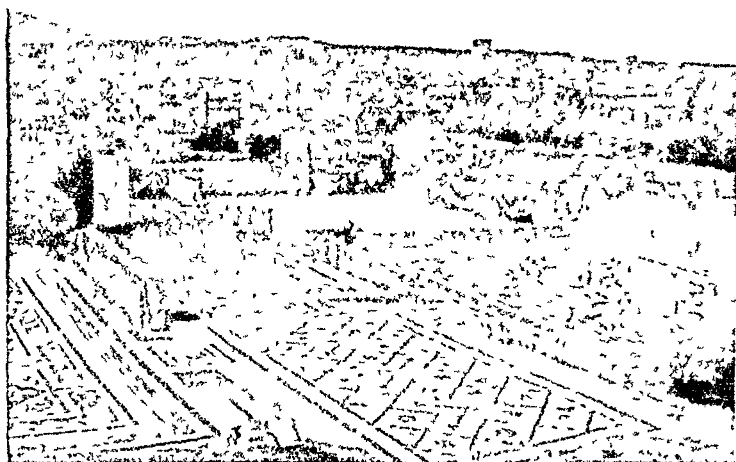
481. Clovis King of the Franks

CHAPTER IX

THE LEGACY OF ROME

History often seems one long record of wars, which leave the reader wondering how or why human existence went on at all There were few years between the first and second Romulus when Roman soldiers were not fighting Though they suffered disasters during the centuries men came to think of them as invincible They were broken in the end, mainly by economic troubles, dwindling man-power, intriguing ministers, jealous emperors, and devastating plagues They contributed to their own destruction by fighting one another in support of rival candidates for the throne They were given an impossibly long frontier line to defend; they might have held out for centuries more if they had been pushed forward resolutely to the Elbe, instead of being wasted in eastern wars The Roman soldier was unsurpassed as an infantryman and a sapper, he built admirable roads and fortifications, he handled his artillery, catapults,

and ballistae well. But the cavalry branch was never strong. No general arose who could develop the art of war beyond the stage it reached under Trajan. The Romans lacked the imagination to use Greek science to help their fighting forces. Diocletian's organization of limitanei and comitatenses had broken down by the second half of the fifth century; Châlons was the last battle where legionaries shared the honours with



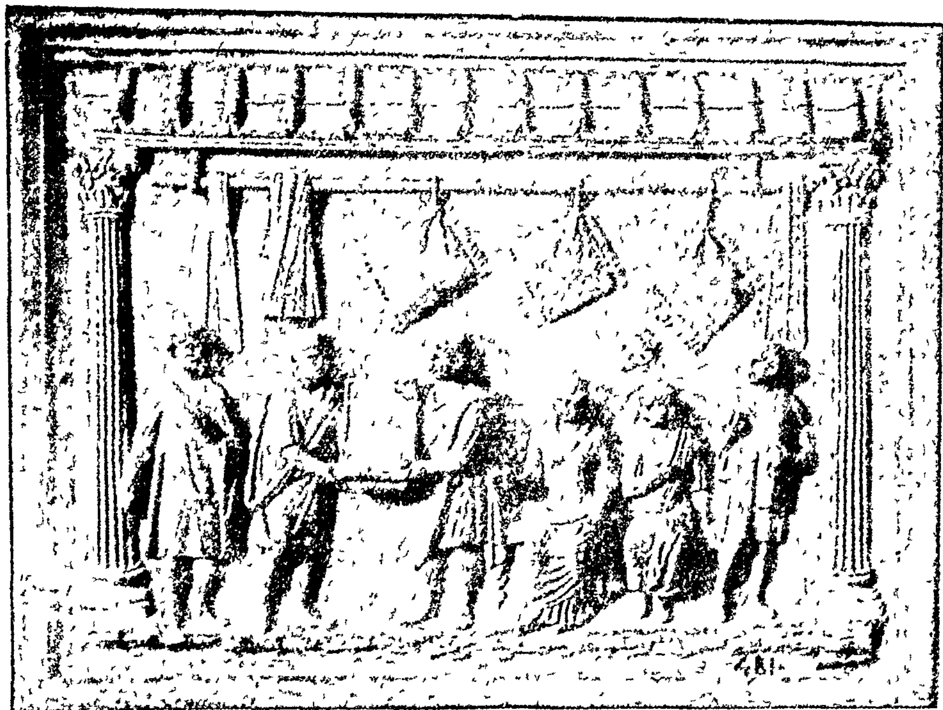
W. N. W.

MOSAICS OF HOUSES AT THUBURBO MAJUS, TUNISIA
They took the place of carpets

foederati. The Teuton warrior had learnt arms and equipment from the Roman; he smashed the fortified lines between the North Sea and the Alps, his cavalry raided far and wide, the old Roman army disappeared. The imperial fleets were an easier prey. Rome never learnt the best use of sea-power; by her fatal blunder in destroying Carthage she lost the services of those who might have taught her how to economize the strength of the legions by maritime transport, and how to maintain a fleet in distant waters. In the North and Black Seas barbarians learnt to copy Roman models, and used their ships to raid Britain, Gaul, and Asia. From the day that Gaiseric ruled in Carthage Roman sea-power disappeared in the west.

Rome's Inheritance from the East. Legions and fleets gave Rome fifteen generations of comparative peace in which to absorb the material and spiritual fruits of the older civilizations. A great system of manufacture and commerce had been built up by the successive efforts of Sumerians, Akkadians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks. Rome gave craftsmen and traders security, and her gild system developed

mercantile traditions so that they lived on when her protection was withdrawn In the east she received a great highway system from her Achaemenid and Macedonian predecessors, she improved it till all her dominions were bound together by enduring roads The Greeks had taught her the art of town-planning, which she applied in the western



Alinari

SHOPPING IN ROME BUYING RUGS AND PILLOWS

half of her empire, her own engineering skill helped her to improve on her teacher in east and west alike Her religious ideas did not go far beyond thankfulness for the gifts of nature and simple rules of pious conduct in service of the family and the State She identified her gods with the Olympian deities and later with the fierce Phoenician powers She gave an ear to Mithras of Persia, Isis of Egypt, and the religions that came from Mesopotamia and Judaea She listened to the philosophers of Greece, and her manuscripts preserved her own version of their teaching against the destructiveness of barbarian invasions Greek scientists and doctors were at her service, but she failed to encourage or develop their learning, Galen, who worked under Aurelius and Septimius, is the last great name in medicine for many centuries Commerce and art brought her into

contact with India and, more remotely, with China Buddhist India seems to have influenced Rome's eastern provinces in shaping the monastic system It is impossible to trace any debt to the Chinese, though Graeco-Roman artists left their mark on the pottery and bas-reliefs of Buddhist China The three great empires all suffered in the third century, when the nomad cauldron of central Asia bubbled over, and the horseman of the steppes swept beyond the Urals, the Himalayas, and the Great Wall Strong government was not re-established in India till the fourth century, nor in China till the sixth Rome's recovery was swifter, and from the days of Diocletian she guarded her inheritance for two more centuries against her invaders

The Roman Peace. In the four centuries between the battles of Actium and Hadrianople, the Mediterranean world was less troubled by warfare than at any other time Men could travel where they wished, meet strangers from distant lands, and discuss with them any subject under the sun. The whole civilized world contributed to their everyday life At table they ate Egyptian, Tunisian, or Spanish corn, pheasants and pickled fish from the Black Sea, British oysters, and dishes spiced with the products of Zanzibar and washed down with wines from the Sabine Hills or the Aegean Islands In the amphitheatre they gloated over gladiators, trained in the Etruscan tradition, or wild beasts brought from the deserts of Sahara or Mesopotamia They cheered on chariot-drivers in the circus, as the Greeks had done at Olympia or Corinth They watched the plays of Athenian or Spanish authors Inevitably men became citizens of the world, and their thought was cosmopolitan Philosophers and religious teachers had the whole Roman world as their audience Imperial rule may have seemed heavy-handed to the wrongdoer, or the farmer behindhand with his taxes; but it let men talk pretty much as they liked, as long as they did not speak against the emperor and his officers Thought was amazingly free Philosophers, priests, and preachers influenced one another, no matter how vigorously each claimed to hold the sole key to the secrets of life and death It was the Roman peace which brought worshippers of Mithras to the British wall, and allowed inquisitive Berbers to learn the mysteries of Isis Gaulish, Balkan, and Syrian citizens listened to the teaching of Epicureans and Stoics Followers of every creed and system had an equal chance of winning converts Under the Antonines no one knew what would be the result of the conflict of religions, by the death of Constantine Christianity had grown so strong under the Roman peace that it filled every part of the empire, and overflowed the frontiers into the enemy countries It was a cosmopolitan religion, claiming dominion over the whole world

The League of the Cities. When the Teuton invaders flooded the

Roman world in the fifth century, they found little difficulty in settling down in the countryside But city life was strange and unacceptable to them The free warrior had learnt to fight under his king, side by side with other tribes, but he wanted elbow-room Like his ancestors who had followed Arminius and Maroboduus, he preferred a village, in which he could live with his relatives and friends at a distance from the rest of



THE BASILICA, LEPTIS, TRIPOLITANIA

Built by Septimius Severus as a law court, later it was converted into a Christian church

his tribe The world he conquered was a league of cities bound together in allegiance to the City on the Tiber Their union had been guarded by the legions. it was cemented by the great principles of civil law, which the jurists had laid down in codes utterly different from the picturesque and irrational customs of the barbarians The cities were bound to one another by strong military roads, which stretched from Newcastle through London, Paris, and Lyons, to Cadiz and Rome and Brindisi, and from Tangier through Carthage and Leptis to Alexandria Their citizens had lived decent, cleanly, comfortable lives, and had managed their common affairs through their elected representatives For trade and manufacture, the working classes were organized into clubs or gilds, which protected the interests of each particular craft All this complicated system of law, roads, trade-gilds, city government, and sanitation was alien to the invaders The future was to show how they would use the inheritance they had seized

The Catholic Church. Side by side with the civil rulers of the cities the Teutons found the Christian priest and bishop. The dim gods the invaders had worshipped in the forest lands of the north soon lost power, and were exchanged for the One God, whom the conquered worshipped. But the Teutons had been taught to think of this One God in a way that was hateful to the Catholics of the western cities. The Church baffled them with its clear-cut creeds, its ritual, and its councils. It had beaten the philosophies and the old religions largely because it convinced its followers that they were fighting for a cause whose sure reward was in the next world. Stoics and Epicureans had shown men how to live the good life, and play their part in a society where organization had settled the routine of human existence. But the Christian was taught not merely to live the good life, but to work with his fellows so that they might win the life to come. He did not accept the State's organization as the final goal of humanity; he turned his eyes from the City on Earth to the City in the Skies. The barbarians could break up the military and civil government of the empire with their swords, but these downright methods were useless against the Church. Its spirit was intangible, but its claims were definite. It defied Vandal and Gothic kings, as it had defied Decius and Diocletian. To kill Catholics merely added to the number of martyrs, whose example encouraged the survivors.

Education, Literature, and Language. The most obvious difference between the barbarian chieftain and his Roman neighbour was that the latter was an educated gentleman. He knew how to speak, though it might be merely to argue on childish themes, and he continued to read good literature. The landowners of Gaul, Spain, and Africa did not hold that life was meant entirely for sport; they enjoyed the great writers of the past, and wished their children to be trained to enjoy them too. All the towns had schools, and the brighter pupils could go far afield to continue their studies in the universities of Alexandria, Athens, Carthage, and Lyons. Greek gradually lost its hold on the west, as the divisions in the empire grew definite, but the noble and the well-to-do continued to read their Latin classics. The famous writers of the late republic and the early empire were still popular. Cicero, Vergil, and Livy appealed to the patriot, but men who believed in the dignity and happiness of the Roman world took little delight in the bitterness and rancour which gave an edge to Juvenal's gloomy satires and lent a frosty sparkle to Tacitus's malicious records of forgotten court intrigues. Some read the fantasies of Apuleius; but men of the fourth and fifth centuries probably preferred the poets of their own day, when an African extolled hunting, a Gaul sang the glories of the Moselle valley, an Alexandrian celebrated a Vandal conqueror of the Goths, and a Spaniard wrote Christian hymns.

The older themes were disappearing, but the great traditions of the Latin tongue were carried on by the Church, which was forced to state its case against the pagans. Writers like Justin, Tertullian, and Augustine performed this task vigorously and clearly The great lawyers used the Latin tongue with equal effect to lay down the principles of their profession The language of Cicero, Vergil, and Horace, modified slightly by the passage of time, was understood and written thoughout the west while the Teuton invaders were carving out their kingdoms But side by side with it there was another speech which the poorer classes used The rich man of Paris could write and speak the same language as the landowner of Provence or Sicily or Portugal It was not so with the artisan or the farmer, they spoke a vulgar form of Latin, and these forms differed widely in the different prefectures and dioceses but there was plenty of vigour in the varying dialects of the vulgar tongue, and they grew into languages in later centuries



HORACE

Slavery The Teuton invaders prided themselves on their freedom, but they had slaves, who were useful for heavy agricultural work If we may believe Tacitus, they sometimes gambled away their freedom and sank into the slavery which was the lot of their captives The world they overran had always been based on slavery Since the earliest Sumerian and Egyptian kingdoms, the conquerors had robbed their enemies of freedom, and used them to do the heavy work which made their civilization possible There might have been some relief for the conquered, if man had learnt how to harness the horse efficiently. He failed to solve this problem for another six centuries, and slaves continued to do most of the hard transport There was another chance when Hiero of Alexandria worked out the principle of the steam-engine, but the Roman was a conservative creature, who ignored or despised the science of the Greeks He relied on man-power, as his ancestors had done, and he needed slaves to carry on his civilization Two things made him wonder whether it was a law of nature that mankind should be divided into free men and slaves even his national pride could not blind him to the fact that many of his eastern captives were as intelligent and clever as himself, the teaching of Stoic philosophers and Christian priests made him think of all men as brothers in the eyes of

the one divine power The condition of the slaves improved first in the towns, through the changing ideals of their masters later on nature came to the rescue in the country estates When the man-power of the empire decreased, even the farm slave became more valuable and received better treatment The landowner understood vaguely that a poorly fed, badly housed slave could not do as good work as one who hoped to get something out of life. In the fourth and fifth centuries there was a greater spirit of kindness among Roman citizens, as the disappearance of amphitheatres under Christian influence shows The slaves were treated better Though the Church did not condemn slavery outright, it taught that in the eyes of God one soul was as good as another The influence of that teaching made men condemn the institution, but when the invaders attacked the west, there was still too large a proportion of slaves for the whole of the Roman population to be mobilized to protect the empire Perhaps half did not greatly care whether they had a change of masters

The Ideal of Unity. It is easy to see the weak points in the imperial system of Diocletian, Constantine, Theodosius, and their successors The government was top-heavy There were too many imperial officials doing the work of the local bodies, drawing taxes from the towns and the countryside into the central exchequer, keeping all men in their allotted ranks, and destroying the freedom of the citizens' actions The result was that men were driven in on themselves Some worked for that City in the Skies which St Augustine painted Others found relief in records of the past or in the pleasures of the home, while the State fell into the hands of rougher and more vigorous 'Romans,' whose fathers had been barbarians But all alike shared the poet's belief that Rome was the eternal mother, who took mankind into her bosom The birthplaces of the men who had ruled the empire since the days of Nerva showed the truth of that claim Never before or since have so many races been joined by the full bond of citizenship They kept many of the customs of their forefathers who had been conquered by the legions, particularly in the countryside Most of them thought themselves better than the other fellow across the English Channel or the Pyrenees or the Mediterranean, and despised his sports or songs or food But all believed that they were citizens of one great city In the main they were content with their one government, though they quarrelled as to the choice of its head For five centuries they had proved that they could live together in comparative peace under the same laws In doing so, they realized that brotherhood of man which the Stoics had taught and the Christians preached However great their blunders, Rome's citizens left behind them the ideal of the Unity of Mankind

PART IV

BARBARIAN EUROPE

(*From about* A D 400 *to* 900)

INTRODUCTION

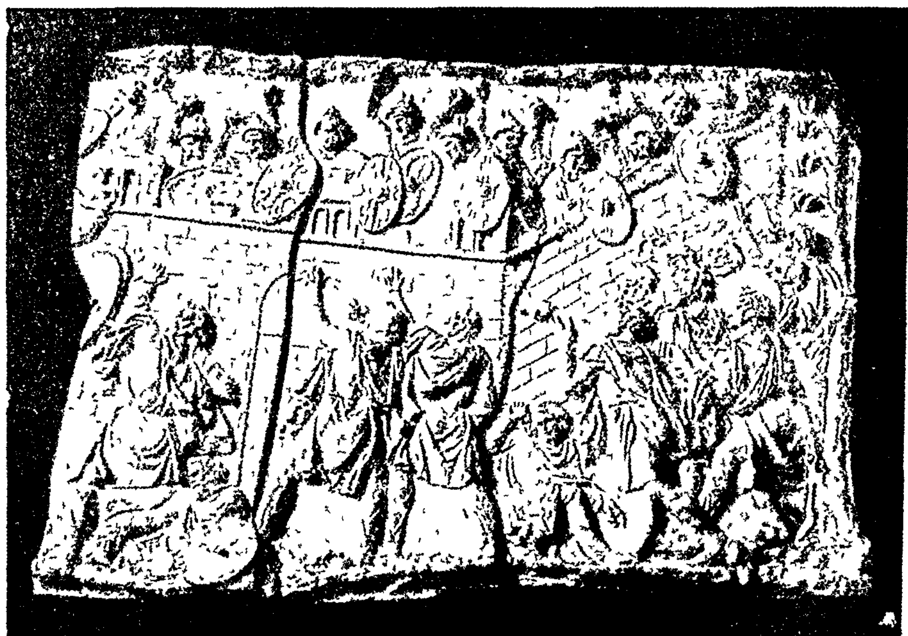
WITH the decline and fall of the great empire the Romans had built up, the scene of our story changes from the sunny Mediterranean to the colder north From the unknown land beyond the Rhine and Danube frontiers, the hills and forests of Germany, and the great plain stretching across northern Europe along the North and Baltic Seas, new peoples were emerging The appearance of these northern barbarians, the forerunners and founders of many of the European nations of to-day, opens a new era in history Swarming over the frontiers these uncivilized heathens wandered south and west, often pushed on from behind, until they finally either set up new kingdoms on Roman soil, like the Franks and Angles, or disappeared before new invaders, like the Goths and Vandals (Chapter I) The process had indeed begun long before the empire fell to pieces If we want a date to mark the beginning of the new era perhaps the best would be A D 378, when the Visigoths in a great battle at Hadrianople defeated the Emperor Valens, and secured their entry into the empire over the Danube

But the change from Roman Empire to Barbarian Europe took centuries to accomplish And as the empire was far from purely 'Roman' before, so the new Europe was by no means wholly 'Barbarian' when the great movements of peoples came to an end The empire after a brief restoration in the west survived in the east as the Byzantine or Eastern Roman Empire (Chapter II) And meanwhile in the west Christianity had spread from Rome to the barbarians, with the Papacy and Monasticism established as integral parts of its organization (Chapter III) Yet the northern barbarians were not the only invaders of Roman imperial territory during these centuries, and Christianity not the only religion to spread west and north The Arabian desert brought forth a new religion, that of Muhammad, and the followers of Islam spread their faith far and wide (Chapter IV) Finally, out of the barbarian world arose a new emperor, Charlemagne, crowned in Rome, and striving to unite western and central Europe under his rule (Chapter V)

CHAPTER I

THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS AND KINGDOMS

As far back as we can dimly see in western history the Teutonic or Germanic tribes occupied the lands round the western Baltic, southern Scandinavia, Denmark, and North Germany, and were already pushing out fanwise (with Denmark as the handle of the fan) towards the Rhine and the Vistula To the east were the Goths, in the centre the Vandals



A ROMAN FORTRESS BEING ATTACKED BY DACIANS WHO CAME FROM THE REGION OF THE DANUBE

(*A marble relief from the Trajan Column, Rome*)

and Lombards, towards the west the Franks, Alemanni, Angles, and Saxons, to mention only a number of the many tribes and sub-tribes We cannot precisely say what caused them to press on more and more towards the Roman world Inundations from the northern sea drove some of them south The growth of population helped, for although their numbers were not very great their way of life required much land In the east nomads from Asia helped to push the Goths southward against the Danube frontier. And once the barbarians had neared or reached the Roman frontier, the attraction of the warmer climate, the lure and the weakness of Rome, drew them on For centuries

they had supplied the empire with soldiers, and they could plainly see that that vast empire, with its population of some fifty-odd millions, had room for at least some of them within

Tacitus: Germania. Our knowledge of these people in their northern homes is very limited The best account of them is that of Tacitus, the Roman historian, but it was not written until nearly A D 100, and is somewhat partial, as he wished to praise the barbarians at the expense of his own people According to Tacitus, the 'Germans,' as he calls them, were tall, blue-eyed folk, primitive in their way of life, simple in dress and manners, but bold and hardy, great warriors above all, loathing cowardice, setting more store on their weapons than on gold and silver They had no Roman cities or centrally heated villas, despite their cold climate, but lived in scattered villages of wooden huts, or holes in the ground in winter When they were not fighting the warriors spent much time in feasting, drinking, and gambling to excess, or listening to the heroic lays and wild music of their many bards They hunted, and to some extent tilled the soil, but lived much from their herds of cattle They were heathens and very superstitious, nature worshippers, sacrificing animals and even human beings in their sacred groves, where milk-white steeds were kept as sacred animals by the priests Women were highly esteemed, and on occasion fought in battle as bravely as men

Tribal Organization The barbarians were divided into many tribes, each ruled by its own prince, though the battle leader was chosen for his valour Each war-chief had a following of youthful warriors, who ate at his board, and in battle emulated him and each other in daring The chiefs met to discuss tribal affairs, but for matters of moment a general assembly was held, at new or full moon, at which all the free men of the tribes met fully armed, the clash of weapons was the sign of assent Here peace and war were decided, and grave offences punished The priests had much to do with the administration of justice In some ways these Germanic tribes remind us of the Iroquoian tribes of North America, but they were already further developed, both in government and economic life, and, as time was to show, possessed far greater potentialities They were barbarians rather than savages

The Invasions Theodoric and the Ostrogoths The story of the way in which these barbarian invaders broke the Danube and Rhine frontiers, and pushed their way into the empire of Rome, is a long and confused one It has already been told how the Visigoths moved slowly westwards to found their kingdom across the Pyrenees, and the Vandals set up their rule in Africa. The Ostrogoths, vassals for a time of the Huns, then so-called 'allies' of the empire within the Danube frontier, followed in the wake of the Visigoths as far as Italy In A D 488 their ruler, Theodoric

These were Austrasia or the eastern Rhine area, Neustria in northern Gaul, Burgundy in the south-east, and Aquitaine in the south-west Only a strong ruler could hold these diversely peopled areas together in such an age, and as time went on the Merovingian kings declined sadly in character, ability, and real power until, as the chronicles of the time put it, they had to content themselves with their royal title, long hair and beard (the sign of royalty), and the yoke of oxen which drew their



THE ROMAN WALL DEFENDING BRITAIN ON THE NORTH

rustic travelling wagon The Frankish custom of dividing an inheritance between sons tended to break up the realm Not even the great queen Brunhilda of Austrasia could hold her own against the forces of disunion It was only the appearance of a new family, the Carolingians, mayors of the palace in Austrasia, which prevented a break-up They produced a succession of vigorous men — Pepin of Heristal, and his son Charles, nicknamed Martel, the Hammer, by reason of the vigour of the blows he struck It was his son, another Pepin, who in 725 formally ended the Merovingian rule and set up that of the Carolingians. And this Pepin's son was Charles the Great

The Angles and Saxons In some ways the most complete of the barbarian invasions was that of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, from north Germany and Denmark into Britain These coastal tribes had developed a seafaring strain, and took advantage of the growing

weakness of the Roman defence of Britain to raid the coast-line, whilst Picts and Scots hammered at the northern wall. From raiding to attempts at settlement was no long step, and when about the year 440 the Romans finally withdrew from Britain, the Teutonic invaders came in like the sea-tide, destroying the Roman towns and villas, sweeping away the British speech and the Christian religion. Of the Celtic Britons some were enslaved, others fled to the west of the island (Cornwall, Wales or Strathclyde), or across the Channel to found Brittany in Gaul. From the remote fastnesses of the north and west Britons long carried on border warfare with the invader.



War indeed, instead of the Roman peace, seemed now to have become the normal condition of the island. The new-comers fought not merely with the Britons but with each other for centuries, even after their slow conversion to Christianity. The land of England, as we must now call it, was too narrow for all the small Germanic tribal kingdoms to exist side by side. The task of the next four hundred years was the slow attainment of political unity. By the beginning of the eighth century the process of consolidation had gone so far that there were three sizable kingdoms outside the area still held by the Britons — Wessex in the south, Mercia in the centre, Northumbria in the north, with the lesser kingdom of East Anglia still surviving in the east. Each of these three larger kingdoms attained in turn a certain supremacy over the whole, but it was not until after the Norman Conquest that effective unity was established.

Northumbria first took the lead, but its leadership was too much that

of saints and scholars to last in such unquiet times Mercia succeeded, in particular in the reign of King Offa (757–96), but after his death came internal strife which quickly put an end to Mercian supremacy in England Last and most promising came the turn of the West Saxons, more united, with richer land, nearer to the continent of Europe, and above all producing a succession of able kings Egbert, the first of these (802–39), incorporated British Cornwall, gained part of Mercia, and even secured a vague sort of suzerainty over both Mercia and Northumbria But before this could be developed into any real unity a new invader, the Viking or Northman, appeared on the horizon It lay with one of Egbert's successors, Alfred the Great (871–901), to put a stop for a time to the Northmen's advance, bringing a peace (878, Treaty of Wedmore) which for a time saved the south-western half of England from their encroachments



ALFRED THE GREAT
Statue erected at Wantage, his birthplace

But Alfred did more for his country than fight the Danes He was the English counterpart of Charles the Great, and indeed, a far greater scholar than Charles He built the first English navy to fight the Viking rovers on their own element, as well as fortresses along his inland borders He issued a revised code of laws for his people A devout Christian and a scholar, he brought in scholars from other lands and caused many Latin works to be translated into the Anglo-Saxon tongue He also started the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a famous source of information for early English history So well did he organize his realm, and so stoutly did he resist the Northmen, that his successors were able to extend the rule of Wessex until it reached from the English Channel right up to Scotland But the English kingdom fell into weaker hands just when a new wave

of Scandinavian invasions threatened, and hence suffered first a Danish and then a Norman conquest before it emerged as Medieval England

The Huns and Slavs. There were other intruders into the empire and other movements of peoples outside the empire, in this time of migrations The fierce and destructive inroads of the Huns under their chieftain Attila have already been mentioned For all their savage destruction the Huns performed one service to civilization. they slowed down the pace of the Germanic invasions of the empire, and thus allowed a little more of the culture of the ancient world to survive. One group of peoples in Europe to-day, the Slavs, took no direct part in deciding the fate of the Roman Empire or the fortunes of western Europe Settled, in historical times, across the European plain east of the Vistula, they played the obscurer and less dramatic role of following up the wanderings of their more warlike Teutonic neighbours and taking possession of lands left vacant by them as they moved south and west They were to form a sort of buffer between Europe and Asia, after falling under the dominion of stronger peoples, the word 'slave' is, significantly, derived from them Yet they continued to spread, west to the river Elbe, south to the Balkans, eastward far into Russia, and gradually built up kingdoms over much of eastern Europe

The Significance of the Invasions. The results of a movement which was to determine the fate of Europe through centuries to come cannot be summarized in a few paragraphs Yet certain more immediate effects may be mentioned In the first place the stage of our history is enlarged The Roman world no longer sufficed· we must now take in northern and central Europe, and even beyond And within the bounds of the old empire much had changed even by the end of the fifth century, and was to change still further. The Western Roman Empire was already split up into barbarian kingdoms There was no longer a Western Emperor after 476, and the Eastern Emperor at Constantinople only held, in the west, scattered strips of territory along the Italian peninsula, with the Italian islands Much of western Europe, including the Italian peninsula, had been severely ravaged by the invading peoples Grass grew in the streets of many of its cities, for the barbarians preferred country to city life 'If the whole ocean had poured its waters into the fields of Gaul, its vasty waves would have spared more than the invaders,' lamented one writer of the time

Rome itself, captured or sacked many times, had declined in population from one million to fifty thousand· its noble aqueducts were broken down, its marble palaces were deserted and despoiled The fertile district south of the capital, the Campagna, was falling into decay, to breed mosquitoes and fever from that day to this The population of the whole of western Europe had in fact declined materially under the stress

CHAPTER II

JUSTINIAN: THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE

THERE is a danger in looking at these centuries of change in Europe from the barbarian end of the telescope, for by so doing we are apt to see the Roman Empire as a doomed creature, making no effort to escape the inevitable end. In 476 the barbarian general Odovacar deposed the last western Roman emperor, and the eastern part of the Roman Empire floats beyond our sight into a distant Byzantine world. Yet in fact the Western Empire fought long and hard, dying only after frequent attempts at resurgence, like one of its own gladiators. And the released eastern portion of the empire, far from dying, seemed by the amputation of its western limb to gain a new lease of life and vigour.



JUSTINIAN
(From the Ravenna Mosaic)

The Emperor Justinian. The outstanding effort against the dissolution of the Western Empire was made by Justinian, whose portrait, in mosaic, we can still see in Ravenna, surrounded by those of his household. Justinian was a peasant of Illyria or Macedonia, educated by his unlettered uncle, the Emperor Justin, to be his assistant, and then made his successor. Asiatic influences showed in him, as in his amazing Empress Theodora, of great beauty, ill-repute, and as humble birth as his own. The great church of St. Sophia he built in Constantinople, the ceremonial of his court, his despotism, these have an Oriental quality. But there was something Roman in his unflagging devotion to his empire, in his zeal for great public works, above all, in the codification of Roman law which remains his greatest title to fame. In the several collections of Roman laws made during his reign (the Code, the Digest, the Institutes, and the Novellae), Justinian and his lawyers put into coherent form and preserved for posterity that series of laws for every department and circumstance of public and private life which remains to this day the very embodiment of the spirit of Rome.

The Reconquest of the West. His attempt to revive the Roman Empire in the west succeeded in a measure, though it could not last. No general himself, he was well served by two very capable soldiers, Belisarius

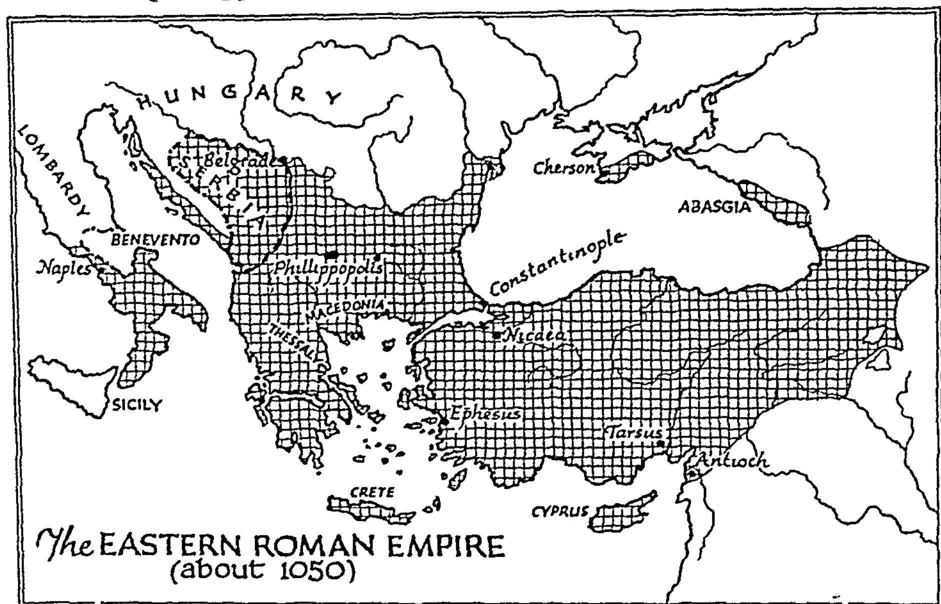
and Narses, the former of whom he repaid by mean jealousy He could not give all his attention to regaining the west, for he had wars with Persia as well as with Huns, Slavs, and Avars in turn or together, nearer home In addition, his capital, Constantinople, was torn by feuds between the two factions called the Blues and the Greens In the west Belisarius in 533 began with the slow reconquest of the African province from the Vandals Italy came next, requiring even longer and harder fighting against the Ostrogoths before it was regained. The western Mediterranean islands were recovered, but only the south-eastern portion of the Spanish peninsula For Gaul Justinian had to be satisfied with an 'alliance' with the Franks Yet Justinian, nevertheless, added the names Vandalicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Alemannicus, and Germanicus to his imperial titles, and essayed to govern his greatly enlarged empire, almost doubled in size by these conquests, after the Roman style

The victory had been won at enormous cost, however, both to the imperial exchequer and to the regained provinces, which were almost ruined by the long campaigns The city of Rome lost most of its inhabitants, and much of the Italian countryside fell into silent desolation Further, in the end the empire could not retain what had been won back at such cost Justinian died in the year 565, and within three years new invaders, the Lombards, were pouring across the Alps into Italy, to set up a new barbarian rule over the northern part of the peninsula. The authority of the emperors in the west declined swiftly and irrevocably West and east grew steadily farther apart Even in the Christian religion which they shared, differences appeared which led ultimately to a breach The western Church looked to the Pope at Rome, the eastern Church had its own Patriarch at Constantinople, and the usages of Roman and Greek Catholic Churches came to differ so much that in 1054 came a definite and final schism between the two It was symptomatic of other and wider differences

The Eastern Roman Empire. But while the effort to restore the empire in the west failed, the empire in the east lived on for nearly nine hundred years, under five main dynasties, comprising nearly one hundred emperors These emperors, the direct successors of the emperors of Rome, were autocrats, heads of the Church as well as of the State, ruling over peoples of many tongues and races, scattered over the three continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa During this long period, though the imperial boundaries varied with the fortunes of its many wars, little new territory was added, for the empire was on the defensive against its many foes Because of these wars the empire depended, at bottom, on its army, as had its parent Rome, and the art of war was highly developed Yet much of its power of long resistance it owed to its well-established

system of law and provincial administration Also, like Britain later on, it accumulated a vast experience in dealing with subject-peoples of different kinds

Looking over the whole period from the death of Justinian to the fall of Constantinople, the political and external history of the Eastern Roman Empire appears as a succession of waves of decline and recovery



The EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE (about 1050)

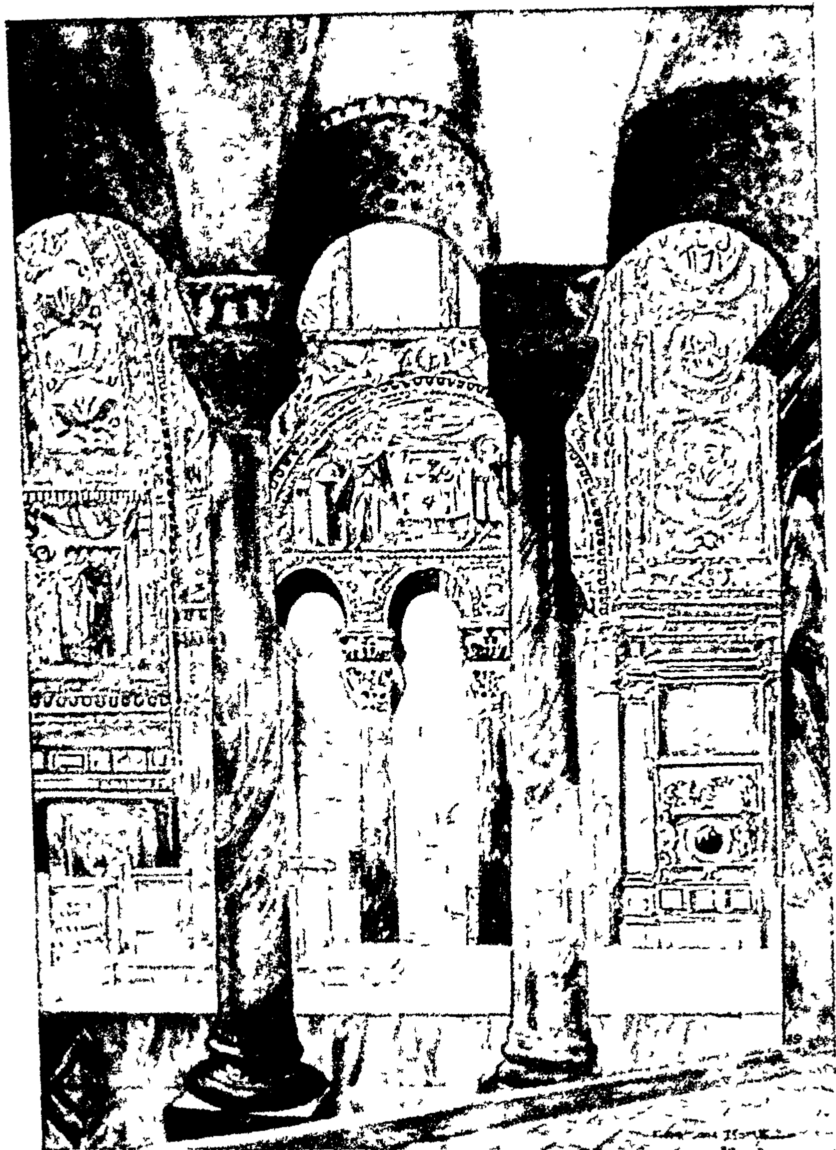
in the struggle against its enemies in Europe and Asia Justinian's successes in the west were won in part at the expense of the empire in the east, and after his death territory was lost not merely to the Lombards in Italy, but also in the Balkans to the Avars and Slavs, and in Asia to the Persians The balance was redressed for a time by the Emperor Heraclius (610–41), who, in a series of brilliant campaigns, defeated and destroyed the rival Persian Empire, and in the Balkans reduced Bulgars and Serbs to vassaldom Before Heraclius died, however, he had received a letter from an obscure Arab demanding that he should adopt the 'true faith,' that of God's prophet, Muhammad At the time the incident seemed of no importance, but within little more than a generation the rise and spread of the Islamic faith and power became a menace to the very existence of the Eastern Empire

In the first wave of Moslem expansion, Syria, Armenia, Egypt, and North Africa were lost to the empire, and Constantinople twice suffered the dangers of a siege In the Balkans the Slav Bulgars also managed to carve out an independent state in close proximity to the capital of the

empire But though the conflict between the Eastern and Moslem Empires went on for another three centuries, it was the latter which broke up, whilst the Eastern Roman Empire revived again, and won back Armenia, part of Syria, Cyprus, and Crete from Moslem hands Further, Basil II (976–1025) of the Macedonian dynasty won the title of the Slayer of the Bulgars by the ruthless way in which he subdued those dangerous neighbours On one occasion he blinded fifteen thousand Bulgar captives, leaving one eye to one of every hundred men, to lead his unfortunate fellows back to their ruler Basil also allied himself with the Russian ruler of the south, Vladimir of Kiev, who married his sister and became a Christian Thus Constantinople came to exercise much influence over the rising Russian state At Basil's death the empire was indeed at its height

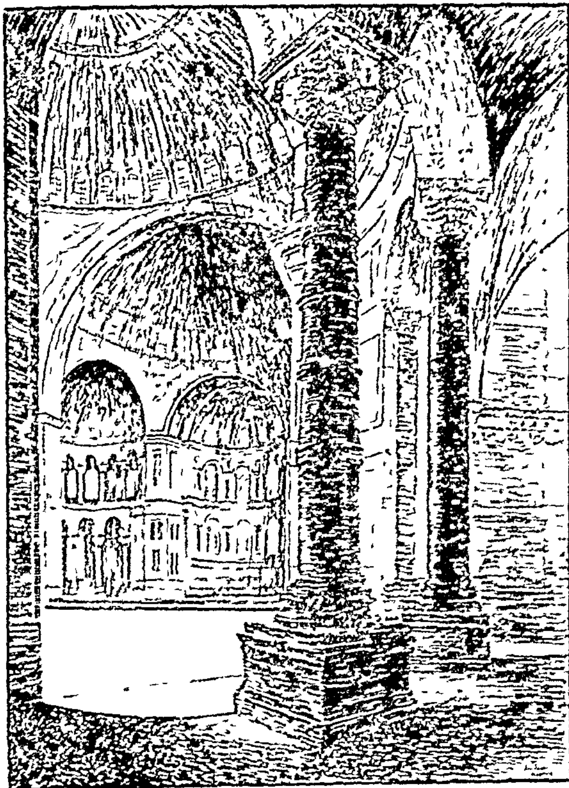
Its Decline and Fall. From that time onwards, however, the empire steadily though slowly declined. In the west the Normans robbed it of the remains of its Italian and Sicilian possessions In the east the advance of a new foe, the Seljukian Turks, threatened to repeat the earlier Arabian triumphs Armenia, Syria, Jerusalem, and part of Asia Minor passed into their hands, and the Emperor Alexius I (1081–1118) was driven to call on the west for help against them The Crusades which followed scarcely helped the Eastern Empire The reconquests in Syria were temporary, and one Crusade, the Fourth (1204), was turned by the Venetians into a definite attack on the empire Constantinople was captured by these Latin invaders, the emperor driven out, and the provinces partitioned Although the emperors regained their capital in 1261, the empire had been dangerously weakened against future foes

The Ottoman Turks. These foes were not long in appearing. First, in the Balkans the Bulgars had revived to set up a short-lived empire, and when its star waned that of the neighbouring and rival Serbs rose in its place The greatest and most ambitious Serbian king, Dushan (1331–55), designed to establish his rule on the ruins of the Eastern Roman Empire, and had himself crowned Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks Although the Serbian Empire collapsed after Dushan's death, already new and more dangerous enemies were on the march against the empire, the dreaded Ottoman Turks These nomads from Asia had, in fact, been moving westwards for centuries in the wake of their cousins, the Seljukian Turks They were being pushed forward in turn by the Mongols They had adopted the Moslem faith, and were already in Syria and Asia Minor Now under a great leader, Osman, they began to press forward more vigorously against the empire, which was in no state to defend itself, being torn with internal dissension The Ottoman Turks were fierce and destructive fighters like the Huns, and the son of Osman created the famous Janissaries, a corps of professional soldiers, later re-



THE INTERIOR OF S. VITALE, RAVENNA
(Painting by Gordon Home)

cruited from Christian children taken as tribute Early in the fourteenth century roving bands of Ottoman Turks began to cross into Europe, and within half a century they were spreading out behind Constantinople, destroying the Serbian Empire, and forcing the emperor to recognize their sultan as his suzerain Their ambitious sultan swore he would feed his horse from the altar of St Peter's in Rome

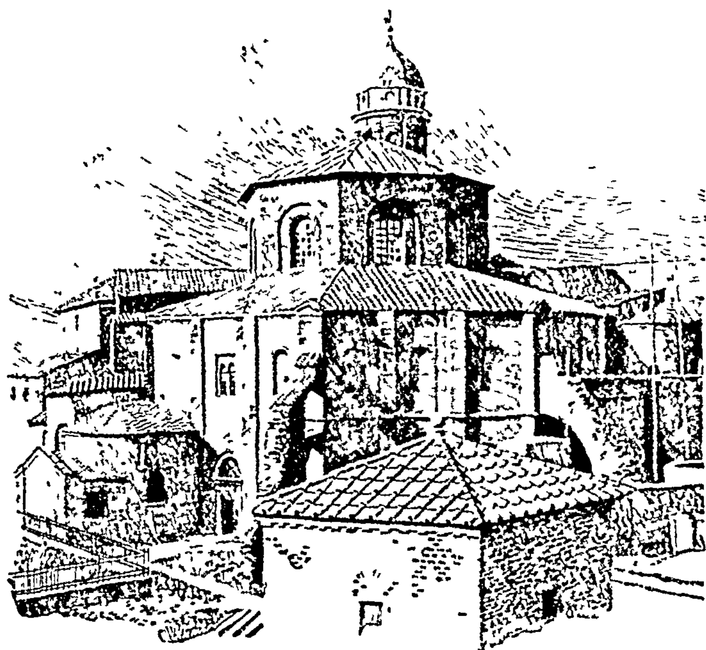


THE INTERIOR OF ST SOPHIA

For a time, however, the Eastern Empire was given a respite The Ottoman Turks found themselves in turn with a new invader at their backs The Mongol leader, Timur or Tamerlane (1336–1405), had moved with a vast ravaging horde across Persia, and now attacked the Ottomans from the rear, defeating them in a great battle But the Mongol wave receded, the mighty Tamerlane died, and the Ottoman Turks slowly took up again their advance into Europe, closing round the doomed capital of the empire The final siege of Constantinople took place in 1453, and was the largest military event of its kind in the Middle Ages, as the sultan who carried it out, Muhammad II, was the greatest of all the Ottoman sultans With the loss of its capital the life of the Eastern Roman Empire and, in a sense, medieval history, came to an end

Byzantium and Europe Many European states and peoples have claimed at one time or another to be the defenders of Europe from the invading hordes of Asia, but none can make the claim with more justice than the Eastern Roman Empire, which performed this task for a thousand years and more Nor was this the whole tale of its services to the west Whilst it held the eastern gate of Europe, it also acted as a bridge between east and west, by which eastern knowledge and eastern products came to

the west. While the new western civilization was in its rude infancy, the Eastern Empire acted as guardian for the treasures of classical Greek civilization, which gradually spread to the west And it had, further, its own culture, which it sent to western Europe as well as to the barbarians of the north The Slavs of the Balkan peninsula, and of Russia, owed a great deal to the empire, not least their conversion to Christianity From



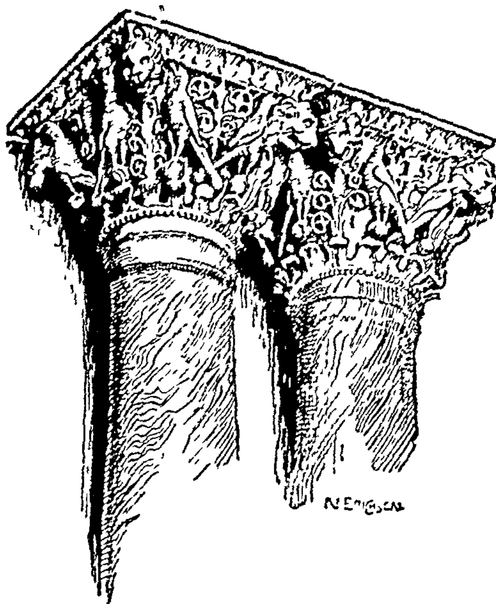
S VITALE, RAVENNA

This church was built between 521 and 547, and is pure Byzantine both in construction and decoration

the empire went out the two great apostles of the Slavs, Cyril (or Constantine), and Methodius, who converted the southern Slavs in the middle of the ninth century, and created, what was lacking up to that date, a written Slavonic language, an achievement of the greatest cultural importance

Byzantine Art. In architecture and art the Eastern Empire drew from Greek, Egyptian, Near Eastern, and Persian sources, distilling these influences into its own Byzantine essence As in western medieval art the religious motive was predominant throughout But Byzantine art, 'Hellenism modified by Asia,' was far more elaborate and sumptuous than its western counterpart, making more use of rich and costly materials such as gold, ivory, enamel, precious stones, silks, and cloth of gold. It preferred the elaborate mosaic, with liberal use of gold as a background, to the simple painted fresco of the west, for

the decoration of the walls, domes, and apses of its churches The mosaics of St Sophia in Constantinople, of the Ravenna churches, and of the later Capella Palatina and cathedral of Monreale in Sicily, provide magnificent examples of Byzantine mosaics The great cathedral of St Mark's in Venice, built in the eleventh century, with its five domes, was modelled on one of the churches of Constantinople Justinian's great church of St Sophia, with its vast dome, represented the height of Byzantine achievement in church architecture and art, and became the model for all Greek churches 'After we have spoken of it,' wrote an amazed medieval traveller from the west, 'we cannot speak of anything else' To quote a modern historian of art



CAPITALS FROM THE ATRIUM TO ST MARK'S, VENICE

Never did material luxury such as this bind popular sentiment to the letter of a religion which claimed to represent pure spirit The veined marbles, the polychrome mosaics, the great paintings on the vaults and the walls, the pendentives which permitted the heavy circle of the cupola with its constellations to be inscribed exactly in the square of the building, the silver barrier of the sanctuary, the altar of gold, the tribune of gold, the six thousand candlesticks of gold, the swarm of encrusted gems which covered the gold of the tribune and the altar with a stream of sparks, the censers, crosses, enamelled statues, reliquaries, tiaras, and diadems, the rigid, embossed robes in which living idols—the emperor and the patriarch—were held motionless the whole was like an enormous sphere of diamond, shot through by flames, a resplendent vision suspended from garlands of light The promised paradises were realized here below —E Faure, *History of Art*, 'Medieval Art' (trans), p 220

The edict of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian forbidding as superstitious the use of all images and coloured pictures in churches (726) checked for a time the development of Byzantine religious art. But the edict was removed in the ninth century, and a revival of art followed Both before and after the removal of the edict the art of the illumination of sacred manuscripts flourished in the monasteries of the Greek Church The artists and skilled craftsmen of Constantinople produced works in ivory, enamel, gold, and silver, which spread to the west and made the name and fame of Byzantium known all over western

Europe. Examples of them are to found in all our large museums to-day

Constantinople. The capital of the Eastern Empire was indeed the richest and most renowned city in the medieval world Situated at the meeting-point of east and west, set above the Bosphorus, on seven hills like Rome, this city of nearly one million people amazed the western traveller who reached it 'Never,' says the chronicler of the Crusades, 'had the Crusaders believed that in all the world there could be so rich a city' They marvelled at its domed palaces of marble, its magnificent squares and public buildings, its monasteries and churches They gazed in wonder at the Golden Gate through which the emperors passed to be crowned or to celebrate a triumph over their enemies, or at the Sacred Palace, a city in itself, wherein some of the chambers were walled with pure gold There was the circus or hippodrome, the centre of popular city life, where the chariot races and spectacles of every kind took place In the bazaars could be seen wonders of gold and silver work, jewels, carpets, silks, slaves, perfumes—the wealth of all the known and unknown world Into the port came ships from every known sea There were libraries with their treasures of manuscripts, the schools for the study of philosophy, law, medicine, and music, the meeting-places of eastern and western knowledge Byzantium has been called the Paris of the Middle Ages it was rather Paris, London, and Rome rolled into one, with a direct contact with the eastern world unattainable by any of those western capitals And when it fell, its fall was comparable to the fall of Rome, its founder and predecessor

For Further Reading

N H Baynes, *The Byzantine Empire*
C Diehl, *History of the Byzantine Empire*
S Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization*

CHAPTER III

THE GROWTH OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE WEST AND THE CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS

The Growth of the Church The settlement of Germanic peoples on the soil of western Europe began a new era in history But in comparison with the empire which they displaced, the new-comers were uncivilized barbarians Of all the forces which over a long period helped to civilize them, the greatest was the influence of the Christian Church.

The influence was not wholly one-sided, however, for the new inhabitants of western Europe profoundly affected the life and growth of the Church itself Out of the union and interaction of the two came the ripe fruit of medieval civilization, as seen in the Gothic cathedrals, the poetry of Chaucer and Dante, the art of Giotto and Donatello, the thought of Aquinas and Roger Bacon

By the opening of the fifth century Christianity was the accepted and official religion of the Roman Empire, with an organization based to a considerable extent on that of the empire The imperial provinces were ecclesiastical provinces, the cities had their bishops, chief of them those of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch Above the bishops were the Church Councils, below them the clerical hierarchy had gradually been rounded out The body of Church doctrine had been built up: at the very moment when the Visigoths sacked Rome, St Augustine of Hippo began his book, *The City of God*, wherein a heavenly city transcends the city of man's making The beginnings of Canon Law, the liturgical year, Church ritual and music, the Vulgate or Latin text of the Bible, had all likewise appeared So, too, had heresies, chief of them the Arian heresy condemned by the Council of Nicaea, yet accepted by some of the barbarian peoples



Hansell

POPE LEO I AND THE HUNS

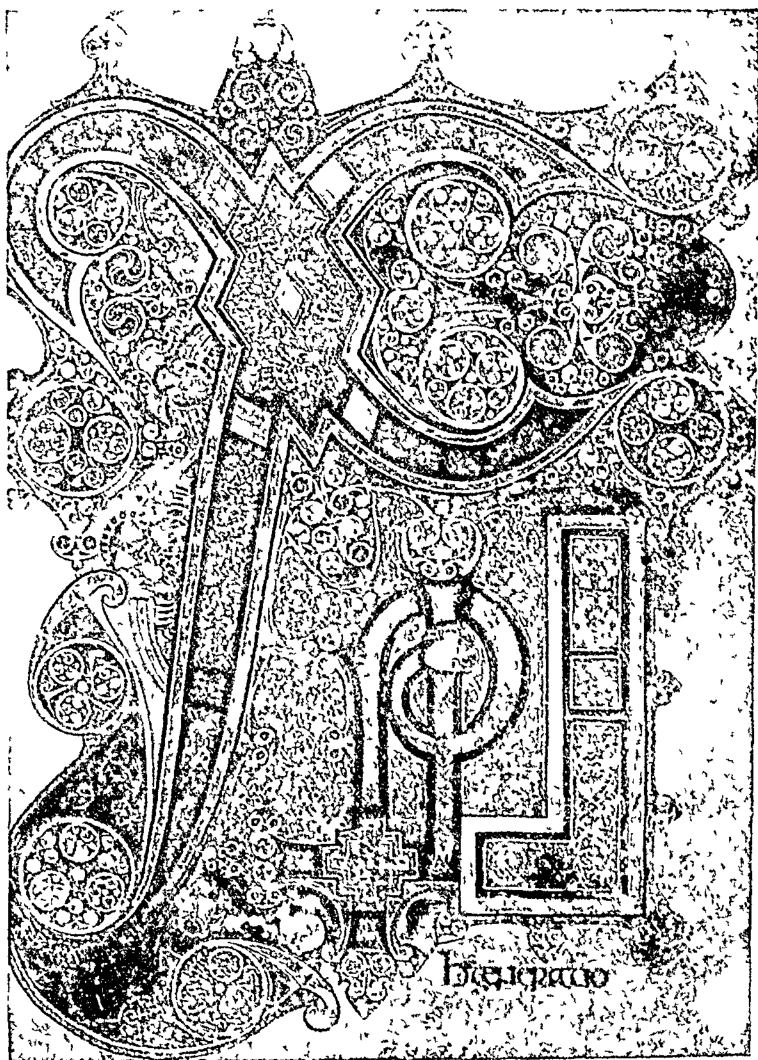
The Rise of the Papacy. The Bishopric of Rome, the original capital and centre of the empire, the see said to have been founded by St Peter

school of the service of God' Its head, the abbot, was the representative of Christ, and responsible by precept and example for the whole life of the monastery, taking council on important matters with the brethren The monks, after a novitiate of a year, took vows never to leave the Order, and to observe the 'Rule,' of obedience, chastity, and poverty The Rule prescribed the nature and hours of the services to be held in the monastic church day and night, the food and drink, the silences, the readings during meals, the care of the sick, punishments and penances, and the clothing to be worn Not least, it defined the daily labour to be done, in the fields or elsewhere, for, says the Rule, 'idleness is the great enemy of the soul, therefore the monks should always be occupied, either in labour with the hands or in holy reading'

The Rule of St Benedict spread rapidly When the monastery at Monte Cassino was sacked its members moved to Rome, the best possible centre for the spread of its influence Pope Gregory I adopted and encouraged the Order Through him St Augustine carried the Rule to England, and it spread likewise into Gaul and Germany Indeed it became and remained for many years the standard form of monasticism in western Europe, recognized and fostered by rulers like Charles the Great It was a powerful agent for the Papacy, drawing men of every class and capacity into its ranks, growing continuously in wealth and importance The solitudes of the forest where the monks established their houses became centres of economic and social activity The monks cleared the ground, sowed crops, built stone houses and churches. Villages grew up under the shelter of their walls They taught the rude peasant-folk arts and crafts, established markets, even coined money and acted as bankers They set up schools, and cared for the sick and poor, they encouraged learning in the 'Dark Ages,' and taught the Christian faith to the heathen It is true the Benedictines were not the only monks, and true also that as time went on their growing wealth and power endangered their spiritual zeal and unworldliness. Hence there came new monastic movements, which both revived the spiritual zeal of the Benedictines, and led to the foundation of new Orders, the Cluniacs, the Cistercians, and later the Friars But that is to look some centuries ahead

Celtic Monasticism. In these earlier days the most outstanding of the non-Benedictine monks in western Europe were the Celtic Irish St Patrick, son of a Roman Briton, was carried off to Ireland as a slave. He escaped to Gaul, studied at a monastery there, and then became the great apostle of Christianity in Ireland The monastic life as it developed in Ireland resembled the Egyptian rather than the Benedictine model The monks lived in cells or groups of huts rather than in a common monastic house, or they wandered in their black robes through the wild

country to the remote islands of the north, and across to those off the west coast of Scotland Thus St Columba settled in Iona about 563, making it by his piety and missionary energy a centre for the conversion of Scotland and northern England In Ireland the movement produced

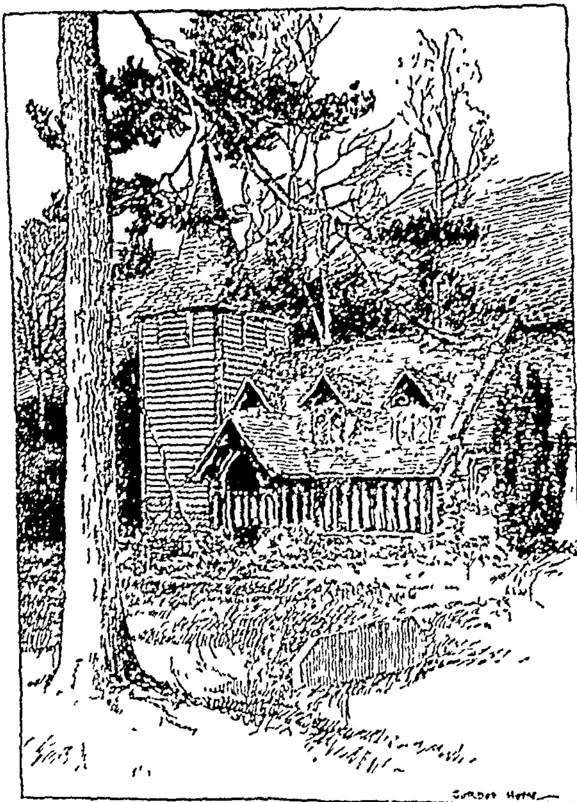


MONOGRAM PAGE FROM THE BOOK OF KELLS

the great period of early Irish culture, of which the Gospel Book of Kells now in Dublin provides an outstanding example

The Conversion of the Barbarians. To the early monastic movement was primarily due the conversion to Christianity of the Germanic peoples. The Goths and Vandals had been converted to Arianism, whilst Clovis

king of the Franks, was converted to orthodox Christianity together with many of his followers But it was long before the pagan Franks were completely Christianized The completion of this task, and the conversion of the peoples of Scotland, England, and Germany, was due to the Celtic and Benedictine monks. This triumph of Christianity over the pagan mythology was not easily or quickly accomplished A St Boniface might cut down sacred trees, or destroy heathen altars, but the old gods, the pagan beliefs and rites, above all those connected with the life of the soil and the seasons' changes, were as deep rooted as the sacred oaks themselves, and centuries were required to root these out or merge them into the new faith



GREENSTEAD CHURCH, ESSEX

The walls of split oak logs dating back to Anglo-Saxon days can be clearly seen

The conversion of England took place from both north and south Augustine, sent by Gregory from Rome, converted the south-east of England, and founded Canterbury, but his efforts to reach the north were less successful Instead, Celtic missionaries from Iona, after converting Scots and Picts, pushed into northern England. Aidan from the monastery of Lindisfarne on the tiny Holy Island off the coast of Northumbria sent monks far and wide to convert northern and central England When the two streams of Christianizing influence met, some controversy arose, since there were differences, e g as to the date of keeping Easter, between Celtic and Roman usage A council was called at Whitby in Yorkshire by the King of Northumbria to decide the issue, and judgment was given in favour of the Church possessing the direct succession from the apostle St Peter The Celtic missionaries withdrew, and England entered the

wider circle whose centre was Rome, a fateful decision Bishop Theodore of Tarsus in 669 began the organization of the English Church, dividing the land into bishoprics subject to the see of Canterbury. The country slowly became divided into parishes, and there arose the little Anglo-Saxon wooden or stone churches, some of which remain to this day.

St. Boniface. The conversion of the peoples of Germany was due both to Celtic and Anglo-Saxon missionaries First St. Columba crossed to the Continent (*c* 585), and established monasteries in eastern Gaul His disciple, St Gallus, completed the conversion of the Alemanni and set up a famous monastery on Lake Constance, at the place called after him, St Gall. But it was the Anglo-Saxon missionary Winfrith, later called St Boniface, 'the apostle of Germany,' who, with other English missionaries from 719 onward, was most successful in converting the Germans to Christianity With his own hands St Boniface hewed down the sacred oaks and established in their place monasteries and schools for converts Then, as Archbishop of Mainz and Papal Vicar, he organized the newly won territory into bishoprics which were to be the centres of cultural life for medieval Germany He also laboured to expel heresy from Gaul, crowned Pepin King of the Franks, and finally suffered a martyr's death in Frisia His remains lie in the abbey of Fulda which he founded A modern writer declares that 'he had a deeper influence on the history of Europe than any other Englishman who has ever lived' That may serve as his epitaph

The Significance of the Conversion. As the conversion itself was a slow process, so the effects of the conversion of the Germanic peoples to Christianity were not evident at once they were worked out in an endless variety of ways over many centuries of European history The conversion was, indeed, the greatest step forward in the slow development of western civilization We cannot, for example, imagine a civilization without writing, and writing, whether for laws, or poetry, or chronicles, came to the Germanic peoples through their conversion Before that they had a runic alphabet, of only very limited use, now they had the Roman alphabet Of great importance was the fact that by the conversion, as we saw in England, the Teutonic north was brought into closer contact with Mediterranean classical civilization Further, to a Christianized western Europe the Church gave a new unity to take the place of the older Roman unity these Germanic peoples had destroyed It was not, of course, a political unity, and it was to break down at a later date But for centuries this unity of the Christian faith and the medieval church was of the greatest importance, promoting new and higher ideals of life, encouraging learning, softening the harshness and cruelty of the age, improving the treatment of the weak and defenceless, of women and

children, of the poor and even of animals The Christian Church helped to develop farming and industry, furthered peace between individuals, groups, and nations, developed law and law-making, supported the authority of kings and rulers (sometimes to excess), developed art, architecture, and music The organization of the Church provided an example for the organization of the State, as in England and France, where it aided the building up of national unity The clergy for long did most of the royal business of accounts, systems of taxation, and the surveying of land But Christianity and the Church appealed not only to kings and rulers As a recent writer puts it· 'In the Middle Ages the hold of the Church was due to the fact that it could satisfy the best cravings of the whole man, his love of beauty, his desire for goodness, his endeavour after truth '



Bodleian Library

A PAGE FROM THE CÆDMON MANUSCRIPT

To illustrate fully the influence of the Christian Church and its faith and ideals on the life of Europe would be to tell the story of medieval Europe, from St Dunstan to St. Louis, from Alfred the Great to Joan of Arc But even within a relatively short time after the conversion, towards the close of the seventh century, we find in northern England an early flowering of Christian culture, part Celtic, part Roman, springing out of the Northumbrian soil 'What shall I sing?' asked the shepherd Cædmon in his vision, and was told to 'Sing the beginning of created things,' which he did in his English tongue, thereby creating the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon literature. The Venerable Bede, though in all his sixty-three years he scarcely moved from his monastery at Jarrow in

Northumbria, where he died in 735, was yet the greatest scholar of his age in Europe, the author of our first real history, *The Ecclesiastical History of England* The northern city of York had a magnificent library of manuscripts, and the Lindisfarne Gospel remains to illustrate the development of the art of illumination in the northern land This Northumbrian centre of light and learning was indeed renowned through Europe, and from it Alcuin carried the torch of learning to the court of Charlemagne

For Further Reading

C S. Crump and E F Jacob, *The Legacy of the Middle Ages.*

C Dawson, *The Making of Europe*

M. Deanesley, *A History of the Medieval Church*

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE AND SPREAD OF ISLAM

The movements of the Germanic peoples were not the only folk-wanderings of the period from the fourth to the ninth century, nor was Christianity the only religion to extend its sway and influence in these years. Two centuries after the Teutonic migration there began also an expansion of the Arabs, bearing with them a new world-religion, Muhammadanism or Islam (Islam=surrender to God) This Arab rule and faith were to spread eastwards to India, westwards along the north African coast, and northwards into the Byzantine Empire, into southern Italy, and far into Spain, even, for a brief time, into France

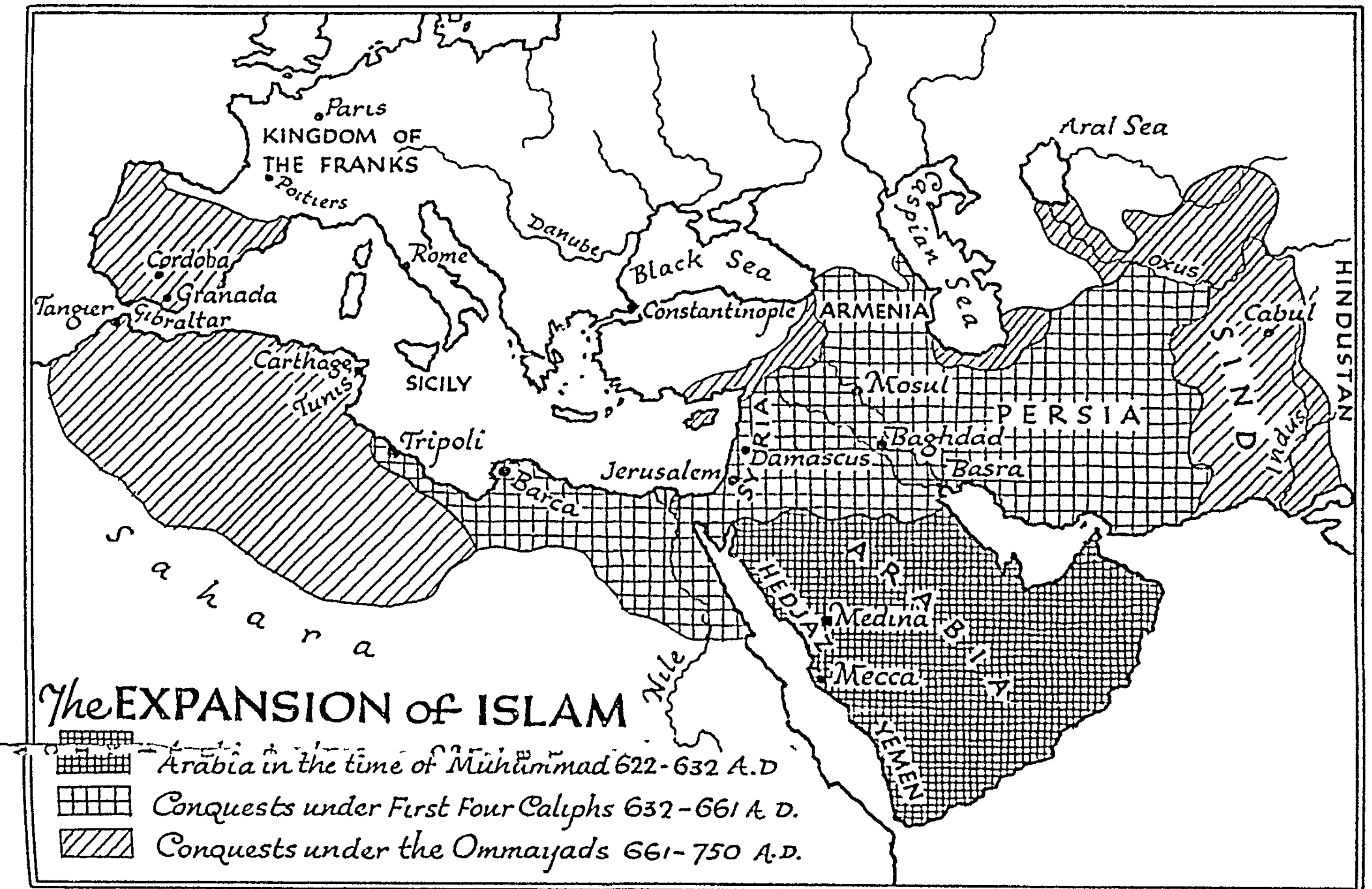
The new religion arose, like Christianity, in western Asia, but farther to the south, in that part of Arabia called the Hedjaz, which stretches along the eastern shore of the Red Sea. In addition to its Bedouin or nomad shepherd population, the Hedjaz contained town dwellers, chiefly in the cities of Mecca and Medina Mecca was an old trading centre of importance, a meeting-place for caravans from the east and the west, with a market also for the slaves from the adjacent African continent It was in addition a religious centre, possessing the sanctuary of the Kaaba, with its famous and sacred black stone, the chief fetish of those parts But in the sixth century the ancient religion was being weakened by the influence of Judaism and Christianity, and economic forces were changing the position of Mecca The time was ripe for a new movement,

and Islam appeared as a religious revival, as a racial reaction against the influence of the Greek world, and as a political and economic expansion of the Arab people

Muhammad (570–632). The impetus for the new movement in Arab history was supplied by Muhammad, a Meccan of good family but humble circumstances, who, after some years spent in caravan conducting and trading, married a widow of means, Kadija A religious-minded man, he became dissatisfied with the primitive beliefs of his ancestors and fellow-citizens of Mecca, and came to believe in one God only From about the age of forty Muhammad began to feel that he was religiously inspired He was subject to seizures, trances, in which he received inspired revelation, out of which was to grow the Koran or Muhammadan Bible In one of these visions he heard the voice of the archangel Gabriel, saying, 'O Muhammad, thou art the prophet of the Lord and I am Gabriel' The new prophet began to expound his doctrines and his claims, at first only to his family and intimates, then more widely Though Muhammad had his weaknesses, he was nevertheless a man of high spiritual and poetic gifts, with a certain fine simplicity which drew disciples to him Yet it was natural that there should be opposition to the new religion and its prophet in an old-established centre like Mecca, and so bitter did this become that Muhammad was forced to leave the city, to find a more friendly atmosphere in Medina

This was the Hejira or migration, and from its date, 622, is reckoned the formal beginning of the new faith From this time, too, the founder began to develop from a religious reformer into a ruler. The new faith, though not yet fully defined, had taken root and grew rapidly It became something to fight for From Medina Muhammad regained Mecca by force, smashing its idols (save the Kaaba), and from this old and accepted centre he was able to expand his faith and rule over all Arabia, which thus became united as never before Nor did his aspirations stop there He sent out a manifesto to the world at large, including the Emperor at Constantinople, demanding submission to the new faith, and at his death he was planning the conquest of Syria

The faith which was thus founded and enshrined in the pages of the Koran represented a definite advance in the religious beliefs and moral teachings of the Arabian people, and it had also elements rendering easier a much wider acceptance Its beliefs were simple, though it called for an elaborate ceremonial of worship five times a day, of fasting during the month of Ramadan, and of pilgrimage to Mecca It substituted for the older idolatrous attachments to many gods the belief in one all-powerful Deity 'There is no God but God—and Muhammad is his prophet' It preached the equality and brotherhood of mankind,


The EXPANSION of ISLAM
Arabia in the time of Muhammad 622-632 A.D
Conquests under First Four Caliphs 632-661 A.D.
Conquests under the Ommayads 661-750 A.D.
HINDUSTAN
Cabul
Indus
SIND
Oxus
Aral Sea
PERSIA
Caspian Sea
ARMENIA
Mosul
Baghdad
Basra
Damascus
SYRIA
Jerusalem
ARABIA
HEDJAZ
Medina
Mecca
YEMEN
Nile
Black Sea
Constantinople
Danube
Barca
Tripoli
SICILY
Rome
Paris
KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS
Poitiers
Cordoba
Granada
Gibraltar
Tangier
Carthage
Tunis
Sahara

and required charity and the giving of alms It forbade intoxication and gambling, and did something to raise the position of women It made known to the Arabs the doctrine of a future life wherein 'whoso doeth good works and is a true believer' will gain entrance into Paradise Much of its content the new faith drew from Judaism and Christianity And whilst Islam lacked the supreme qualities of Christianity, it was, for the Arabs of the seventh century, a progressive and civilizing faith. And for the world at large the rise of Islam was a phenomenon of the utmost significance This is how Carlyle speaks of it

To the Arab nation it was as a birth from darkness into light; Arabia first became alive by means of it A poor shepherd people, roaming unnoticed in its deserts since the creation of the world a Hero-Prophet was sent down to them with a word they could believe see, the unnoticed becomes world-notable, the small has become world-great· within one century afterwards Arabia is at Grenada on this hand, at Delhi on that, glancing in valour and splendour and the light of genius, Arabia shines through long ages over a great section of the world Belief is great, life-giving The history of a nation becomes fruitful, soul-elevating, great, as soon as it believes —*On Heroes*, 'The Hero as Prophet'

The Expansion of Islam. The new religion provided the necessary unity, leadership, and driving force for the Arabian expansion in the century following the death of Muhammad Certain other causes contributed also The racial affinity of the people of Syria made the extension of Arab rule over that country easier Further, at the very moment when the Arabs were ready to spread outwards, their two most powerful neighbours, the Eastern Roman Empire and Persia, had just ended a long and exhausting conflict The Eastern Empire had humbled its ancient foe, Persia, but at great cost, and it was torn internally by religious controversy The Arabs were brave and determined fighters, inured to hardship, and their wandering habits made them very mobile In addition they were helped by their policy of taxing rather than persecuting non-Islamic subjects Since conversion to Islam brought relief from taxation, Moslem rulers often preferred the revenue to the conversion It must not, however, be supposed that the expansion was easy or swift It was a hundred years from the death of the prophet to the Battle of Tours (732) which marked the extreme limit of Arab expansion to the north-west

The expansion in Asia was the most rapid Syria was first gained, Jerusalem being captured in 638 The gain of Mesopotamia followed, and brought the Arabs into direct conflict with the Persian realm, which fell after ten years of fighting From Persia the way was open to Afghanistan, and so to India, reached shortly after 700. Meanwhile the attack on the Eastern Roman Empire was continued, by way of Armenia and Asia Minor, and Constantinople was twice besieged, in 673 and again in 717

If we turn westward from Arabia, Egypt was an early and relatively easy conquest from the Eastern Empire. The expansion along the northern coast of Africa was slower, however, and Carthage was not gained until the end of the seventh century From there the way led along to the Straits of Gibraltar, and northward through Spain, which



THE GREAT MOSQUE OF CORDOBA

was too divided and weak to offer effective resistance The Pyrenees were reached and crossed, and not until mid-Gaul was the tide of their advance stayed by Charles Martel, at the Battle of Tours His son Pepin drove the Arabs back into Spain, where they were to remain in possession of the southern half of the peninsula for over seven hundred years In the ninth century they invaded Sicily and southern Italy, penetrating as far as the walls of Rome itself, and though driven out of the peninsula, they held Sicily until expelled in turn by the Norman invaders North Africa, however, they continued to hold, and it ceased to be Latin and became Oriental

The creation of this Moslem world, from the Indus to the Atlantic, was an amazing achievement But a glance at the map makes it clear

(969–1171), Saracen architecture had produced the great mosque of Ibn Tulun, and under the Fatimites Egypt developed greatly in prosperity, as in architecture and art But the real successor to Baghdad was the Caliphate of Cordoba in Spain, set up by the Ommayads in the eighth century, to last for nearly three hundred years, after which Moslem Spain broke up into several independent units In the days of the great Caliph, Abd-er-Rahman (912–61), Cordoba, 'the bride of



THE COURT OF THE LIONS, THE ALHAMBRA

Andalusia,' developed a wealth and culture far transcending that of the rest of western Europe, which was still in its 'Dark Ages' As with Baghdad it was on the wealth derived from the wide trade and highly developed industry that the luxury and learning of Cordoba was based Scientists, scholars, and poets from all over the Saracen world, and from the Christian world as well, found their way to this western capital, with its many palaces, its rare gardens, its seven hundred mosques The great mosque of Cordoba (which still remains in part), with its forest of many-coloured columns, its numerous arcades, its marbles, mosaics, and adornment of precious metals, was perhaps the outstanding architectural achievement of Saracen architecture in Spain Like its eastern counterpart this architecture delighted not in the use of stone or classical simplicity of form, but in variety of colour and of complicated tracery in plaster or similar material over brick, our word arabesque denotes both the origin and nature of this form of decorative work. The great

pleasure palace of the Alhambra belongs to the later period when Granada had in part taken the place of Cordoba as the home of the arts and sciences in Moslem Spain.

In the time of the Cordoban Caliphate, however, and a little later when the Moslem philosopher Averroes, of Cordoba, became the expounder



THE ALHAMBRA, GRANADA

of Greek philosophy, Christian Europe, through trade with Syria, by way of Constantinople, or through the later Crusades, gained greatly in knowledge and artistic skill from Saracen civilization New knowledge in medicine, in natural science, in mathematics, new products of the earth, new words to designate these acquisitions (zero and coffee, algebra and sofa, magazine and tabby cat, with a score of others), all came to the west, and so to us, from the Saracens From Saracen geographers like Edrisi of Sicily (twelfth century) came greater knowledge of the world, whilst the Arab traveller, Ibn Battuta (1305–77), not merely explored the Moslem world and beyond in Africa and India for over thirty years, but left an account of his travels which rivals the famous book of Marco Polo

The Muhammadan Conquest of India From Ibn Battuta we learn much of the first Moslem empire established in India The first wave of

Islamic expansion had stopped at the border provinces of the north-west But about the time of Frederick Barbarossa the Muhammadans began to spread their rule south and east, setting up their capital at Delhi, and building up an empire which at its height in the middle of the fourteenth century stretched far into central and southern India The Hindu princes, lacking any real unity, were quite unable to withstand the fierce onslaught of these followers of the prophet, who were physically stronger, as well as more skilled in warfare. Yet this Delhi empire speedily declined, and new kingdoms, both Hindu and Muhammadan, rose all over India New invaders also found their way over the vulnerable north-west frontier In the thirteenth century there were raids from the Mongol Empire of Genghiz Khan, late in the fourteenth century the mighty Tamerlane of Samarkand captured and sacked Delhi, and early in the sixteenth century came the final wave of Moslem invasion, led by Babur, which set up the Mongol Empire

Although this empire, like its predecessor, was to disappear, Muhammadanism was to remain a permanent element in India, strongest in the north-west, but widely spread elsewhere It was to provide the most serious rival to Hinduism, not merely in religion, but also in social organization and, in later days, in political life. The existence of these rival systems, possessing many of the features of rival nationalities elsewhere, has greatly complicated the problem of applying parliamentary institutions in India

For Further Reading

T Arnold, *The Legacy of Islam*
T Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero Worship*
D S Margoliouth, *Mahomet*
P Sykes, *History of Exploration*

CHAPTER V

CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS EMPIRE

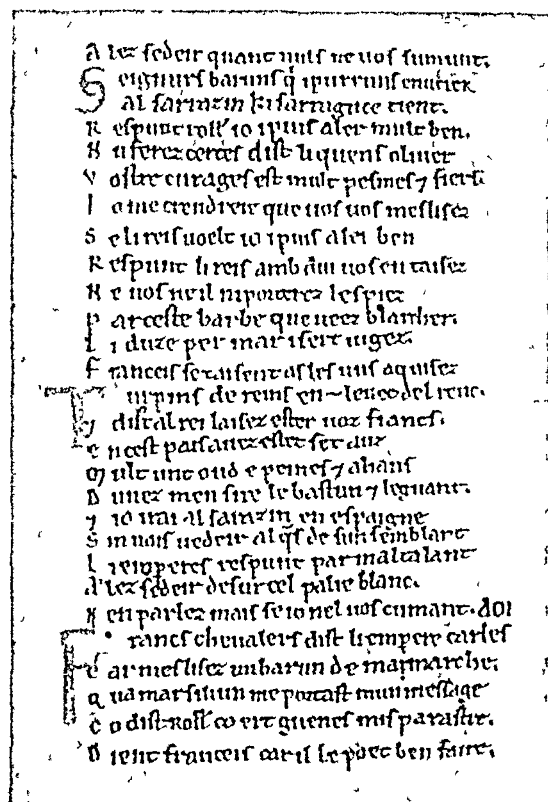
The age of Charles the Great was the culmination of the period of the barbarian invasions It saw the attempt of the chief Teutonic invaders, the Franks, to unite the northern peoples under one rule after the example of the Roman Empire, with its centre no longer on the Mediterranean, but in the heart of the Frankish realm, at Aachen The bounds of this new empire reached from northern Germany to southern Italy, from the Atlantic Ocean to western Hungary (see map) Despite the later

claims of Germans and Frenchmen, this empire was neither German nor French, for those countries were not yet formed If it was mainly Teutonic in origin, it was more Latin in its culture. After the death of Charles this attempt at a new empire in Europe failed, and his realm broke into fragments out of which emerged some of the nations of modern Europe

Charlemagne The empire was the creation of one man of outstanding strength and genius Born about 743, Charles died in 814, in ripe old age His father, Pepin the Short, the first Carolingian king of the Franks, died in 768, and for three years Charles shared the kingdom with his younger brother, Carloman But with Carloman's death Charles became sole governor of the Frankish realm He was a big man, over six feet in height, and so strong that he could lift a man in armour as high as his head with one hand He had 'an eagle's beak,' a lion's gaze When he rode into battle 'iron was his helmet, iron his arm-guards, iron his corslet, an iron lance in his left hand, iron the hue of his war horse,' the chronicler tells us Nor was he less impressive in his Frankish garb with scarlet hose, belted linen tunic, and long mantle of blue, with his sword girt about him As a ruler he was Napoleonic in his grasp of large ideas and small details together A lover of justice, firm, brave, sometimes intensely cruel, and not always moral by our standards, affectionate to family and friends, he was also a devout Christian and son of the Church, which he strongly supported, and he was ever friendly to pious learning His biographer, Eginhard, tells us that 'he was temperate in meat and drink, especially the latter, he had the greatest dislike to drunkenness in any man, much more in himself and his companions. During dinner he listened to a recitation or reading The readings were taken from histories and the lives of the ancients He delighted also in the works of St Augustine, especially in the one entitled *The City of God*' It is little wonder that Charlemagne became a figure of legend after his death, and the inspirer of later emperors Napoleon took his sword from Aachen to Paris for his own coronation as emperor

Charlemagne's Wars and Conquests. The Frankish realm to which Charles succeeded in full in 771 included most of modern France, the Netherlands, southern Germany, and the western half of northern Germany There was room for expansion to the north-east and to the south, and for the first two-thirds of his reign, to about 800, Charles was engaged in wars either to enlarge his territories or to maintain what he had won His first big struggle was with the Lombards, his only possible rivals in western Europe The Lombards sought to unite north and south Italy under their rule, necessarily at the expense of the Papacy. Charles's father, Pepin, had once intervened against them on behalf of the Pope,

and given to the Papacy land wrested from the Lombards in central Italy Now the Lombard king again threatened Rome. Pope Adrian appealed to Charles, and the Frankish ruler marched south with his army into Italy, defeated the Lombards, took their capital Pavia, and annexed the Lombard *kingdom to his own* realm He later added the region round the northern shore of the Adriatic from Venice to Trieste; also the island of Corsica His second venture at southern expansion, into Spain, was less fortunate, for his famous expedition against the Saracens there ended in failure, the Spanish March, or border region, was to be established much more slowly This expedition bore fruit, however, in a very different sphere out of the events of the hard retreat over the Pyrenees came the story of Roland and his horn in the Pass of Roncesvalles, one of the great epics of early French literature, the *Chanson de Roland*



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A PAGE FROM THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE 'CHANSON DE ROLAND'

The hardest and most continuous fighting Charles engaged in was on the eastern borders of his realm, above all against the Saxons He inherited with his crown the conflict against these heathen border raiders of northern Germany, and from his earliest campaigns he carried on a long and bitter struggle with them for nearly thirty years. Not until thousands of Saxons had been transported to Gaul, other thousands slaughtered (4,500 Saxon prisoners were beheaded on one day, we are told), did they and their brave king Widukind give up the struggle and accept the Frankish rule and Christianity together To the east again the Slavs, and to the south-east the Avars, were likewise forced to acknowledge the overlordship of the mighty Frankish ruler Threatened revolt in Bavaria was also checked


CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE
Scale 1 20,000,000
(320 miles = 1 inch)
English Miles
0 100 200 300
Carolingian Empire at the accession of Charlemagne
Carolingian Empire at the death of Charlemagne
Slav Tribes tributary to Charlemagne
Eastern Roman Empire
Mohammedan Powers c 814
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FRANK EMPIRE
NEUSTRIA
AUSTRASIA
AQUITAINE
BURGUNDY
ALLEMANIA
BAVARIA
CARINTHIA
SAXONS
Wiltzes
Sorbs
Slavonic Tribes
Poles
Bohemians
MORAVIA
Avars
Carpathian Magyars
Slavs
Bulgarians
BLACK SEA
THRACE
MACEDONIA
EASTERN ROMAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
KINGDOM OF ITALY
DUCHY OF BENEVENTO
SPANISH MARCH
GASCONY
BRITTANY
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
(Ommeyads)
KINGDOMS OF GALICIA & ASTURIAS
ASTURIAS
MAGHREB
IDRISID DOMINIONS
NORTH WALES
WEST WALES
Britons
MERCIA
ENGLISH KINGDOMS
EAST ANGLIA
ESSEX
KENT
WESSEX
Lincoln
London
Canterbury
Utrecht
Paderborn
Aix la Chapelle
Herstal
Cologne
Mainz
Worms
Fulda
Bremen
Verden
Magdeburg
Prague
Regensburg
Ratisbon
Passau
Salzburg
Danube
Rheims
Paris
Orleans
Angers
Loire
Tours
Poitiers
Besançon
Lyons
Vienne
Fronsac
Bordeaux
Garonne
Toulouse
Septimania
Narbonne
Arles
Rhone
Pampluna
Roncesvalles
Ebro
Gerona
Barcelona
Tortosa
Valencia
Balearic Is
Minorca
Majorca
Toledo
Merida
Tagus
Lisbon
Oporto
Salamanca
Burgos
Santiago de Compostella
Cordova
Seville
Granada
Cadiz
Gibraltar (Jebel Tarik)
Tangier
Ceuta
Tunis
Kairwan
St Gall
Aosta
Milan
Pavia
Po
Verona
Parma
Bologna
Genoa
Pisa
Siena
Spoleto
Ancona
Ravenna
Rome
Tiber
Gaeta
Naples
Benevento
Amalfi
Salerno
Bari
Corsica
Sardinia
Sicily
Palermo
Messina
Syracuse
Malta
Zara
Spalato
Ragusa
Cattaro
Durazzo
Drave
Save
Vistula
Dniester
Theiss
Danube
Adrianople
Mesembria
Philippopolis
Thessalonica
Larissa
Constantinople
Chalcedon
Cephallonia
Patras
PELOPONNESUS
Athens
Smyrna
Rhodes
Crete
Ancyra
35
40
45
15
10
5
0
20
25
East from Greenwich
George Philip & Son Ltd

Thus engaged in these warlike operations, for the first thirty years of his reign Charles gathered his host together almost every summer to campaign in one direction or another And even when he was not fighting we find him constantly moving about his realm from one royal palace to another, with his court and household trailing behind, to consume his royal income of food and drink. For Charles was a great traveller and a mighty hunter in the vast forests which then overspread much of France and Germany Later he lived more in his chosen capital Aachen, where he built palace and cathedral, and where most fittingly he was entombed, sitting on a marble throne

Government and Learning. Yet whether in Aachen or moving about his wide realm Charles both governed actively and encouraged learning He issued new laws (capitularies) incessantly, especially after 800 when his wars were over These laws dealt with every side of the life of his people, with the administration of justice, trade, communications, coinage, the public peace He legislated for the Church, for any detail of its organization, its services, its discipline, on occasion even for its doctrines Nor did he hesitate to give instructions to the Pope himself, or even to bring him before a council of magnates All over his realm were set counts (the successors of the former Teutonic 'companions' of the king) who were responsible in their districts for justice and order, and for leading the local contingents to the royal army They were supposed to come to court once a year to report The better to supervise their work, however, Charles sent round his realm royal officials called *missi dominici*, a cleric and a layman together, to hold special courts of justice and to report directly to himself For the dangerous border regions (marches) he had specially picked men, margraves or dukes, to whom he allotted greater powers There was no parliament or system of representation for the empire, but an assembly of magnates, bishops and abbots, counts, dukes and margraves, was held twice a year to hear reports and decide on measures to be taken And in the spring there still met the ancient Mayfield, the armed assembly of the Frankish freemen

With all this Charles found time both to encourage learning and to seek after it himself Here he was fortunate in gaining the services of Alcuin, a most learned man, a Northumbrian, product of the great school of Bede Alcuin spent many years at the court of Charles, where he was the guiding hand in what has been called the Carolingian Renaissance, writing, legislating, teaching, with untiring devotion and skill, ever modest and unassuming in character Charles stoutly supported his efforts both in the capital, and in the setting up of monastic schools in different parts of the empire Charles himself, though he could scarcely write, attended the palace school and was the most eager pupil

in his realm, studying theology, science, and history with equal zeal and determination, and sending letters to bishops and clergy to urge them on in the provision of schools and the improvement of letters



Karl von Blaas

CHARLEMANGE VISITING HIS COURT SCHOOL

The Coronation of Charles as Emperor, 800. The most dramatic episode in the whole reign of Charles was his coronation as Emperor by Pope Leo III in Rome on Christmas Day, 800 Charles had been called in to judge between the Pope and the people of Rome, who had rebelled against the Pope's authority He journeyed to Rome to restore the Head of the Church to his proper place, and on Christmas Day, at the end of Mass, whilst the Frankish king still knelt before the shrine of

St. Peter, Pope Leo suddenly produced a golden crown and placed it on the head of Charles with the words, 'Hail, Charles, Augustus, crowned by God, great and pacific Emperor of the Romans, long life and victory to thee,' and the congregation which filled the church echoed the words We do not know how far this dramatic scene had been arranged beforehand And its exact significance has been the subject of endless controversy ever since, amongst lawyers, historians, and theologians Was this empire, of which Charles was the crowned ruler, the old Roman Empire in the west revived, or a new one? But who could make emperors? What right had the Pope to make an emperor, or the king of the Franks to be Emperor in Rome? And what of the Emperor at Constantinople? As to the last, it so happened that at this moment the Eastern Empire was in the hands of a woman, Irene, who had gained it by the crime of deposing and blinding her son, the Emperor Constantine This made it easier to claim that the throne of the Western Empire was vacant, and for a new emperor to be chosen In fact, after some years of controversial discussion, a new emperor at Constantinople did recognize Charles as emperor

Actually the coronation did not greatly affect the position of Charles His power still rested on his position as ruler of the Franks, and he governed his wide realm after 800 much as before: if he gained somewhat in prestige, he secured no new territories or real addition of authority, unless we count a vague claim to authority over England, which was not enforced. As to the share of the Pope in the coronation—on this hung in part one of the greatest issues of the Middle Ages, the issue of Emperor and Pope, of spiritual and temporal superiority. The issue hardly touched the masterful Charlemagne, but it was to cause the gravest trouble later on.

The Decline and Fall of the Carolingian Empire. Charlemagne died in 814. His empire lasted, in appearance, for another sixty years, ending with Charles the Fat, a great-grandson, the last Carolingian Emperor, in 887 Actually the great empire was doomed before its founder died. Charlemagne himself, though he hated the idea of the division of his realm, arranged for its partial division between his three sons after the old Frankish custom The empire had no unity of geography, people, or language, and it lacked both a proper system of roads and a permanent army It depended too much for its government and administration on the great Emperor himself The machinery he set up was rather a sketch than a solidly organized system, and his laws and his *missi* scarcely survived his death The counts were becoming too much concerned with their own local interests even before the master's hand was removed, they were developing into hereditary provincial rulers instead of acting as imperial agents So, too, the bishops and abbots, great landowners like

the counts, were apt to be chiefly interested in the maintenance and extension of their local powers And meanwhile, not merely were the border regions ever restless, but beyond the frontiers the Slavs, the Saracens, and, above all, the Northmen, were threatening to destroy the empire.

The story of the successors of Charlemagne needs no long recounting



A son, Louis, named the Pious for his efforts to reform the Church, ruled over the whole empire for a time, but he lacked the strength of his father, and his reign ended (840) in the confusion of sons warring against their father, and against each other Two years later there met at Strasbourg on the Rhine two of Louis's sons, to take an oath of loyalty to each other against their eldest brother The oaths were taken in two languages, Romance and Teutonic, so that both the accompanying armies could understand This alone was a sign of the growing disunity of the Empire.

In the next year all three brothers made a famous treaty (Treaty of Verdun, 843), by which the Empire was formally divided into three Lothar, the eldest, took the central strip from the mouth of the Rhine to the south of Italy, one thousand miles long by one hundred and fifty broad, with the title of Emperor, one of his brothers, Louis, took the territory east of the Rhine, and the other brother, Charles, the western portion Though Lothar possessed the two capitals, Aachen and Rome, his long narrow realm was preposterously disunited, its northern part, Lotharingia, was to be a constant source of rivalry and ambition from both east and west throughout European history The portions of Louis and Charles were far from united, but they had, at any rate, some physical basis for future union

The history of the next century and a half is a wearisome story of the incessant feuds and rivalries of the grandsons and great-grandsons of Charlemagne, seeking to gain or hold this or that portion of the Carolingian heritage For a moment Charles the Fat was ruler over the whole Frankish realm, but he was quickly deposed, and the separation of the east and west Frankish realms confirmed The last Carolingian to rule over the eastern Franks, Louis the Child, died in 911, the last western Carolingian ruler ended his reign in 987 So both the Empire of Charlemagne and the Carolingian line passed off the stage In their place emerged kings and princes for Germany and France, Burgundy and Lotharingia And these kings had none of the majesty of the great Charles they were no more than the elected nominees of the great nobles, laymen and clerics Western Europe seemed to be falling back into the inchoate stage of four hundred years earlier, when the Roman world had broken into fragments before the Teutonic invaders Slowly and painfully these Teutonic peoples had gathered some of these fragments into a new empire, that of Charlemagne Now that empire had fallen, just when a new invader, the Viking, thundered at the gates Yet just as the work of Rome did not entirely disappear, so there remained something of the slighter, far more temporary edifice of Charlemagne And the way to a more stable and permanent organization of Europe, which should preserve and develop both the culture and the institutions which Charlemagne had sought to introduce and foster, was to lie through the break up of his Empire, through the storm and stress of the Viking invasions, into the framing of the nations of the later medieval and modern Europe

For Further Reading

H W C Davis, *Charlemagne*
Eginhard, *Life of Charles the Great* (trans)
T Hodgkin, *Charles the Great*

PART V

FEUDAL EUROPE

(*From about* A D 900 *to* 1300)

INTRODUCTION

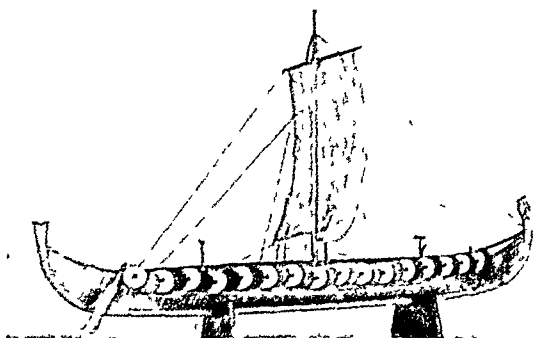
THE four hundred years or so following the disruption of the Carolingian Empire carry us through the formative period of the Middle Ages to the full establishment of medieval society, its political arrangements, its social and ecclesiastical order There was, of course, no one date or even period at which we can say medieval Europe became static and ceased to develop. But before the end of the thirteenth century all the features we regard as peculiarly 'medieval' had appeared, some of them had, indeed, reached their height and were already taking on new forms

The outstanding event in the period following the death of Charles the Great was the appearance of new invaders in western Europe, the Vikings or Norsemen, whose raids, conquests, and settlements extended from the ninth to the eleventh century (Chapter I) Their coming combined with other forces not merely to break up the Carolingian Empire, but to further the growth of the political, social, economic, military, and legal arrangements of society to which the name Feudalism has been given (Chapter II) Partly by its aid, and then in opposition to it, the evolution of western Europe into national states went on thus the monarchies of France and of England were built up (Chapter III) Meanwhile in Germany the imperial title was revived by Otto the Great The Empire meant not only Germany but Italy, and there the Papacy waged a long conflict with the Empire which had the most serious influence on both parties (Chapter IV) Finally in this period, under the influence of the Church, western Europe engaged in a venture of great interest and importance, the attempt of the Crusades to recover the Holy Land from the Turks (Chapter V)

CHAPTER I

THE NORTHMEN AND THEIR INVASIONS

The Northmen or Vikings. The Northmen or Vikings (Viking = Rover) had their homes in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark They were akin racially to the Germanic invaders of the Roman Empire, and resembled them in appearance, social organization, religion, manners, and customs. Yet there were differences between the Germanic and Norse peoples, and the settlement and development of the Germanic peoples in Britain, Gaul, and elsewhere had drawn them farther away from the Scandinavian peoples, so that when these began to raid all round the west coast of Europe the English and the Franks regarded them with as much dread as the Roman provincials had earlier looked on the Germanic invaders Perhaps more, indeed, for the Vikings were fiercer, less touched by any softening influences, than the Germans, already in contact with the Roman Empire, had been Not all the Scandinavian people were Vikings, of course· there were farmers, free peasant folk, who stayed at home and cultivated their lands, taking little count of the wanderings and raidings of their fiercer brethren. These last were driven out by over-population of the poor and mountainous Scandinavian country, by the roving habits developed in centuries of life near the sea-coast, or by political changes such as the union of all Norway under the ambitious Harald Fairhair in the ninth century



VIKING SHIP (*c* 900)
(From a model in the Science Museum, S Kensington)

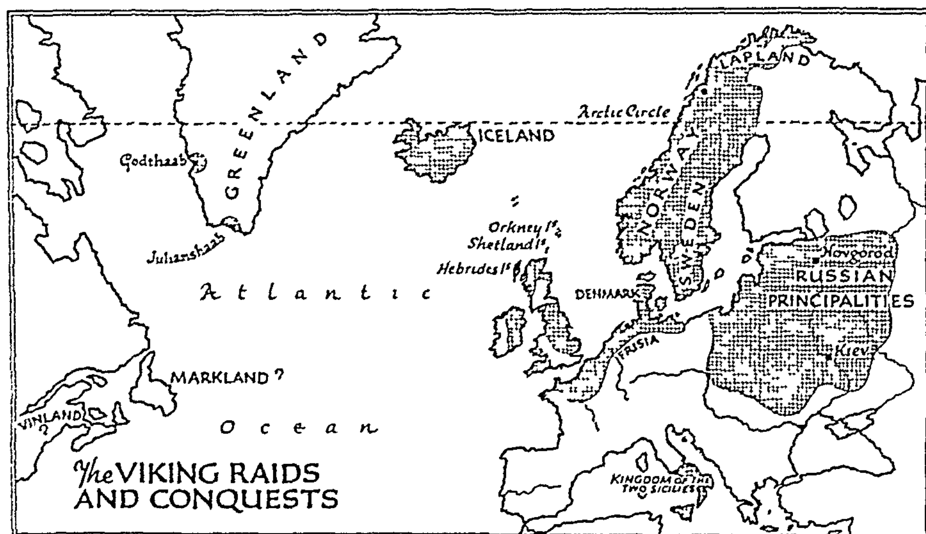
But whereas the Germanic peoples had in the main moved slowly and painfully through the forests and mountains of Europe, the Vikings made the sea their highway, the rivers their by-paths When they wished to move on land, they seized horses and transformed themselves into swiftly moving cavalry In their long open boats with their high prows, square sails, and many oars, the sides hung with the shields of the warriors, the Vikings made incredible voyages For they were wildly

daring and courageous, and fought with Nature almost as gladly as with man, sharing some of her cruelty, and fearing death as little in one case as in the other They began their training early in life when the son of King Harald Fairhair of Norway was twelve years old, his father gave him five long ships to go a-warring This boy was Eric Blood-Axe, of whom the saga says 'Eric was a big man and fair; strong and most stout of heart, a mighty warrior and victorious, fierce of mind, grim, unkind, and of few words.' The description may stand for many a Viking warrior It was little wonder that the coming of the Vikings was dreaded along the English and Frankish coasts 'From the fury of the Northmen, Good Lord deliver us,' chanted the Anglo-Saxon priest at the altar, and not without special reason, for in churches and monasteries these northern raiders, like the Saracens, found their easiest prey and their most certain loot of gold and silver

Norse Religion: Myths and Sagas. The Vikings were pagans, sacrificing animals and even human beings to their gods, whose wooden images were preserved in their temples Only slowly were they converted to Christianity, from about the time when the Danes in England, by their treaty with Alfred in 878, agreed to be baptized, to the end of the eleventh century, when paganism had almost disappeared amongst them The myths of their gods, like the sagas or narratives of their heroes, are known to us because after being handed down by the skalds and singers by word of mouth for many generations they were at length written down by the Icelandic scholars in the thirteenth century They form a magnificent heritage of northern literature, comparable in grandeur and beauty to the legends of the Greeks

The Norse myths contain their account of the beginning of created things, of the struggle between the gods and the giants (the forces of evil), and of the great ash tree, Ygdrasil, the tree of existence, ever green, with its three roots in the depths of the Underworld, its branches reaching up to Asgard, the city of the gods There they overshadowed Valhalla, the hall wherein Odin received heroes slain in battle, with its walls of shining spears, its roof of golden shields, its five hundred and forty doors. In Valhalla the heroes feasted endlessly, served by the Valkyries or war-maidens, or sallied forth to fight each other once again in the Viking manner Odin (the Wodan of the Germanic people) was the Allfather, the god of war and wisdom, the discoverer of the Runes or early sacred writing, who sat with his two ravens (Thought and Memory) whispering in his ears His wife was Frigga, the queen of the gods Next in importance was Thor, the thunder god, with his great hammer, symbol of his strength Of his adventures and journeys many tales

are told. Then there was Loki, the mischief-maker, fickle and cunning; Frey, the god of rain, sunshine and produce of the earth, Freya his sister, the goddess of love and beauty; and Balder, best and most beautiful of gods, the god of light and summer, slain by the mistletoe (i e the oncoming winter) All Norse mythology was the impersonation of the powers of Nature and the seasons' change in their northern land, with its long winters and swift beautiful summers, its great mountains, dark forests, deep inlets, and rushing rivers racing away to the sea, the way to the far unknown.

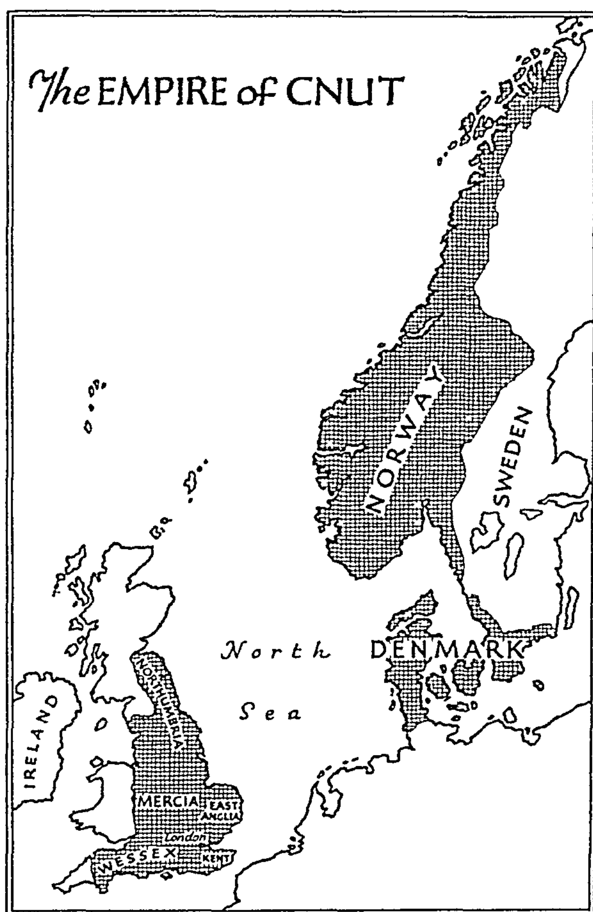


The same spirit, full of tragedy, grim humour, love, hatred, and wild adventure, is found in the sagas or legends of Norse heroes such as Sigurd, the Siegfried of German legend, and of the Norse heroes themselves in the great age of the Vikings, from the doings of Harald Fairhair in Norway to the adventures of Eric the Red who settled in Greenland or his son Leif who sailed on farther to discover America

The Viking Raids and Conquests The Viking raids on western Europe began shortly before the year 800, and continued for over two hundred years, though there was a break of nearly a century in their invasions of England after Alfred's day As with their Germanic predecessors, raidings passed almost imperceptibly into conquests and settlements The raiding might be by few vessels or many No doubt wind and weather played some part in the direction of their wanderings, and many a Viking ship must have gone down in the storms of the North Sea or the Atlantic. It was such a storm in the English Channel that once saved Alfred's

kingdom from invasion, as a later storm helped to defeat the great Armada of Spain

Westward Raids. We may think of their raidings westwards as a series of sweeping curves The widest sweep of their voyages was that which took them across to colonize Iceland, on to Greenland, and farther still to Markland and Vinland, to be the discoverers for Europe of the American continent Next came the sweep round the northern coast of Scotland, seizing the Orkney and Shetland islands, down the west coast, to raid and then settle in south-western Scotland, north-western England, and eastern Ireland, with the Isle of Man as a central base in the Irish Sea The names of English towns and villages ending in *by* or *thwaite* (e g Kirkby or Rosthwaite) tell where they settled in England These two routes were mainly followed by the Norsemen The inmost sweep led others, Danes chiefly at first, across to the eastern coast of England, and down the English Channel, raiding on either hand, to join the middle route from the western coast of England on the way to Spain and the Mediterranean Till Alfred of Wessex built his fleet they had command of the Narrow Seas, to sail and land freely where they liked



England. England and Ireland felt the full force of the Viking invasions and conquests They set up their rule in Ireland, establishing a kingdom round Dublin They carved out the Danelaw in north-eastern England ere they were checked by Alfred, a few years before their great fleet of seven hundred ships and forty thousand men vainly besieged the city of Paris (885) With the check on both sides of the English Channel came

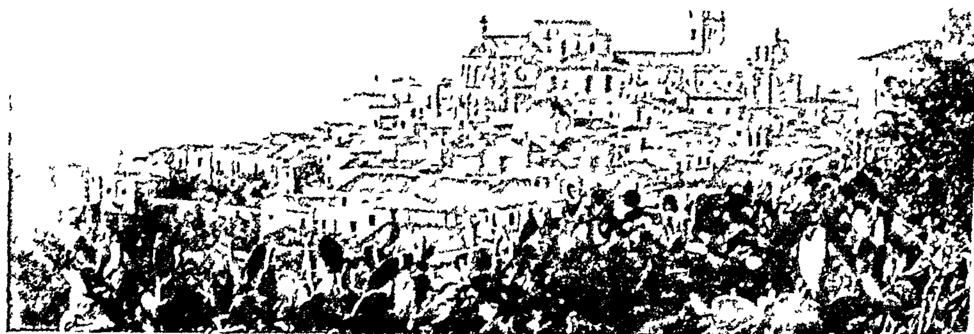
a breathing space for a time In England the menace was removed for a hundred years, and the successors of Alfred retook for Wessex much of the Danelaw, dividing it into the counties that remain to-day In the days of King Edgar England had a space of peace and security, but after his death in 975 the Danish attacks began again, and neither the payment of 'Danegeld' to them, nor an attempt at wholesale massacre, availed to check them Indeed for a time England fell completely under Danish rule, with the great Cnut as king From London, his capital, he ruled Denmark and Norway, as well as England, the whole making a Scandinavian empire round the North Sea But after his death his empire broke up, and there came for England another interval of weak rule, ended by the appearance of a new Norse (or Norman) invader, from across the Channel in France, William the Conqueror.

Normandy. For the Vikings had likewise been raiding all along the coast of the Frankish kingdom, and up the rivers, laying waste the country all about, checked sometimes as in their great siege of Paris, sometimes bought off by a 'Danegeld' But although they were not to win the rule over France as over England, the weakness of the later Carolingians helped them to found a permanent settlement along the River Seine under a chief, Rollo, the territory henceforth called Normandy. The treaty of 912 which recognized their rule over Normandy marked the real close of the Viking activity against France Meantime, they had long since raided into Spain, and onwards through the straits into the Mediterranean To the north-east, in Germany, their raids were less effectual, since the Saxons, their neighbours there, were better able to withstand them And a victory of the German King Arnulf in 891 practically freed Germany from direct attack

Russia Farther east, however, the Swedish Vikings, given the name of Varangians, penetrated far into the land of the Slavs Rurik, the chief of a band called the Rus, occupied Novgorod His successors pressed on to Kiev far to the south, made it the capital of a kingdom, the future Russia, and from it pushed to the Caspian and the Black Sea, ravaging as far as the walls of Constantinople itself These Rus-Varangians carried on both war and trade with the Eastern Empire, supplying the famous Varangian Guard to the Byzantine emperors, much as the Swiss later supplied guards for the kings of France, or the Pope The Harold Hardrada who invaded England just before William the Conqueror was one of these Varangians

South Italy and Sicily. The later Norman conquests of England, Sicily, and southern Italy, and to some extent the Crusades, were manifestations of the same Viking spirit Of the conquest of England and the Crusades we must speak elsewhere, but the Norman conquest in Sicily and Italy may

be dealt with here It was the long-drawn-out struggle between Lombards and Byzantines in southern Italy which opened a way to Norman ambitions there Called in to help the Lombards, two of the twelve sons of a petty Norman noble, Robert, called Guiscard (cunning), and Roger, first helped to reduce the country to anarchy after the fashion of their Viking forbears, and then carved out principalities for themselves, aided by



E N A

MONREALE, NEAR PALERMO

In the centre can be seen the twelfth-century cathedral

alliance with the Papacy By 1071 Guiscard was master of southern Italy, and Byzantine rule there was ended Meanwhile divisions amongst the Saracen rulers of Sicily had opened a way into that island, and Roger, with his brother's help, gradually replaced Saracen by Norman rule there, until by about 1090 all Sicily was in his hands.

For a century the Normans remained masters of Sicily and southern Italy, and even for a time extended their power over much of the northern coast of Africa as well Under them developed an interesting civilization which was a mixture of Norman, Byzantine, and Saracen, the evidences of which we may still see in their palaces and churches in Palermo and elsewhere The great cathedral of Monreale is Gothic and Byzantine, whilst in its cloister springs a Moorish fountain, the Church of St John the Hermit in Palermo is Latin in plan, but is surmounted by pink Saracen domes. The Norman kings, above all, Roger II, introduced feudalism as they knew it, though like William I of England they kept the substance of power in their own hands, setting up a remarkably

efficient administration, until the influence of climate and Saracen manners led to their decline and ultimate downfall

Saracen and Magyar Invasions. The Vikings were not the sole disturbers of the Carolingian peace in the ninth century Saracen pirates from north Africa and Spain ravaged the Mediterranean coasts, and made woeful havoc with trade It was in this period that they established that dominion in Sicily which, as we have just seen, gave place two centuries later to Norman rule Similarly in southern Italy they not merely raided and established themselves in several places, but pushed north as far as Rome in the year 846, and sacked the sacred church of St Peter They likewise made a base for piracy on the southern coast of France, in Provence, holding it for nearly a century For long there was no power to hold them in check

Finally there came in this unsettled period new invaders of Europe from Asia, the Magyars or Hungarians, related in race to the Finns, Bulgars, and Turks For a time it seemed almost as if the Huns had returned The Magyars drove a wedge between the northern and southern Slav peoples, destroyed the Slav kingdom of Moravia, invaded Bavaria (900), and even pushed right across northern Italy before the tide of their advance began to ebb With hard and long fighting they were driven back eastwards, and after defeat by Otto I of Germany in a great battle at the Lech (955), they settled down in the country henceforth to be theirs, Hungary By the year 1000 they were a Christian and relatively settled people, and in due course they were to play a great part in stemming the advance of a later invader, the Ottoman Turk

The Significance of the Viking Invasions. The influence of the Viking invasions on Europe varied from country to country strongest in England, Scotland, and Ireland, it was more local and limited in France, Germany, and Italy The first and plainest result was destruction and loss of life and property out of all proportion to the small numbers of the raiding groups They undid for a time the slow civilizing process of centuries. 'The cities are depopulated, the monasteries ruined and burned, the country reduced to solitude . Men devour one another like the fishes in the sea,' was the woeful plaint of a church synod in 909, and worse was to come If the Vikings with their battle-axes brained men, women, and children indiscriminately, their foes turned to equal savagery, and nailed the skins of Vikings to church doors All the towns of France, we are told, were destroyed at least once by the Vikings in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries And the Vikings certainly aided the disintegration of the empire of Charles the Great

But there is much to be said on the other side. The admixture of Viking blood was to the peoples of north-western Europe a factor of

great importance for the future The Vikings were not merely fighters, they were also bold and daring adventurers, great seamen, and keen traders They carried on raiding and trading activities together, and as their raiding activities declined, they turned with the more zest to trade If the Vikings were superstitious, they were also shrewd, if they were violent and difficult to control, they were also self-reliant and lovers of freedom If lawless, they nevertheless attached much importance to legal usage, our very word 'law' is Scandinavian in origin In Iceland the Norse colonists developed a National Assembly for the whole island (the Althing), the earliest parliament of its kind, with legislative and judicial functions, though we know very little of its early workings, and it seems to have lacked the executive power of an effective parliamentary assembly The Northmen were very adaptable, and possessed great powers of assimilation, as is well illustrated by their relations with Christianity From its persecutors, they became its keen supporters and champions King Cnut was a good churchman, who made a pilgrimage to Rome, and the Norman rulers in France and England were great church builders and upholders of the Church Thus the Vikings contributed important elements to the building up of western civilization, and in their westward voyages they anticipated a movement which was later to be of the greatest importance

For Further Reading

GOERBER, *Myths of the Norsemen*
A OLRIK, *Viking Civilization*
Asgard and the Norse Heroes (Everyman's Library)

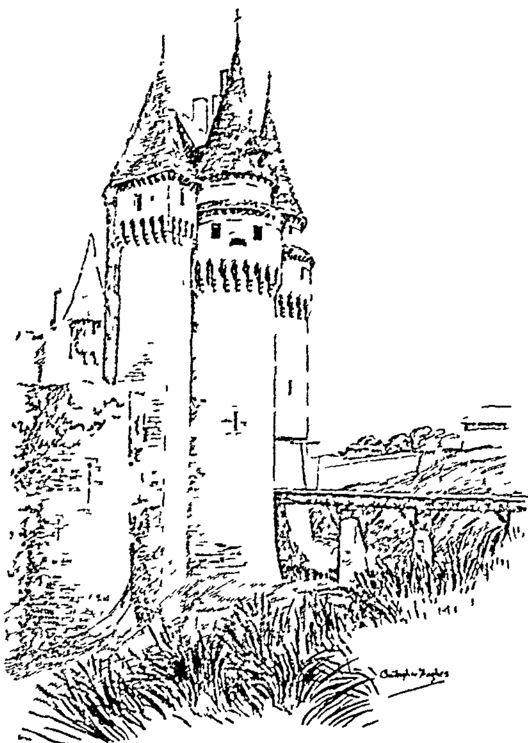
CHAPTER II

FEUDALISM AND FEUDAL SOCIETY

Introductory One result of the Carolingian Empire and the pressure of the Viking invasions was to encourage the growth of feudalism The word comes from the Latin *feudum*, i e fief, land held on condition of the performance of certain services For the beginnings of this method of organizing the holding of land we must go back to the downfall of the Roman Empire, but its development into what has been called the 'feudal system' came after the time of Charles the Great

But although feudalism provided a far more systematic form of organizing for medieval society than the early Germanic peoples possessed,

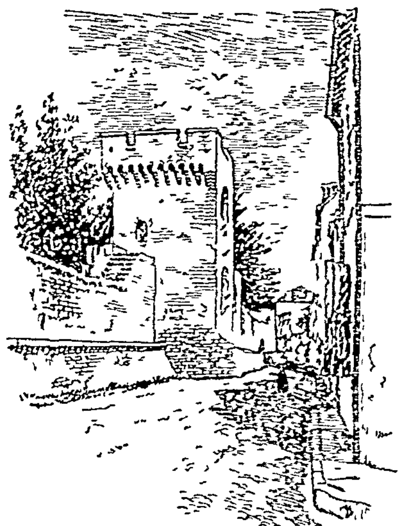
and came to include far more than the holding of land alone, it was never a uniform system fixed and identical all over western Europe It varied from place to place, even within the same country, and it grew and changed from century to century as medieval society developed Yet feudalism is a useful term to describe the political, legal, military, economic, and social arrangements of western European society in the period from the ninth to the fourteenth century It arose from the necessities of a time when, as neither emperors nor kings could provide defence and security for land and people, men organized themselves into local groups round a feudal landholder And although the feudal baron might be, and was, warlike and unruly, oppressive of those below him and unmindful of higher authority, he and his castle did provide some sort of security in unquiet times Further, within the shadow of the feudal keep, and within the framework of feudalism, grew up forces which were later to supersede it when its term of usefulness was over and it had become a hindrance to further development



THE ENTRANCE TO THE FEUDAL CASTLE OF VITRÉ (ELEVENTH CENTURY)

The Feudal Castles Symbolic of the feudal era was the baronial castle which slowly arose out of the desolation of the ninth century, and which we may still see, whole or in ruins, all over western Europe At first the castle was a wooden structure on a mound, surrounded by stockade and ditch The lord lived in the wooden fortress, his dependants in rude shelters with their cattle inside the stockade, The lower part of the central keep was the storehouse, the upper part the dwelling-place, the keep might have its ditch with a drawbridge across it By the eleventh century wood gave place to stone, the walls grew higher, the ditch became a deep moat Within the enclosure the keep rose high over castle and countryside,

a guard-room and chapel might be added. The outer enclosure likewise increased in size until a village community, almost, lived under the protecting shadow of the keep The members of this community were part soldiers, part domestic servants, part peasants who cultivated the fields outside the castle walls As times became safer the villagers' houses spread outside the castle walls: the feudal castle became a medieval town. Scores of towns in France, Germany, and England began in this way Then the town, too, might have its walls, as Carcassonne in France, or Oxford, Chester, and York show in England to this day



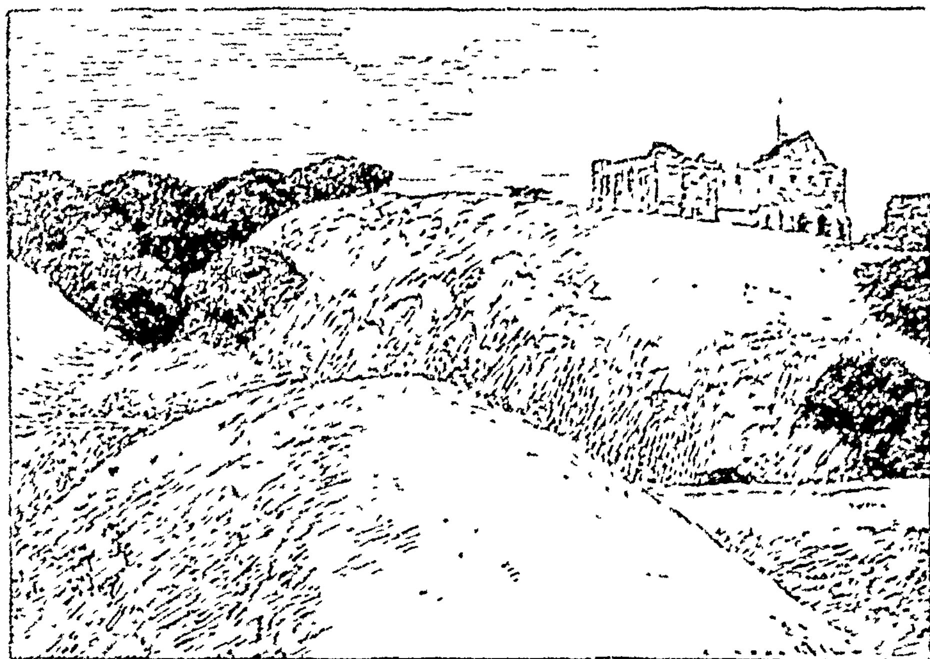
THE MEDIEVAL WALLS OF AVIGNON

Later on, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the lord no longer lived in the enclosed keep, but in a more spacious residence built below it, leaving the keep as a garrison house The baronial residence had an open space in front for jousting and other sports Its broad stone staircase led to the great hall with its dais or slightly raised platform at one end where the lord and his lady sat at table The floor of the hall was strewn with rushes for cleanliness, it had a great open fireplace, its windows were broad and high, with stone benches under them Off it were the chambers where the lord and his family withdrew for privacy and sleep In the great hall the lord ate with his squires and dependants, gave banquets, received guests, dispensed justice, and did his daily business with steward or vassals

Not all the castles were baronial In England, where the Normans from the beginning kept a firmer hold, the kings were the great castle-builders, though of course baronial castles were built as well By the thirteenth century the royal castles were becoming fortresses capable of housing large bodies of soldiers Some of these were built on the concentric plan, with more than one line of walls, and flanking towers The rebuilt Tower of London, Bodiam Castle, or castles such as Caernarvon or Beaumaris, show the newer style, which was to last out the Middle Ages and indeed the age of castles, for with the coming of artillery the castle ceased to be impregnable

The Origins of Feudalism. The feudal organization of society was rooted both in the declining Roman Empire and in the Teutonic tribal organization and conquests The empire had its landowning nobility,

its freemen, its *coloni* who were bound to the land yet not slaves, and its slaves. The Teutonic king or leader in battle had his companions whom he rewarded after the conquest with grants of land, and who continued to owe military service and allegiance. In the unruly times after the downfall of the Roman Empire, and again in the days of the Norse invasions, freemen sought security by 'commending' themselves to the

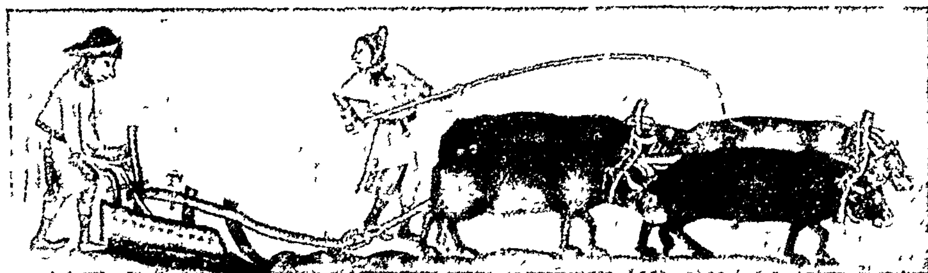


CASTLE RISING, NORFOLK

This is one of the most striking of the Norman mound castles, and the giant earthworks must have made the fortress almost impregnable

the local lord, losing in liberty but gaining in protection. The landlords tended, especially after the death of Charlemagne and the break-up of his empire, to become more independent. Their estates became hereditary, their powers increased. The Church likewise received large grants of land, some of which it let out to laymen. It frequently gained in addition the right of exemption from the entry of royal officials to hold courts (immunity). Such a privilege was naturally sought also by lay landlords, who thus secured the valuable but dangerous right of holding private courts. The cities of Roman days had ceased to be centres of life. Land, the source of food, was king for many a century, and from its tenure grew up the feudal organization and the feudal hierarchy.

English 'manor' in the period after the Norman Conquest England was at this time a land of villages, mostly small as yet, and the village and the manor were often identical These English villages, often isolated by forest or marsh in a way which reminds us of the early settlers in Canada, must have been quite picturesque in appearance, with their low thatched huts, each with its small garden, along the village street, with only the church tower and the house of the lord of the manor standing up above the rest of the buildings Picturesque, but scarcely hygienic, for pigs and fowls lived in the huts or wandered about freely, cows might share the peasant's one living-room, and mud and dirt abounded Most of the inhabitants of the village were serfs, 'villeins,' and there might even be some slaves, though these were diminishing in number



Luttrell Psalter, early 14th century

PLOUGHING IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

The Open Field System All round the village were the wide 'open' fields, usually three in number. Not until centuries later did England become the land of hedged fields we see to-day. These open or 'common' fields were divided into long strips (an 'acre' each) by borders of grass, and a peasant would hold not a compact field, or even part of one, but a series of strips scattered about in all three fields, perhaps as many as thirty strips in all There were, in addition, serfs who had only their cottage gardens, and some freemen, who also had strips in the common fields The lord of the manor had usually some land round his own house, as well as some acre strips in the common fields These fields were all sown with the same crop, on a very simple three-year cycle—wheat or rye in one field, barley (for ale) in the second, while the third field was left fallow Next year the wheat-field would have barley, the barley-field would be fallow, the fallow wheat Outside the ploughland was the meadowland for hay, also divided into strips, and beyond and all about lay the waste land, where the peasant could feed what little stock he had, and woodland whence he obtained his fuel

Lord and Villein. So far the village is medieval, but not necessarily

feudal The feudal element appeared in the relation of the ordinary villager to the lord of the manor The villein was not free to leave the village, neither he nor the members of his family. He owed his lord 'suit and service.' This meant that he must attend in the lord's court, the manor court, before the lord's bailiff, to give his word on oath as to the rights and wrongs of village quarrels or crimes, or perhaps be fined himself to the profit of the lord, for, as the medieval proverb ran, 'justice is great profit' Since it was illegal for the peasant to hunt the game which abounded, or catch fish in the village stream, or even destroy the rabbits and pigeons which ate his crops, there must have been many occasions for such profit to the lord in the manor court As the peasant's land was 'held' from the lord, he paid part of his produce to the lord as rent He also worked on the lord's acres, perhaps three days each week, with extra time in harvest and seedtime. For this he received some payment in kind—milk or butter, hay or wheat All came to be fixed and carefully registered The peasant had to grind his wheat at the lord's mill, of course paying for it, and perhaps even bake his bread at the lord's bake-oven He paid a tax to the lord for his own marriage, and another when his son or daughter married. When he died his heirs had to pay a tax to succeed to his holding, perhaps his best beast, while the parson sometimes took his next best for burying him



Luttrell Psalter

A MEDIEVAL SHEEP-FOLD



Luttrell Psalter

FALCONRY

The scales were, in fact, weighted against the medieval peasant. True, he could not legally be ejected from his holding, he had protection by his lord from outside attack, he had some measure of justice Much depended on the lord, and perhaps more on his steward or bailiff Yet it was little wonder that as time went on the peasant strove to free himself from the

grip of the manorial system, to substitute a money rent for his irksome labour services, to flee to one of the growing towns, or even to rise in futile rebellion as in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 in England Before the medieval period came to an end the feudal manor had had its day. Many generations of English peasant farmers had lived under its shelter, just as under the village oak tree, where oftentimes the manorial court was held, they had learnt something of justice

Yet life was not all labour and sweat for the medieval peasant The village church played a great part in his life, not merely in a religious way, but as a centre of social life Its many festivals were occasions for much eating and drinking And beyond the fields of labour was the greenwood where, outside laws, lived the freeman Robin Hood with his Merry Men, the foe of oppressors, the friend of the peasant and the poor.

The Decline of Feudalism. Other causes than the desire for freedom of the peasantry, in England or elsewhere, contributed to the decline of feudalism The system served above all the local magnate, baron, or count, who was apt to regard it as ending in himself and his own desires and ambition, and these often drove him to be oppressive, warlike, an enemy of peace and order Feudalism might for a time secure protection, and provide some sort of stability for society, but it was also likely to promote violence and war Not all feudal barons were lawless or oppressive, of course, and disorder was characteristic of the age But there came a time when baronial rights and privileges stood in the way of further progress, and a number of forces combined against them. As trade and industry grew the towns protested increasingly against powers which both checked their growth and freedom, and represented too often merely the rule of force

The Church was to a considerable extent feudalized, and clung tenaciously to its ancient rights over peasants or townfolk Yet the Church was at bottom opposed to a system which encouraged disorder and violence, and which strove to make its offices and lands subject to feudal rulers, regardless of God or the Papacy To restrict private war it enacted a Truce of God, forbidding warfare in Advent, Lent, and from Wednesday evening to Monday morning, and also a Peace of God, a sort of peace organization for each diocese. It invented Chivalry, with its code of behaviour for the perfect knight, to soften the brutalities of the age, and no doubt with some success, though the Hundred Years' War was to show that chivalrous knights could behave with fearful cruelty on occasion Finally it aided the effective destroyers of feudalism—the monarchs

It was the rise of strong monarchies, with efficient systems of administration, and the support of Church, townfolk, and peasantry in France and England, which effectively clipped the wings of baronial licence there,

though feudal privilege was to continue in France for many centuries. In Germany the imperial authority was too weak to follow a like course, so that the local magnates kept their powers the longer But in England and France the feudal castle ceased to be a menace to public order If it survived it was rather as a relic of an earlier age, like the armour which had once made the feudal knight so invincible but which, like the castle, was no defence against the weapons of a new age With gunpowder, freer peasantry, prosperous towns, and strong monarchies, we are stepping not merely beyond the feudal age, but to the close of the medieval period

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CHAPTER III

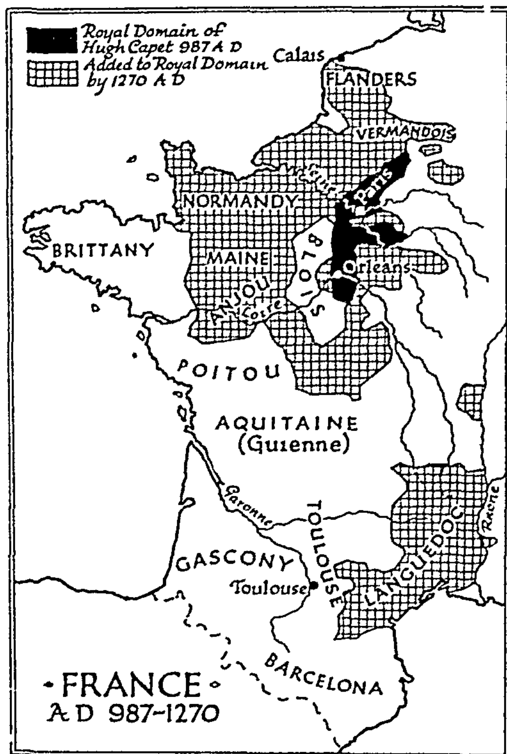
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL MONARCHIES OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND

I France, 987–1270

Introductory. France to-day is one of the best examples in the world of a unified state and nation: in government as in feeling France is 'one and indivisible ' But when on the death of the last Carolingian king of the western Franks in 987 Hugh Capet was elected king, he was crowned King of the Gauls, the Bretons, the Danes, the Aquitanians, the Goths, the Spaniards, the Gascons, so many were the stocks living on the soil of the future state of France The French language was not yet formed into one tongue, there was no national army or navy, no central administration or common law, no national treasury, no body of national officials Indeed, the outstanding fact in this scarcely formed France was the existence of a number of divisions of varying size ruled over by dukes or counts who were ready to elect Hugh Capet, Count of Paris, Duke of the French, as king, but who had no intention of surrendering any real power to him There were the Dukes of Aquitaine, Normandy, Brittany, and Gascony, the Counts of Flanders, Vermandois, Maine, Blois, Anjou, Poitou, Toulouse, Barcelona (see map)

The story of the French monarchy from Hugh Capet, its real founder,

to the day of its greatest height under Louis XIV in the seventeenth century, is the story of the gradual but sure development of royal authority at the expense of the local dukes and counts, the turning of their many domains into the provinces of a united kingdom. The task was not completed in the three centuries covered by this chapter, for France was to be torn again by the Hundred Years' War within a century after. But unity, if weak and incomplete, had been secured, and the beginnings of a national machinery of government established. Even the Hundred Years' War itself was to end in a blaze of national sentiment, that provoked by the Maid of France, Joan of Arc.



The Struggle with Feudalism. The outstanding political development in these three hundred years or so in France is, then, the growth of royal authority and national unity at the expense of the local rulers. It was no easy struggle, for the feudatories were strongly entrenched, some of them had greater possessions, to begin with, than the king himself, and united they were far stronger than he was. Yet the kings had some advantages. They had a certain moral or spiritual authority as the successors of the Carolingians, anointed of God, the fountains of justice, the fathers of their people. The kings were the battle leaders, they alone could bear the sacred oriflamme, the bright red banner with its golden staff, from the altar of St. Denis the martyr near Paris. The king could claim, even by feudal rule, homage, fealty, military service, and aids from his vassals—though he might not always get them. He had a royal household with seneschal, constable, butler, grand chamberlain, and grand chancellor. As ruler of the Île de France he ruled directly over territories centrally situated, containing the city of Paris, a city dating from Roman times and a considerable centre. The Church was a sturdy supporter of the French king, who was the Eldest Son of the Church,

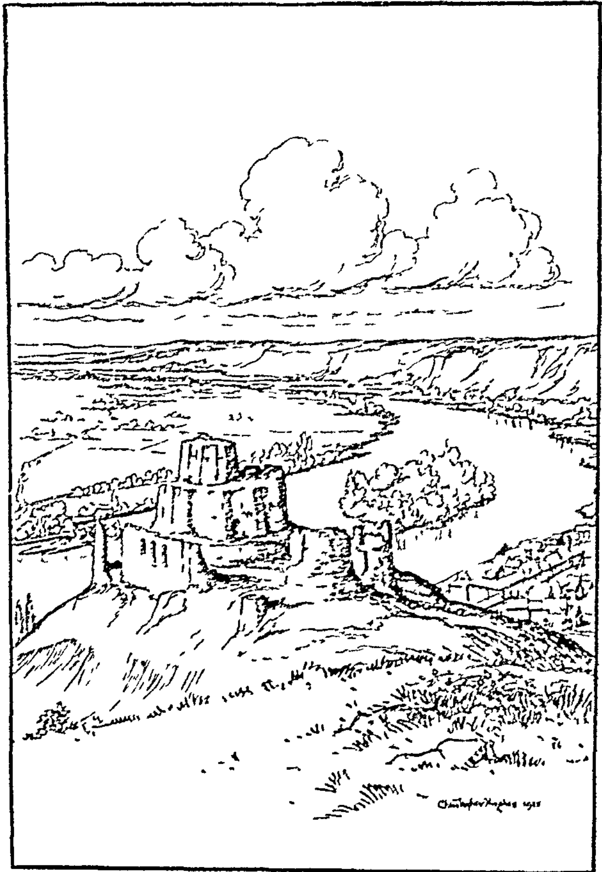
crowned and anointed by its archbishop Indeed, of all the forces which aided the Capetian rulers, the Church was perhaps the greatest.

Other circumstances likewise assisted the Crown The Norman conquest of England removed across the Channel the nearest menace to the Capetian rulers, though the Norman kings of England and their successors were to be an obstacle to the growth of French unity throughout the Middle Ages The Crusades carried away some of the more turbulent feudal nobles The towns generally supported the king, who sold them charters of liberties, and gave them some protection against feudal claims Lastly, Hugh Capet was himself a strong man, and he had a succession of male heirs of like strength who, generation by generation, carried on the work of consolidating and extending the monarchy he founded Almost without exception these Capetian kings were big, vigorous men, good soldiers, incessantly active, just to their subjects, protectors of the Church and the poor, ever riding through the forests of northern France lance in hand to besiege a feudal castle or defend a threatened point One of them, Louis VI, was so fat that he could scarcely mount a horse or lie down in comfort, yet he was one of the most vigorous of them all

The Successors of Hugh Capet. Neither Hugh Capet nor his immediate successors were able to add materially to the growth of the royal domains They were the layers of foundations, spending much time and energy in subduing the feudal barons of their own lands, establishing their succession to the monarchy, and avoiding the earlier Frankish error of dividing their lands amongst their sons But with the reign of Louis VI, the Fat (1108–1137), a great soldier who loved the forefront of the battle, and who had a wise and statesmanlike adviser in Abbot Suger, the Capets began to extend their authority over adjacent territories, such as Champagne Under his successor there was a decline again, as the Capets were faced by the Angevin Empire of Henry II of England. With the accession of Philip II, Augustus (1180–1223), the tide turned again, however, and the Capetian rulers of France entered on a period of very definite expansion

Philip Augustus. Philip was an extremely shrewd and able king, probably the ablest ruler of medieval France In his prime struggle, that with Angevin England, he was able first to ally with the rebellious sons of Henry II, and then to outplay in turn the chivalric Richard and the craven John From them he gained both Normandy and other lands, and in the end more than doubled the domains of the kings of France In the latest of his many wars he defeated the Emperor Otto and his English and French allies in a famous battle at Bouvines in north-eastern France (1214) It was a victory over French feudalism as well as over foreign foes, and did much to strengthen Philip's position Nor was this all In 1209 a crusade was begun against the heretics of south-

eastern France, the Albigensians The crusade was conducted with horrible brutality, and it ruthlessly destroyed the flourishing civilization of Provence But for the French monarchy it brought, after Philip's death, the incorporation of southern France in the northern kingdom. With so many successes Philip could almost afford to be defeated in his conflict with the great Pope, Innocent III, over his attempted divorce After a papal interdict, with silent church bells, closed churches, and the refusal of Christian burial to the dead, Philip gave way, ending his reign as a loyal son of the Church and the defender of the Papacy

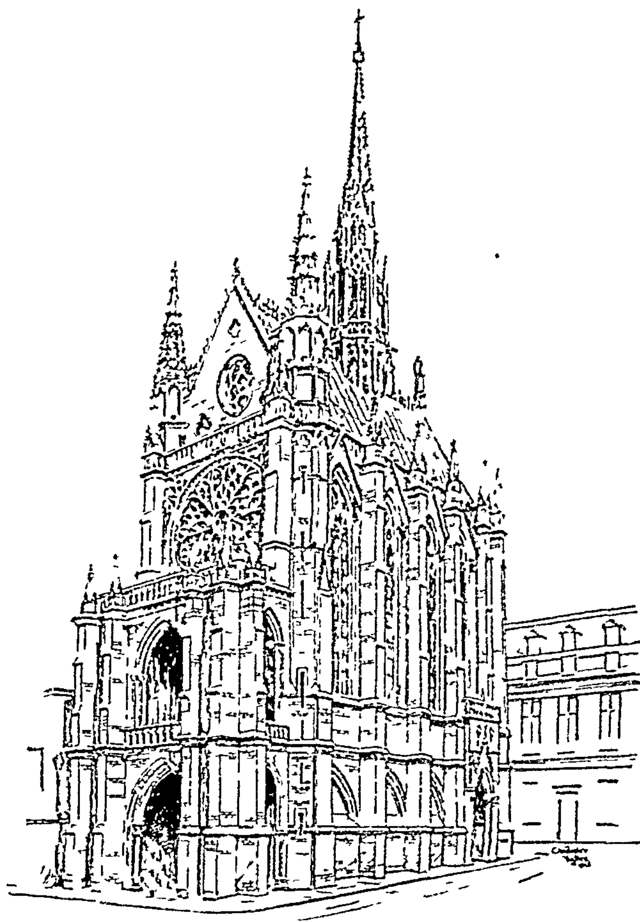


CHATEAU-GAILLARD ON THE SEINE

This was originally built by Richard of England and became an important strategic point In 1204 Philip secured it, and with it fell the whole of Normandy

In addition to being a successful soldier and astute diplomatist Philip was also an able administrator He exercised an increasing degree of control over his dominions, old and new, making use of royal officials of humble origin in place of the more independent feudal barons He created the office of bailiff (seneschal in southern France), the ancestor of the later intendant and the Napoleonic prefect These bailiffs had each a district, for local administration, the collection of taxes, the holding of law courts. Philip further encouraged the towns by the grant of charters Paris he made a real capital, giving it a provost and council of burgesses, strengthening its walls, paving some of its muddy streets, adorning it with new buildings, it had over one hundred thousand inhabitants ere Philip died

Saint Louis. After an interval of three years there succeeded to the French throne a boy of twelve, Louis IX, St Louis (1226–70) Louis grew into a ruler distinguished above all by the virtues of piety and justice His piety was extreme: he wore a shirt of rough hair next to his skin, would kneel in prayer for hours at a time, and fasted excessively. He washed the feet of the poor, even of lepers, fed one hundred and twenty poor people daily, and gave lavishly to found monasteries, hospitals, and churches. The Sainte Chapelle in Paris, the finest gem of French Gothic architecture, was built by him to contain the Crown of Thorns he acquired from the Eastern Emperor Twice he went crusading against the Saracens, first for six years, then again, a sick man, to Tunis, where he died Of his love of justice his biographer, Joinville, gives many examples Thus he relates



THE SAINTE CHAPELLE, PARIS

> Many a time in summer he would go and sit in the forest at Vincennes, with his back to an oak, and make us take our seats about him And all those who had complaint to make came before him without hindrance from ushers or any one else Then he would ask with his own mouth, 'Is there any one here who has a plea?' Those who had a cause stood up, and he would say, 'Silence all, and you shall be heard one after the other'

And so in patriarchal fashion the king would dispense justice to his people 'Take care,' said Louis in advising his son how to rule, 'that you never on any account refuse to render justice.'

Royal justice, indeed, became in this period a great agent for the unification of France In addition to his care for the central courts, Louis

sent round the kingdom *enquesteurs*, travelling inquirers into wrong-doing by local authorities. Even foreigners came to him for settlement of disputes, as when the two parties to the civil strife in England referred the issue to him Thus Louis's piety was tempered by his justice He was very simple and humble, chivalrous, brave and impetuous by nature When he first landed in Egypt he leapt into the sea and tried to rush straight at the enemy regardless of what following he had With him the French medieval monarchy reached its height, and so firmly established was his rule that when he died in Africa, his son succeeded as safely as if he had died in Paris itself Louis was of the thirteenth century, we can hardly think of him before or after this culmination of the Middle Ages The Gothic cathedrals of France most fittingly raised their great height of stone towards the skies in his reign And just as Papacy and Empire, twin pillars of medieval Europe, declined after this time, so also did the other great stay of medieval civilization, the French monarchy, fall no long time after into the abyss of the Hundred Years' War

Other Developments The mention of Gothic cathedrals may remind us that the royal power and national unity were not the only things which were growing up in France during these centuries The Gothic cathedrals were the fruit of a long evolution in architecture They arose in cities which were themselves growing up, as security, trade, and industry developed So, too, learning and literature grew very markedly between the Carolingian era and the days of the saintly King Louis The schools of Chartres and Laon, above all of Paris, had come to be widely known for learning, thanks to the appearance of scholars such as Abelard The *chansons de geste*, first of them the *Chanson de Roland*, the lives of the saints, the romances such as that of Tristan and Iseult, the songs of troubadours from the south, had all appeared before the thirteenth century Some of these things we shall refer to again, but without some mention of them we shall not come to a proper understanding of either St Louis or his age

II England, 1066–1300

England during roughly the same period likewise developed a well established and unified monarchy Indeed, she did more Long before the Capetians in France, the Normans in the eleventh century set up a unified and strong kingship Then in the twelfth century Henry II, the first Angevin ruler, established a system of national law and justice And finally in the thirteenth century there was worked out a system of national representation, out of which was to grow the English Parliament of Lords and Commons

The Eleventh Century: the Norman Conquest. The England which excited the ambitious desires of William, Duke of Normandy, was no peaceful united land, but one divided against itself. It needed a strong central monarchy to complete the slow process of unification, and this, for a price, is what the Norman kings gave it. The story of the first stage of the conquest, to the decisive Battle of Hastings in which Harold was killed, is marvellously preserved for us in the long tapestry film woven



A SECTION OF THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY
On the extreme left can be seen Harold trying to remove the fatal arrow from his eye

in bright colours by Queen Matilda and her ladies, the Bayeux tapestry But the real conquest of England took years to complete Not until after the laying waste of a huge part of the country, and the defeat in 1071 of that Hereward whose career Kingsley has told in *Hereward the Wake*, could William claim to be master of England After that date, indeed, it was his Norman rather than his English subjects who caused him most trouble. As for England, the people had found new masters, foreigners who spoke no English and looked down on the tenants and serfs of the new estates they had won The land was joined up to Normandy, and so to the continent of Europe, with results both good and bad

William the Conqueror This William was a most remarkable man and king, 'mild to the good men who loved God, but above all measure severe to the man who gainsaid him,' says the Anglo-Saxon chronicler He was a good soldier and a mighty hunter He had ruled Normandy with a high hand for nearly twenty years, making it the best organized duchy in France, and now he proceeded to organize his new realm with

equal thoroughness and vigour. To find out what the land was worth he had a survey made of it, shire by shire, and the result was the Domesday Book which we can still see in London, a unique source of information about the England of William's day and before. He gave land freely to the Norman lords who had aided him to win the country, but made it clear by various means, and when necessary by the weight of his arm, that he would brook no rival to his own authority. He had an outstanding helper in Lanfranc, an able and scholarly Italian whom he made Archbishop of Canterbury, but he did not hesitate to restrain the Church at times. Although he heavily oppressed his new subjects, he preserved them from the worst effects of feudal licence. Let us remember, says the chronicler of him, 'the good peace that he made in this land.' That is his epitaph.

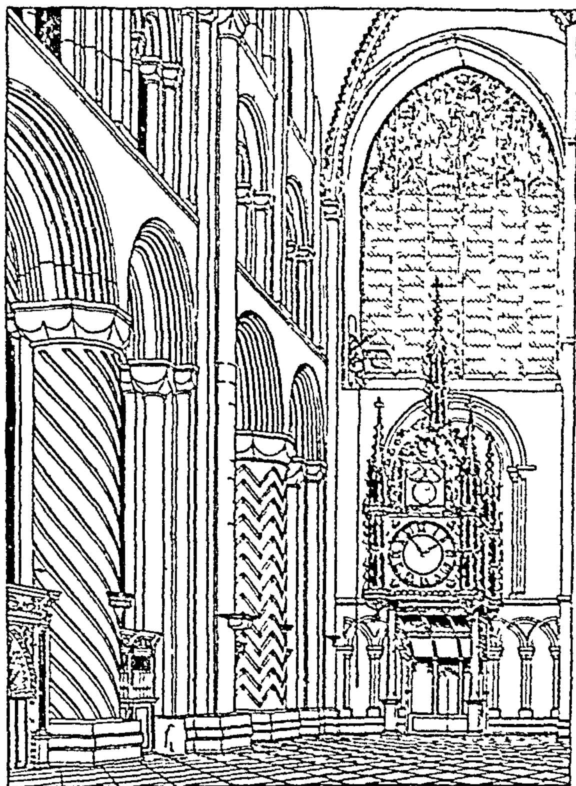
ENTRIES IN THE DOMESDAY BOOK

His Sons. Of the two sons who in turn succeeded him, William II, Rufus, had his father's strength without his skill, Henry I had more of his father's statecraft together with a full share of severity. He rejoined Normandy, which had been separated after the first William's death, to England, and since he had an orderly mind, and saw how his treasury could best be filled, he developed a royal court, or Curia Regis, and the Exchequer (so called from the chequered cloth used for counting moneys), and sent round royal commissioners to carry the royal law through the land. In this he anticipated the work of Henry II. In his day, says the chronicler proudly, 'no man durst hurt another.' There was a severe test to the Norman edifice of monarchy in the lawless days of King Stephen, last of these Norman rulers, when the forces of feudal disorder took revenge for the check imposed on them by the preceding kings. The chronicler paints a dark picture of these lawless Norman barons:

> They filled the land with castles, and filled the castles with devils. They took all those they thought had any possessions, men and women, and subjected them

to unspeakable tortures Many thousands starved to death They robbed and burned all the villages, so that thou mightest fare a day's journey, nor ever find a man dwelling in a village, nor land tilled

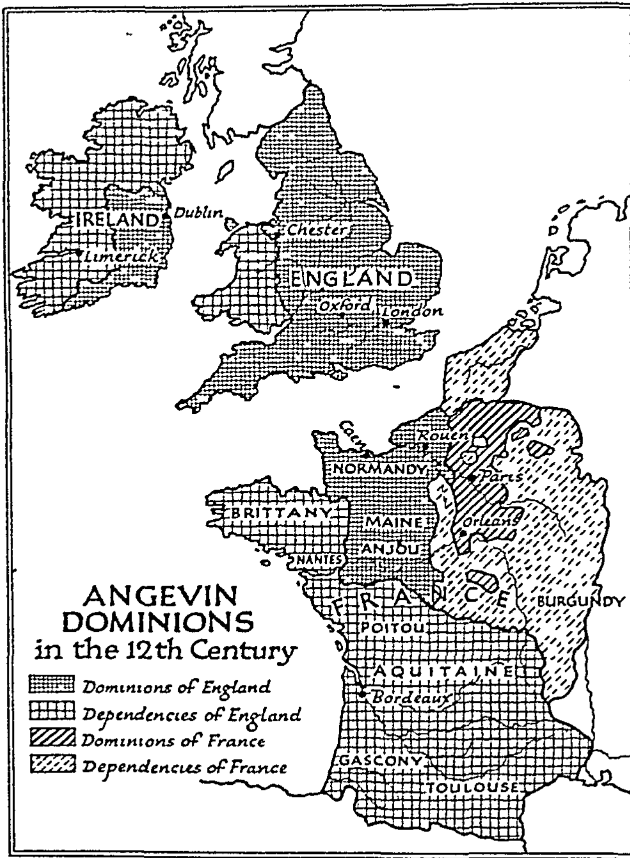
Severe as the lapse was, it was but temporary, and the Norman work was strong enough to survive it This quality of virile strength the Normans illustrated in another way than the building of the monarchy, viz in the building of churches and castles The feudal castles of Stephen's reign were to go, but some Norman castles remained, and more of the solid stone churches which they built, village churches like that of Iffley, great cathedrals like Durham with its mighty columns, and monasteries like Fountains Abbey And along with the development of an architecture which, if still Norman, was no longer French, went the change by which the Normans themselves were becoming more English Henry I married an English wife, and throughout the century after the conquest, the slow process of fusion continued, whereby Norman mingled with Celt, Saxon, and Viking blood to make English stock.



DURHAM CATHEDRAL
A view showing two of the massive Norman pillars

The Twelfth Century. Henry II. The Norman kings created the English monarchy, but Henry II (1154–89), the first of the Angevin kings, may be said to have created something almost bigger the Common Law of England and a system for its administration That is not perhaps what we first think of in connection with this ambitious, reckless, and passionate ruler, who lived so intensely and died so miserably He was most obviously the ruler of a great empire, all England and more than half of France, with some hold over Ireland and Scotland as well But the map of his empire is deceptive His dominions were never really a united realm, his hold over the southern part of it, Aquitaine,

which he had secured by marriage, was never very secure, and the rise of the Capetian monarchy, aided by the rebellions of his sons, did much to destroy this patchwork empire. The real centre of his power was England, and there he accomplished his best work. Even in England the most dramatic episode of his reign was his quarrel with Archbishop Becket

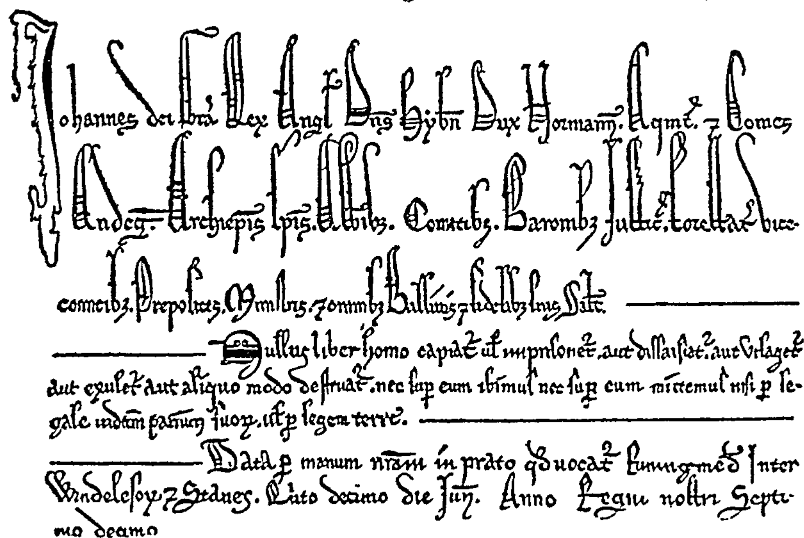


over the authority of royal and clerical courts, with the murder of Becket as its tragic sequel. By the murder medieval England gained a new saint, whose tomb became a great place of pilgrimage, but Henry lost his cause. 'Benefit of clergy,' i.e. the right to trial in Church courts, was to last for another three hundred years in England.

Henry lived in an age when Roman Law was being studied and revived on the Continent, and he was at least half a Frenchman. He was, however, less of a lawyer than a ruler, making reforms as occasion demanded, and

he was content to build on the foundations he found already in England, part Anglo-Danish (such as the local courts of Shire and Hundred), part Norman and feudal Further, he was strong enough to make his law apply to all England; it thus became the Common Law, and as this has developed ever since

Royal Justice. As the demand for the king's justice grew Henry met it by dividing up his royal council, the Curia Regis, into two parts, one of which was concerned with general administration, the other, of


Johannes dei gra Rex Angl Dns Hybn Dux Normann Aquit & Comes
Andeg Archiepis Epis Abbatib3 Comitib3 Baronib3 Justic Forestar Vice-
comitib3 Prepositis Ministris & omnib3 Ballivis & fidelib3 suis Salt.
Nullus liber homo capiatur vel imprisonetur aut dissaisiatur aut utlagetur
aut exuletur aut aliquo modo destruatur nec sup eum ibimus nec sup eum mittemus nisi p le-
gale iudicium parium suorum vel p legem terre.
Data p manum nram in prato quod vocatur Runingmed inter
Windlesor & Stanes. Quinto decimo die Junii. Anno Regni nostri Septi-
mo decimo

AN EXTRACT FROM MAGNA CARTA

five judges, becoming a permanent court, later the Court of King's Bench At the same time the Exchequer was developing both as a court and for revenue, and a little later, in John's reign, the Court of Common Pleas was established at Westminster Thus were made the three great Common Law Courts The practice begun by the first Henry of sending round judges was extended and regularized by the second These judges from the central Curia Regis bore the uniform 'Common Law' with them, and administered it in the local courts As a result feudal justice declined in importance A further change of importance was the development of the jury The old ways of deciding guilt or innocence by the ordeal of fire or water, or trial by battle, were being recognized as inadequate and unjust Henry did not actually abolish them, but he developed the method of relying upon the opinion of a local group of men on oath for various purposes, such as criminal cases, cases of dispute as to ownership of property, and the like These juries were not yet the modern juries, but they led directly to them And they encouraged local interest in local affairs, and so prepared the way for local interest in national affairs

The Thirteenth Century It was in the less settled era which followed Henry's reign in England that this next great development came Of Henry's sons, Richard was a brave and dashing Crusader, a hero of medieval romance, little concerned with England save as a source of supplies for his adventures and wars John substituted oppression, cruelty, and dishonour for Richard's neglect He lost Normandy to Philip Augustus, and in his quarrel with Pope Innocent III was forced to a humiliating surrender, including the paying of yearly tribute Yet out of misgovernment and oppression came the Great Charter, won at the sword's point by the armed baronage of the kingdom, with Church and common people behind them Magna Carta (1215) was primarily a recital of baronial grievances, though it contained a number of articles for the Church and for the nation, e g , that justice should not be denied to any man, or sold, that free men should have lawful trial But what made the Charter so important in English history was that new and ever wider meanings were read into it for the extension of English liberty, so that the conservative barons of John's day would have been vastly astonished could they have known what rights were to be claimed and won in their name

Civil War. The crisis between king, barons, and people did not end when John disappeared from the scene, but was prolonged through the thirteenth century John's son and heir, Henry III, a child of nine when he succeeded to the throne in 1216, turned out to be a poor king, if a pious man A whole series of discontents culminated in the middle of the century in a regular civil war, when a great leader, Simon de Montfort, led the party opposed to the king. The quarrel was primarily between king and baronage, but as it progressed both sides were driven to try to gain the support of the Church, of the lesser landlords, who were coming to be called knights, and even of the townsfolk, who were becoming more important Knights and commoners were already elected for local purposes such as justice and taxation, why should they not be elected for national purposes, not least to grant money?

The Making of Parliament Thus a system of national representation grew naturally out of local election Various schemes were tried out, rather at haphazard, by Simon de Montfort, and in an equally vague and haphazard way the name of Parliament came to be used for such an assembly Then, in 1295, when the civil war was long over, the great English lawyer-king, Edward I, called together what has been called the 'Model Parliament,' a more regular, more national, and better organized assembly of the baronage and higher clergy, with two knights from each shire, and two burgesses from each borough But, although the representative principle was thus applied to national affairs for the first time,

we must not think of Edward's Parliament as resembling Parliament of to-day. It was not organized into Houses, it met almost casually, its powers were exceedingly limited, its functions pretty much what the king made them Yet with the coming of this infant Parliament a new principle and a new force had entered into English life For representative government, as it developed, was to lead slowly but irresistibly to popular government, and this not merely in England, but in the western world

National Life. As with France, many other sides of English life in addition to law and government were developing in this period The calling of burgesses into national councils is a clear sign of the growth of the towns, and of the trade and industry by which they flourished The building of churches, cathedrals, and monasteries had continued, with Norman Romanesque developing into English Gothic, until by the time of King Edward I (1272–1307) most of the great ecclesiastical buildings of medieval England were in existence or under way. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge had come into being, and men like Roger Bacon had studied and taught there The English language was developing, though the close and continuous connection with France from Norman days delayed the free growth of an English literature until Chaucer's day. France, larger, richer, and nearer to ancient seats of culture, grew more rapidly in civilization generally during this period, while England was more absorbed in the problems of government and law But both countries, by the end of the thirteenth century, had changed vastly from the disunited, half-barbarian lands of the post-Carolingian age

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G M. Trevelyan, *History of England*

CHAPTER IV

GERMANY THE MEDIEVAL EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY

The Failure to Achieve Unity. Whilst the kingdoms of France and England were thus growing up, medieval Germany was also taking shape across the Rhine At first it seemed as if a strong and unified German realm might be established earlier than either the French or English kingdoms The peoples east of the Rhine were practically all of Germanic stock, and the claim of Louis the German, grandson of Charlemagne, to rule over the Carolingian lands there was recognized by the division of Verdun (843), and not later contested It is true that the Carolingian line ended in Germany in 911, but after a short interval the most powerful of the dukes of Germany, Henry of Saxony, was elected king (918), and the medieval German monarchy appeared to be promisingly founded sixty years before Hugh Capet became king of the West Frankish realm Yet events were to work out differently Whereas France under the line of the Capets was to be unified, Germany was to remain a collection of many largely independent units Its rulers were to be emperors, but the title, even in Germany itself, was to mean less than the title of king elsewhere The reasons for this development in Germany, which as late as the nineteenth century caused the German philosopher, Hegel, to declare that 'Germany is the fixed contradiction that should be a state and yet is not' become clearer as we follow the course of German history But some of these reasons, three in particular, may be mentioned here

The Causes of German Disunion: The Lack of Succession In the first place the crown of the German kings and emperors (as they became after 962) did not become permanently attached to any one line or family until too late Whereas France had nine kings from Hugh Capet to St Louis, and all of one family, Germany in the same period had no less than fifteen rulers, drawn from a number of different houses First (918–1002) there came four Saxon kings, the greatest of them Otto I The last of these left no sons and a Bavarian Saxon duke succeeded Then came four Franconian rulers (1024–1125), called Salian from the Salian Franks Lack of a male heir again caused another break, until we come to the Swabian, Hohenstaufen, line (1138–1268) with the Emperors Frederick I and II as the outstanding figures Not until 1273 did Germany find in Rudolf of Habsburg the founder of a permanent line of emperors And by that time the establishment of an effective monarchy was no longer possible The principle of election for the Emperor had become accepted, and the powers of the local rulers were too strong to be shaken Indeed, it was his very insignificance which led to the choice of Rudolf as emperor.

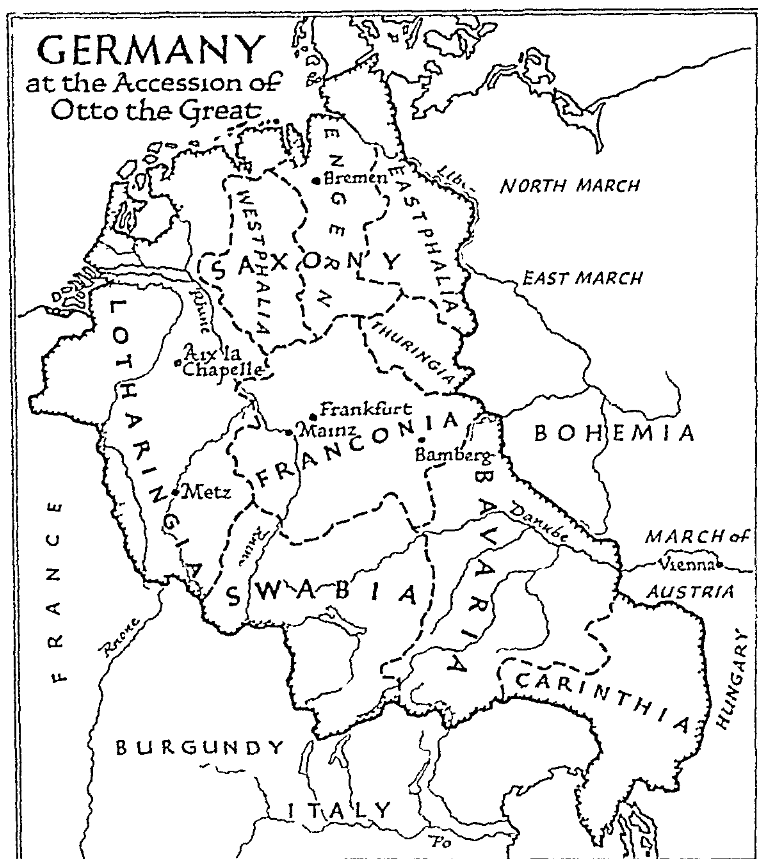
Tribal and Feudal Disunion. German history begins with the settlements of the tribes, and these settlements formed the basis of the organization of the country In the days of the first Saxon kings there were five of these main divisions, or tribal duchies, in Germany: Saxony in the north, Franconia in the centre across the river Main, Swabia, the home of the Alemanni, in the south, Lotharingia (Lorraine) on the west added from Lothar's kingdom, and Bavaria in the highlands and forests of the south-east If Germany escaped the full force of the Norse invasions, she had to bear instead the brunt of the Magyar inroads from the east Indeed, her eastern border, from north to south, was for centuries in an unsettled state. As elsewhere, the local magnates provided the leadership in defence and war, and in the feudal age tended to become hereditary and independent rulers And within these greater duchies were large numbers of lesser feudatories, from counts to simple knights, likewise concerned to preserve or increase their local powers The extent to which Germany became feudalized is illustrated by the fact that the right of the local magnates to wage war on their own account became legally recognized

Thus Germany from the start was rooted in particularism It is true that the towns favoured the imperial authority on the whole, but they were not powerful enough to exercise a decisive influence Later they were driven to form leagues of their own, such as the Hanseatic League, for protection and to serve their own interests The Church, which aided the monarchy in France so effectively, was at first closely allied with the monarchy in Germany, though it was partly feudalized there as elsewhere But then there arose a new issue which divided the allegiance of the Church, the controversy between Empire and Papacy.

Empire and Papacy. This contest between the medieval German Empire and the Papacy gives us the third and final reason for the failure to unify Germany. The issue was the greatest in the Middle Ages, the issue between spiritual and temporal authority, between Church and State, present in all European countries, and lasting, indeed, far beyond the Middle Ages. But whilst in France or England it might for a time shake the throne of a Philip II or a Henry II, in Germany the issue permanently weakened the Empire. By the assumption of the imperial crown in Rome by Otto the Great the German rulers were drawn increasingly into the affairs of Italy, to the harm of their power and position in Germany And the contact with Italy involved them in a bitter struggle with the Papacy, a struggle which continued for nearly two hundred years, which destroyed the greatest of the medieval imperial houses of Germany, the Hohenstaufen, and which did more than any other single cause to prevent the closer unification of Germany under an effective monarchy So closely did the fortunes of the medieval Empire become

entwined with those of the Papacy that properly to understand them we must follow the two together, at all events for a time

Otto I, and the Holy Roman Empire. It was Otto the Saxon, later called the Great, who created the medieval German Empire, or, as it



came to be called, the Holy Roman Empire Begun by Otto's coronation in Rome in 962, it was to last, so far as title went, until Napoleon put an end to it in 1806 The imperial title of Charlemagne had fallen into disrepute in the ninth century, and after the death of the Carolingian Arnulf in 899, no northern ruler claimed it Otto I (936–73) could certainly make some claim to be a fit successor to Charlemagne in Germany He warred vigorously against the local magnates of his kingdom, and after a long and hard struggle subdued them for a time, taking over Franconia himself and placing his relatives over other duchies, clipping feudal rights and establishing local agents of the royal authority He made

the Church his ally, endowing it richly with lands, but kept a firm hold over it He subdued the Danes to the north, extended his frontiers eastwards against the Slavs, and won a decisive and final victory over the Magyars at the Lechfeld near Augsburg (955). He invaded Bohemia and secured homage from its ruler, interfered in France, received emissaries from Russia, and was generally recognized as the outstanding ruler in western Europe



OTTO THE GREAT
(*After Schwanthaler*)

With an Italy in full tide of anarchy and disunion, it was natural enough that Otto should be drawn into the peninsula On his second visit, made at the request of the Pope, he was crowned Emperor in Rome, and although Otto himself made no fresh claims from his new title or office, the connection with Rome thus established took effect at once Otto I spent most of the remainder of his reign in Italy, and his two immediate successors of the same name mainly lived in Italy and died there The last of them, Otto III, fell completely under the spell of the splendour and majesty of imperial Rome ere he died in 1002 at the age of twenty-two

The Decline of the Papacy. One reason for the interference of Otto I and his successors in Rome and Italy was the low estate into which the Papacy had fallen In one hundred and sixty-four years (882–1046) there were no less than forty-one popes, who thus averaged only four years' rule each This was in itself significant The Papacy suffered, like the rest of Europe, from the anarchy of the period It was no longer the dominant force in the Italian peninsula, but became subject to the aristocracy of Rome or the rulers of southern Italy The office was even sold for cash by one pope, who became Supreme Pontiff at the age of twelve. Worst of all the popes of this period was John XII, a wicked and dissolute youth, hardly a Christian at all Him Otto I deposed, and Otto and his successors, concerned for the Church in Germany as well as on account of their imperial position, interfered frequently in papal affairs The Emperor Henry III even deposed three rival popes, and put a German bishop on the papal throne

(1046) When this pope died shortly afterwards Henry placed another German bishop, and in succession two more, in the papal chair

Papal Revival. In the middle of the eleventh century, however, there came a very definite revival of the Papacy, originating in a new monastic movement A duke of Aquitaine had founded a monastery at Cluny in south-eastern France, and from it proceeded a new birth of spiritual zeal which affected the whole Church A large number of new monastic houses arose, all subject to the abbot of Cluny, and assisted in the revival of asceticism and religious fervour. The Papacy felt the effects of this movement, and with the accession of Pope Leo IX (1049–54) a new era in papal history began Nor was it a spiritual revival alone The clerical and papal reformers, led by a papal official named Hildebrand who had spent some time in Cluny and imbibed the full strength of the reforming spirit, were convinced that the Papacy and the Church should be independent of lay control In addition to decrees forbidding the marriage of priests, and the sale or purchase of priestly offices (simony), a synod in Rome declared that the Pope was in future to be elected by the cardinals or chief ecclesiastics of Rome No longer was the Emperor to nominate the head of the Church Also the synod declared that bishops and abbots were no longer to be placed in office (invested) by lay rulers, even by the Emperor himself At the same time the Papacy began to display more vigour as a temporal ruler in Italy, allying with the Normans to the south and with the ruler of Tuscany in the north

The result of all this was a violent conflict with the Emperors, who had for a century regulated Italian affairs, including those of the Papacy, and ruled their German Church without interference from the outside To give up lay investiture in Germany meant the loss of control over the enormous landed wealth of the Church there They had themselves donated to the Church much of this land in order more easily to keep it under their control The great Investiture Controversy was not confined to the Empire, but it was fought out most bitterly between Emperor and Pope, and affected them both seriously

Henry IV and Gregory VII (Hildebrand). The first phase of the struggle between Empire and Papacy took place between the Emperor Henry IV (1056–1106) and Gregory VII (Pope 1073–85). Gregory was the greater figure, was, indeed, one of the greatest figures in medieval history Of no distinction in appearance, yet champion, as we have seen, of the reforming party in Church and Papacy, he combined great austerity and piety of life with the most rigid and uncompromising views as to the supremacy of the Papacy over all earthly authority When, an old man, he was suddenly placed on the papal throne, although he styled himself 'servant of the servants of God,' he made the most extreme claims

to authority, whether over the Church, the Emperor, or the princes of Europe He enlarged the use of papal legates, sending them all over Europe, and claiming for them, as his representatives, wide powers over the churches in France, Germany and elsewhere Henry on the other hand, though probably not so bad a man or ruler as the papal partisans declared, was no saint He had been badly brought up over a long minority, for he succeeded to his throne at the age of six, and he had a tempestuous will Yet he was courageous and shrewd, and he could scarcely be expected to agree with the papal claims The issue for him, as for the English and French kings, was not a religious but a political one, involving a direct threat to his authority in Germany, which was difficult enough to maintain in any case



GREGORY VII
(Hildebrand)

The quarrel broke out in 1075 when Gregory issued a decree forbidding the investiture of bishops and abbots by a layman Henry refused to obey, Gregory threatened to excommunicate the Emperor, and Henry replied by getting a synod of German bishops to declare the Pope deposed. But the times had changed since emperors could depose popes so easily Gregory retorted by fulfilling his threat of excommunication, and announced that Henry's subjects were freed of their oath of allegiance. This was too much for the Emperor, who hurriedly crossed the Alps in winter, sought out the Pope at the mountain castle of Canossa, and forced a pardon from him The story arose that he had to stand barefoot in the snow for three days before being admitted in sackcloth as a penitent to kneel at the feet of the Pope It was a moment of triumph for the Papacy, but only a moment In the end Gregory was driven out of Rome, to die in exile with the unflinching words, 'I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile'

Yet Henry died excommunicated, with the issue unsettled Finally a council of German clergy at Worms (1122) agreed on a compromise, similar to that earlier reached in England, by which the election and consecration of bishops in Germany was to be free of lay control, but their election was to take place in the royal presence, and they were to be

invested with their lands by the king and do homage for them. Whilst Gregory VII would not have accepted such a compromise, it showed the rise which had taken place in the position of the Papacy Not long afterwards we find an Emperor acting as marshal for the Pope, holding the stirrup for him to mount, then leading his horse by the bridle The act marked the change from the days of Charles the Great and Otto I

The Hohenstaufen Emperors· Frederick Barbarossa Although the conflict between Empire and Papacy was not closed with the ending of the investiture conflict, the succeeding period saw the medieval Empire reach its height in the reign of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick I, Barbarossa (Red-beard), 1152–90 Frederick was young, of striking appearance, genial, a brave and fine soldier, a capable and sagacious ruler. At his accession he defined his aims in one brief sentence to restore the former glory and strength of the Empire So greatly did he impress men's imagination that in the less fortunate days after his death the legend grew up that he would one day waken from a long slumber in a mountain cave of central Germany, and return to give peace again to his country At one of his diets or assemblies we are told that no less than seventy princes, and seventy thousand knights, came to his court to feast, joust, and do homage

Yet, great as he was, Frederick's reign was far from peaceful, either in Germany or Italy In Germany he had a rival in Henry the Lion, the strong and vigorous duke of both Bavaria and Saxony, the leader of the Welfs or Guelphs, as the enemies of the Hohenstaufens (or Ghibellines) came to be called Not until thirty years of his reign were over could Frederick reduce Henry the Lion to obedience, and break up his two duchies into smaller and less dangerous units Part of Frederick's difficulties came from the old heritage of imperial interests in Italy. He made no less than six expeditions across the Alps He quickly fell out with Pope Adrian IV, at bottom over the old issue between spiritual and temporal authority Further, a new obstacle to the imperial rule in Italy had now arisen in the shape of the cities of the north Milan, the chief of these, Frederick besieged for over two years and then destroyed But it rose again, formed a league with neighbouring cities, allied with the Papacy, and in 1176 at Legnano the league actually defeated the Emperor in battle Frederick was forced to come to terms with both the Lombard cities and the Pope Although there were further troubles with the Papacy, in the end Frederick again made his peace, going off on a crusade at the age of sixty-five, leading a great army to Constantinople, only to be drowned in a river of Asia Minor

Innocent III After the death of Frederick Barbarossa the Hohenstaufen

empire swiftly declined The son of the great Emperor had married the heiress of the Norman kingdom of Naples and Sicily, whereby southern Italy came first in Hohenstaufen interests, thus naturally encouraging disunity in Germany. And when this son died he left as his heir a child of three, just when the most powerful of all the medieval Popes, Innocent III (1198–1216), ascended the papal throne Innocent III had an even more elevated conception of the papal position than Hildebrand. Whereas the latter had compared the Papacy and the Empire to the two eyes in the human body, Innocent compared the Papacy to the sun and the Empire to the moon, lesser in every way, deriving all its light from the sun Able, learned, eloquent, with a clear mind and a firm will, he regarded all earthly kings as the vassals of God's Vicar, the Pope He enlarged the papal territories in Italy, he won the recognition of Sicily and of England as fiefs of the Papacy, he fought Philip II of France, and defeated him, his suzerainty was acknowledged by Aragon and Portugal, he sent Europe on crusades against the Saracens and the Albigensians of southern France; he founded the Inquisition to combat heresy It was scarcely likely that the Empire could withstand his power in any contest, least of all when the heir was a child, his ward indeed.

The Fall of the Hohenstaufens. Germany had, in fact, fallen into the confusion of civil war between two rival claimants to the Empire. When one was murdered, Innocent supported the other, and then secured the election of his ward, the young Frederick II, as Emperor Frederick II far outlived the great Pope, and was in his own very different way a remarkable man and ruler, more modern than medieval, a diplomat, a sceptic, a founder of universities and a scholar, but a Sicilian rather than a German ruler, paying little attention to his northern empire, visiting it only once in thirty years When he died in 1250 the medieval Empire really came to an end, for there ensued a period of twenty-three years (1250–73), known as the Interregnum, when the imperial authority practically ceased to exist in Germany Though Rudolf of Habsburg was elected Emperor in 1273, he was quite unable to restore the lost authority of the Hohenstaufens. The last of these, a boy of fifteen, was executed after defeat by the champions of the Papacy in Italy There, too, the long struggle had its effects, both on the Papacy and on the fortunes of the peninsula as a whole The Papacy was to decline again, and Italy was to become and remain for centuries the seat of a number of independent states, from the cities of the north to the kingdom of Naples in the south

Social and Economic Development. Although the medieval Empire failed to establish an effective rule in Germany, this did not prevent a great development there during this period The connection with Italy was

not wholly harmful, for through it Germany was brought into closer contact with Roman and Italian culture Similarly the triumph of local particularism had its compensations, since it created a number of cultural centres, a fact of importance throughout German history The remarkable growth of the German cities, as seen in the Hanseatic League, resulted in part from the greater freedom they enjoyed By the end of the Hohenstaufen period Germany was a very different



E N A

THE CASTLE OF GUTENFELS, A TYPICAL MEDIEVAL FORTRESS ON THE RHINE

country from what it had been in the time of Charles the Great Its forests were cleared, its swamps drained, and agriculture flourished The monasteries had played no small part in this Industry developed, not least mining, by which for a time Germany became the main source of gold and silver for western Europe The rivers, above all the Rhine, became highways for trade, towns grew up along their banks, as well as about monasteries and castles, and the medieval German burgher (the name comes from the 'burgs,' or castles) became a person of importance, and even wealth

Of castles, indeed, there was no lack, thanks to the strength of feudal tendencies: in western Germany, we are told, there was one to every square mile, and along the Rhine and elsewhere we may still see their keeps and walls Cathedrals like those of Mainz, Worms, Bamberg, and many another city raised their tall towers, schools were set up, and society became more organized and stable, despite the conflicts of the time. Chivalry and the knightly class flourished in the days of the Hohenstaufens,

influenced by the Crusades and the contact with French chivalry This age saw also the first great outburst of German literature, whether in the form of the chivalric romances of knighthood, one of which created Parsifal, the perfect knight, or the great epic of the *Niebelungenlied*, based on the sagas of the migration period, or the gentler lyrics of the Minnesingers, chief of whom was Walther von der Vogelweide And though literature was to decline, the arts of wood-carving and sculpture were to flourish long after the Hohenstaufen empire had passed away.

The Eastern Expansion of Germany. No less significant was the expansion of Germany to the north-east, which took place between the middle of the twelfth and the end of the thirteenth century A recent German historian calls this 'the greatest achievement of the German people in all the centuries of its existence.' This expansion owed little to the emperors, but was mainly carried out by the princes, the crusading Teutonic Order, and the settlers from western Germany It led to the founding of Lubeck (1143), the growth of German trade in the Baltic, and the formation of the Hanseatic League It brought back under German rule lands which the Germanic tribes had once occupied, but which had later been occupied by the Slavs. Under its influence German rule spread along the Baltic as far as Memel And it led to a great development of both agriculture and trade in the newly colonized and acquired territories But it brought also a contest between German and Slav for the possession of the territory between the Oder and the Niemen, which was to last for many hundreds of years, and is scarcely ended yet

For Further Reading

J Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*
J Haller, *The Epochs of German History*
H. Pinnow, *A History of Germany*
T. F. Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*

CHAPTER V

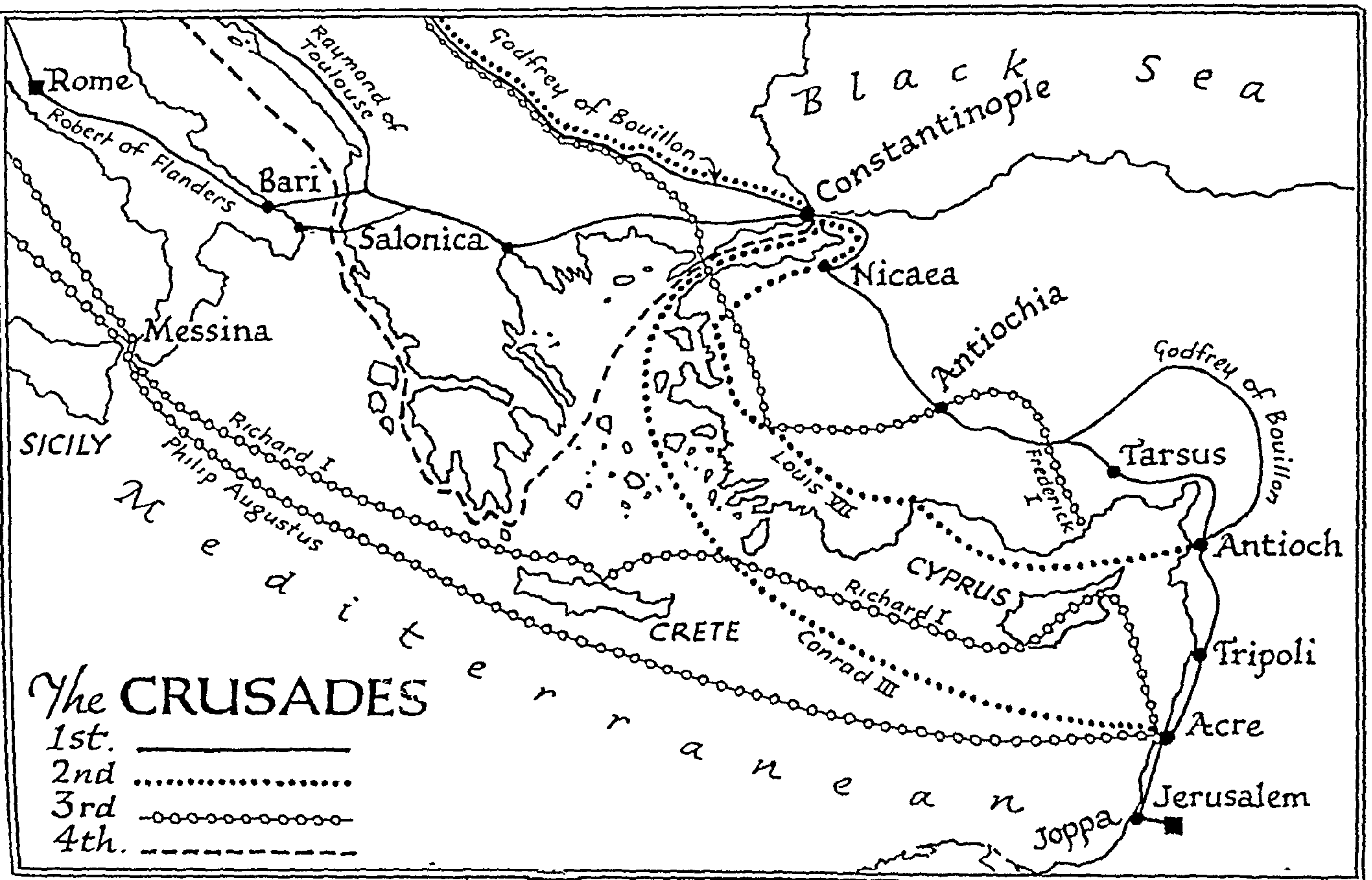
THE CRUSADES

What the Crusades Were. The Crusades have been termed 'the most typical expression of the medieval spirit' They illustrate its combination and contrast of piety and love of fighting, devotion to a high ideal and brutal ferocity, its love of adventure, its youthful impetuosity, its superstition To the feudal baron or knight, trained to arms and a warrior like his Teutonic ancestors, the Crusades offered a meed of fighting

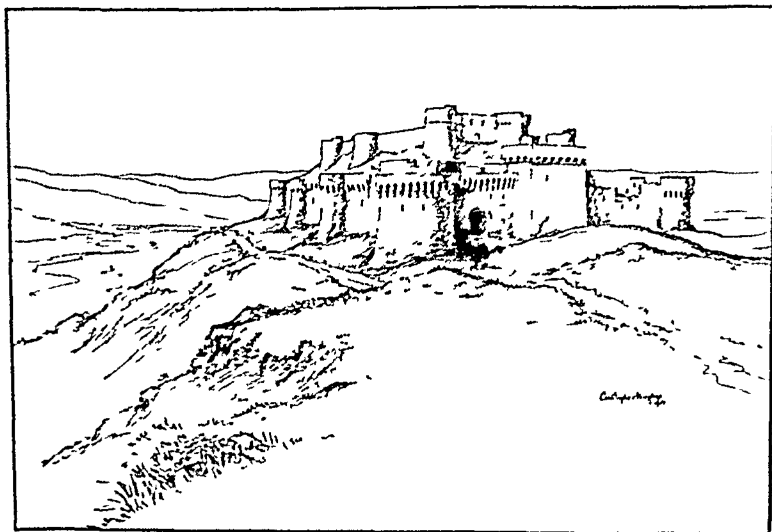
and a chance of carving out a career The Crusades were in part a continuation of the earlier wanderings of Teutonic barbarian, or Viking, a revival also of the earlier struggle between Christian and Moslem, a chapter in the relations of West and East, Europe and Asia To the Church the liberation of the Holy Land from the hands of infidels was a sacred cause, to the Papacy the Crusades offered both the opportunity of leadership and the hope of realizing the universal Church The trader found that the Crusades opened a path to the east and a means of gain For the homeless and wanderers, those ruined by war, famine or oppression — and there were many such in the Middle Ages — the Crusades provided a way out of present difficulties and the prospect of improvement To all they offered a means of penance for sins committed, and the blessing of the Church on their journeyings and labours The appeal was irresistible 'God wills it,' was the Crusaders' cry

Pilgrims and Turks Pilgrimages to sacred places for devotion and the healing of soul or body early became an accepted part of medieval life. Centuries before Chaucer wrote his famous description of the well-trodden pilgrimage to Canterbury, men and women from every country in western Europe were accustomed to go on pilgrimage near or far, to Cluny, to St James of Compostella in Spain, to Monte Cassino and Rome, above all to the Holy Land and the sacred places of Jerusalem The Moslem rulers of Syria and Palestine were tolerant, and many Christians dwelt in Jerusalem But in the second half of the eleventh century, just when the Normans were conquering England, a new conqueror likewise appeared in Syria in the shape of the Seljukian Turks They had spread out from Turkestan into India, and westwards through Persia and Mesopotamia, where they had long controlled the Abbasid caliphate Now they threatened both the Byzantine Empire and the Saracen hold over Syria Although they had been converted to Islam by this time, they still preserved much of their original fierceness, and were by no means so tolerant as the Arabs had become Thus their capture of Jerusalem in 1070 interrupted the growing tide of Christian pilgrimage to that city, and the threat to the Eastern Empire caused its ruler twice to send ambassadors to the Pope, urging common action against this new and dangerous invader

The Crusading Spirit. Crusading against Islam was no new thing in western Europe, for already part of Moslem Spain had been won back by such means, and Sicily and southern Italy had likewise been recovered from their Saracen rulers The Papacy, now in the full tide of the Hildebrandine revival, was fired to take the lead Gregory VII himself aimed at such a crusade, his successor, Urban II, brought it into being At a great gathering at Clermont, in southern France, Urban preached


The CRUSADES
1st.
2nd
3rd
4th.
Rome
Robert of Flanders
Raymond of Toulouse
Bari
Salonica
Godfrey of Bouillon
Constantinople
Black Sea
Nicaea
Antiochia
Messina
SICILY
Richard I
Philip Augustus
Mediterranean
CRETE
Louis VII
Conrad III
Richard I
CYPRUS
Frederick I
Godfrey of Bouillon
Tarsus
Antioch
Tripoli
Acre
Jerusalem
Joppa

eloquently for a crusade, and the following year, 1096, saw the first Crusade started It was followed by others for over two hundred years Kings and princes, barons, great and small, churchmen of every degree, townsfolk, peasants, and beggars, men, women, and children alike, 'took the cross,' as the saying went, and set out on the long journey eastward, trailing overland across Europe to Constantinople, and then through the mountains of Asia Minor, or sailing less painfully along the Mediterranean to land at some eastern port The chroniclers of these Crusades were apt



CRAC DES CHEVALIERS (KALAAT-AL-HUSN), TRANSJORDANIA
Probably the greatest fortress the Crusaders constructed It could accommodate 6,000 people

to exaggerate the numbers who took part in them thus they write of six million going on the first Crusade In fact the numbers were never very large And probably the majority of those who set out so hopefully never saw the sacred city of Jerusalem at all In addition to the faint-hearted who gave up, the losses by disease, famine, accident, or warfare *en route* must have been very great, especially by the land route across eastern Europe The German children who in the innocence of their hearts set out in the time of Innocent III to recover the Holy Land without fighting were fortunate if they found their way home from Italy again, many of them were sold into slavery by merchants of Marseilles And many adults, rich and poor, who reached the Holy Land, and saw Jerusalem, never returned to their native countries

The First Crusade. The first Crusade was the most successful, though

for the sick among the pilgrims The Teutonic Knights in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries spread Christianity and German influence far to the east of the River Oder into what was to become East Prussia Indeed, they may be termed the founders of the later kingdom of Prussia

Feudalism and Trade. The Crusades also assisted in developments already manifest in western Europe They removed, often permanently, numbers of feudal barons and knights, with other unruly elements, and so aided the growth of order, royal power, and civic freedom The towns were sometimes able to buy charters of liberties because their feudal lords wanted money to go on a crusade The trading centres, especially the cities of north Italy such as Venice, Genoa, Pisa, gained greatly from the Crusades. They provided the ships, food, horses, and money, at no small profit. They brought out reinforcements, and carried every year shiploads of pilgrims when, for a time, Jerusalem was won for Christendom again The Crusades also opened up for them a greatly increased trade with the east The fleets of Venice took to the east Crusaders, pilgrims, or supplies, and brought back silks and spices in return Venice was wealthy enough practically to run the fourth Crusade, and won thereby both territory and booty

The Church: Missions. The Crusades were primarily religious undertakings, set in motion first of all by the Papacy as the leader of western Christendom, loyally preached and supported by the Church For nearly two hundred years the Papacy continued to urge western Europe to go on crusade, emperors and kings took the cross at the Pope's bidding, and papal influence and prestige were enhanced by the sacred cause. There was also a financial side to this The clergy all over western Christendom were taxed by the Pope for the Crusades, and plenary indulgences, first granted to Crusaders proper, were later extended to those who gave contributions for the Crusades, instead of going themselves. With the decline of the crusading impulse came the abuse of the sale of such indulgences for money Less questionable was the stimulus given by the Crusades to missionary effort St Francis of Assisi went on a mission to convert the Moslems to Christianity, preaching before the Sultan of Egypt, and both his Order of friars and that of St Dominic sent forth missionaries not merely to north Africa and western Asia, but far beyond to Persia, Tibet, and distant China Such men as Friar John de Plano Carpini and Friar William of Rubruck were the greatest travellers of the Middle Ages, and Marco Polo's great journey to China both began in a crusading city, Venice, and followed the footsteps of missionary friars Yet without venturing so far afield, the Crusader, whether Emperor or humble peasant, vastly increased his knowledge of the world and its peoples by going to fight the Saracens

the venture was a sort of grand tour, from which, if he returned, he brought back a store of memories and tales enough to last him the rest of life.

Culture. It was not the merely geographical horizon of western Europe that was broadened by the Crusades. By them the Byzantine and Saracen civilization became revealed to the less cultured if more zealous west. Along with silks and spices, jewels and precious metals, came new knowledge of all kinds. The people of western Europe gained new skill in the art of war, especially of siege-craft, brought back new weapons, such as the cross-bow, learnt the use of drum and trumpet, developed the science of heraldry and the custom of emblazoning coats of arms. They learnt new lore in medicine and science, found new plants and herbs, such as garlic, apricots, and water-melons, brought back new fashions in dress, such as the surcoat, with beards, windmills, and a score of new-fangled things. Chroniclers found a new and fascinating theme for their labours in the journeys and adventures of the Crusaders. With wider horizons and greater knowledge came, more slowly, greater tolerance. The Crusades helped to draw the youthful western peoples from their isolation, and to prepare them for the broader life of modern times. When they began, feudal Europe was in its heyday; before they ended the feudal world was passing away, and the peoples of Europe were absorbed in new tasks.

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E. Barker, *The Crusades.*
Chronicles of the Crusades (Everyman's Library).
Scott, *The Talisman.*

course, all the life of the medieval period is not to be summed up in terms of religion or the Church Secular interests developed as well. The rise of feudal society and of the national monarchies we have already described, but hardly less important was the growth of trade and the consequent rise of towns and the middle class (Chapter III) Finally we come to the close of the medieval period with the decline of Papacy and Empire, the changes in the monarchies of France and England, and changes in the position of the mass of people, the medieval peasantry (Chapter IV)

CHAPTER I

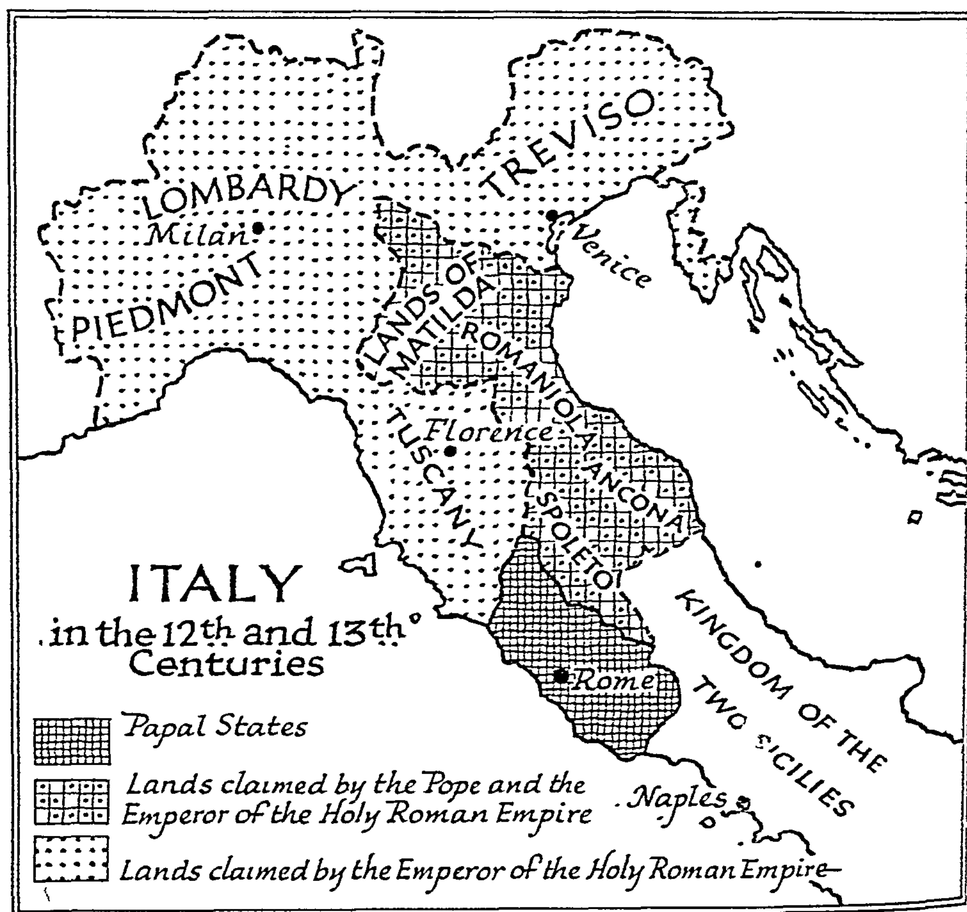
THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

The Place of the Church in Medieval Life. The medieval Church contributed most to give unity, form, and colour to medieval Europe. It provided the ideals of life and the means and leadership for seeking after their attainment Its primary function was the organizing and carrying on of the religious life of Europe, not merely by the prayer and praise of its liturgy in countless cathedrals and churches, but by the colour of its ritual, its processions, pilgrimages, and crusades It touched and profoundly affected every side of medieval life, regulating it from birth to death, providing penance for sins, exacting tithes and dues, succouring the dying, burying the dead, and showing the way to heaven The agents of this enormous organization, from the Pope to the humblest parish priest or monk, did not form a separate caste, for any one could enter the Church, which, in fact, provided a career far more easily and readily than did secular life

The Church took a considerable part in government It crowned emperors and kings, and could, on occasion, deprive them of their kingdoms It provided many of the administrators, lawyers, ambassadors, and secretaries Education was in its hands, it provided the teachers of every class Art was largely religious, both in subject and feeling Drama developed first in the mystery and miracle plays performed in the churchyard under its auspices The Church cared for the sick and the poor, the orphan, and the widow The widespread parish gilds, local friendly societies for social and religious needs, naturally centred in the churches The Church provided hospitality for the traveller: kings, pilgrims, and beggars found food and shelter within its walls As the greatest landowner in Europe, with tenants of every degree, it took a large part in the economic life of every country, farming its land, managing

its wide estates, buying and selling, carrying on business of every kind, even acting as moneylender.

The Medieval Papacy. The Papacy in the time of Innocent III (1198–1216) reflects the medieval Church at its height We have already referred to his rule in Italy to his claims over the kingdoms of western



Europe, above all to the control he exercised over the fortunes of the Empire: under him the temporal power of the medieval Papacy reached its zenith Over the Church itself his authority was both wider and more unquestioned, for the preceding age had seen a considerable growth of ecclesiastical organization centring in Rome, and this Innocent further enlarged

The gigantic task of governing the Church was shared in by the Papal Curia, with the College of Cardinals, the Chancery, and innumerable officials, whilst papal legates carried the authority of the Pope into every

corner of Europe, and ecclesiastics of every rank and from every country found their way to Rome There were constant appeals to the papal court, of cases great and small Canon Law, the law for the regulation of the Church, and to some extent for the laity, made up from the writings of the Fathers, the decisions of Councils, and papal decrees, had grown steadily over many centuries Its growth was aided by the false decretals of Isidore of Seville (ninth century), the collection of decretals made by the Italian monk Gratian (twelfth century), and the progressive systematization of the succeeding age So too the Papal Chancery, from which proceeded the papal legislation in the form of Bulls, had likewise increased its importance The Pope could also issue dispensations from ecclesiastical ordinances, e g in the matter of marriage or divorce To his power of excommunication we have already referred The Pope nominated bishops, and conferred the pallium or insignia of office He canonized saints, imposed clerical taxation, and administered Church property He alone could authorize new monastic Orders, as Innocent did for the Franciscans and Dominicans, thus securing the support of an army of friars The Pope could call General Councils of the Church, a power Innocent III exercised when he called the Fourth Lateran Council, of 1215

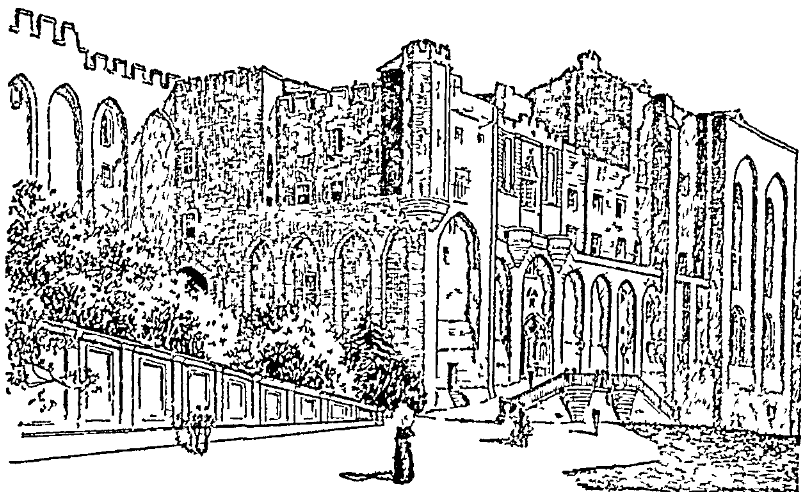


POPE BONIFACE VIII

This Lateran Council, indeed, may be taken to mark the highest point of Innocent's career, perhaps of the medieval Papacy It was attended by four hundred bishops and twice that number of abbots, together with a host of other churchmen, and many laymen Its objects were declared to be the reconquest of the Holy Land and the reform of the Church, and it declared for a new Crusade, and passed legislation (canons) on a great many subjects Certainly the Church needed reform So vast an organization, containing men of every kind and character which the medieval world produced, could scarcely hope to escape from the prevailing vices and weaknesses of the time, as the efforts of reformers like St Bernard of Clairvaux, or Innocent III himself, abundantly testify. Even the Papacy itself was not immune from offence, as its earlier history had shown

The Decline · Boniface VIII. The power and prestige which Innocent

bequeathed to the Papacy on his death in 1216 were to last for some time. Before the thirteenth century closed, however, a decline had set in. In the last thirty years of the century there were ten popes in quick succession. The latest of these was Boniface VIII (1294–1303), an old man of seventy-seven when he became Pope, able and energetic, but passionate and dominating, lacking in the higher statesmanship of Innocent III but more extreme in his claims to papal authority, over princes and Church alike. In 1300 he celebrated a great jubilee, going



THE PAPAL PALACE, AVIGNON

in procession through the streets of Rome with two swords, representative of spiritual and temporal authority, borne before him. 'I am Caesar, I am Emperor,' he declared to the ambassadors of the Emperor. He made public his views in papal Bulls such as *Clericis Laicos* (1296), which declared that the clergy were not to pay taxes to lay princes save with his approval, and *Unam Sanctam* (1302), which roundly asserted the papal authority over all princes. But the aged pontiff had gone too far, and he did great harm to his sacred office, not least by turning the French kings, long the allies of the Papacy, into its foes. Before the attack by force he was helpless, and he died under the strain of capture and imprisonment by the French.

After his death the medieval Papacy entered on a period of humiliation. The French kings took the Pope to France, and there, in 'the Babylonish captivity' at Avignon, the Papacy remained for nearly seventy years (1309–77), under French influence. We may still see their bare and gloomy castle-palace. Inevitably, the residence of the Papacy in France weakened its authority in other kingdoms of Europe, and over the Church as a whole. The decline of the medieval Papacy, from which it never

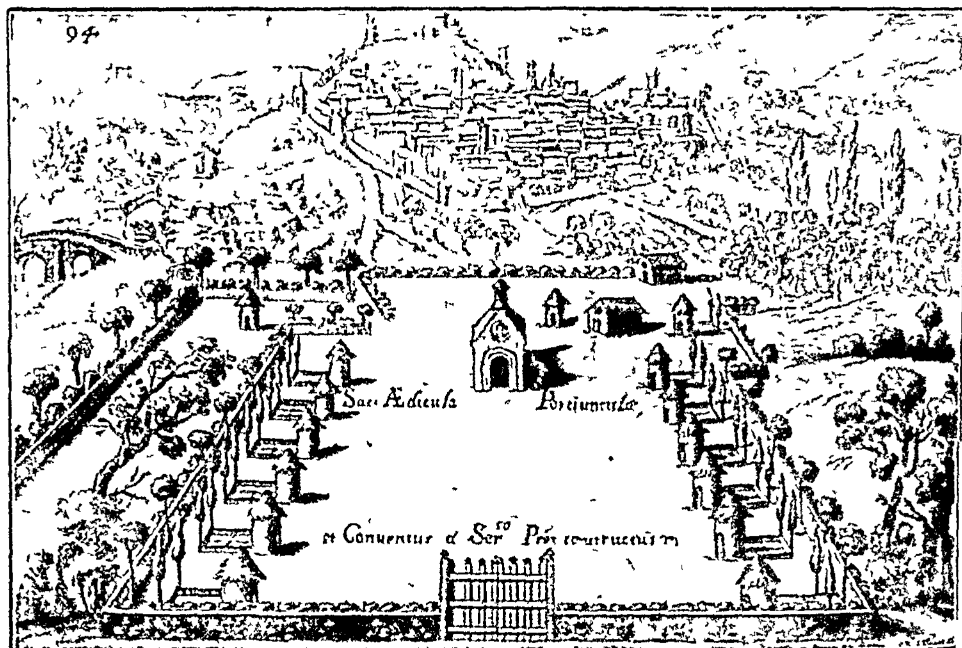
ically recovered, had set in, and was shortly to be accompanied by other features which showed the change from the great days of Innocent III

The Later Monastic Movement. The connection between the Papacy and the monastic movement of the Middle Ages was close and continuous We have already seen how the early Benedictine movement aided the growth of both Papacy and Church, and how the revival of the Papacy in the days of Hildebrand was likewise dependent to a great extent on a new monastic enthusiasm This Cluniac revival was followed by the foundation of other Orders The Carthusian Order, for example, rose in the remote fastnesses of the French Alps, where Bruno and a few companions established themselves in the Grande Chartreuse Here they maintained a most severe and ascetic life in solitude, prayer, and fasting, living as hermits in their cells, yet within the surrounding walls of a common monastery Despite its great severity, the Order spread to Italy and England, preserving more than most Orders its original character.

The Cistercians A little later, in 1093, there was founded at Cîteaux, also in France, the great Cistercian Order An Englishman, Stephen Harding, gave the Order its organization, and it spread rapidly throughout western Europe, settling its houses in remote and secluded valleys Within fifty years there were well over three hundred Cistercian houses Although at first the white-robed Cistercian monks were forbidden to have anything to do with the cares of this world, in time this rule was relaxed The Order became wealthy, and played a large part in the economic development of the time In England, for example, it was the Cistercian Order which did most to encourage sheep-farming for wool But the 'golden age' of the Order came shortly after its foundation, when its abbey of Clairvaux was presided over by St Bernard, the monk who shares with St Benedict and St Francis the highest place in the history of western monasticism

St. Bernard. St Bernard (1091–1153) became the greatest figure of his age in Europe Although he never ceased to be a monk, or to preserve the full vigour of the Cistercian ideal, yet by his force of character, intense activity, and moral strength, he was drawn into all the controversies of the period He advised popes, interfered in a quarrel between two rival popes, and placed his candidate securely on the papal throne He composed quarrels between kings and princes, and carried on an enormous correspondence all over Europe He preached the second Crusade, and sent an emperor to take part in it He was a great preacher and writer, and a great champion of orthodoxy, beating down the gifted but less orthodox Abelard, the philosopher and theologian of Paris

Other Orders. The reforming spirit was felt by other Orders. Many of the canons, the clergy who carried on the services of the cathedrals and collegiate churches, adopted in the later twelfth century a more monastic Rule, which was attributed to St Augustine. Then in 1120 a German, Norbert, a friend of St Bernard, founded the new Pre-



THE PORTIUNCULA, ASSISI, ABOUT THE TIME OF ST FRANCIS

The largest hut, a little to the right of the chapel, was the infirmary where St Francis died, and the one behind was his cell. The other mud huts and the wall were added after St Francis's death

monstratensian Order of these Augustinian or Austin Canons, and the Order spread widely through western Europe. The military Orders, which have been mentioned in connection with their origin in the Crusades, likewise illustrated the growth of the monastic movement in another direction. Nor was the increase in monastic life confined to men alone. Many of the Orders, such as the Cistercian, followed the early example of the Benedictines, and allowed the formation of convents for women. Inevitably, in so rapid and large a growth, with recruits from every class and of every type, it was difficult to maintain the highest spiritual zeal, especially as the wealth of the Orders increased by donations of all kinds, and their rule spread into many countries. These Orders themselves, in many cases, represented attempts at revival

of the earlier monastic and spiritual zeal Their decline was in part responsible for the latest of the monastic revivals of the Middle Ages, that of the friars, linked with the names of St Francis and St Dominic 'Go ye and repair my ruined church,' said the vision to St Francis.

The Friars: St Francis. St Francis of Assisi (1182–1226), 'the little poor man' who founded the Franciscan Order of begging friars, or Friars Minor, was the most saintly figure in the whole of the medieval period The son of a cloth merchant in Assisi, in central Italy, he grew up into a pleasure-loving young man, but was converted about the age of twenty, gave up his possessions, family, and friends, and set out to live by the precepts of the Gospels, not in the seclusion of a monastery, but amongst the sick and poor of the countryside of Italy, owning nothing save his poor garments, preaching, praying, and working He was as simple in his faith as in his way of life, and supremely happy and cheerful Innumerable legends have sprung up about him and about the simple-minded and devoted followers who became his disciples, and for whom, with the permission of Innocent III, he founded his Order, and drew up his Rule with its emphasis on Holy Poverty His missionary labours drew him far afield, to Spain, to the north coast of Africa So closely did he follow Christ that before his death, we are told, he bore on his body the Stigmata, the marks of the wounds Christ received at the Crucifixion



A PREACHING FRIAR
(*From a contemporary drawing*)

The appeal of the life and character of St Francis was both immediate and wide, and the Grey Friars rapidly found their way all over Europe In so doing, however, they lost some of the simplicity and purity of their founder, acquiring churches and property, and becoming, by Chaucer's day, a byword for idleness and cupidity The Order founded by St Clare for women was modelled on that of St Francis, and followed his ideals

St. Dominic Contemporary with St Francis was St Dominic, likewise the founder of an Order of friars, but very different from him in many ways St. Dominic was a Spaniard, a priest, who found his vocation in the attempt to convert the heretics of Languedoc in the Albigensian

Crusade The Order which he founded (1216) to carry on this work was known as that of the Preaching Friars, and its members were sent into all lands as mendicant preachers, under a vow of poverty They were great missionaries, and in their white tunics and black cloaks (they were the Black Friars) they journeyed as far as Persia and Tibet In combating heresy they became learned, and indeed their Order supplied most of the theologians and scholars of the later Middle Ages, including the greatest of all, St Thomas Aquinas Thus they became closely connected with the universities of the day, and similarly because of their knowledge of Christian doctrines they were placed in charge of the Inquisition, founded by Innocent III to suppress heresy.

For Further Reading

M Deanesley, *A History of the Medieval Church.*
P Sabatier, *Life of St Francis*
The Little Flowers of St Francis.

CHAPTER II

LEARNING AND EDUCATION: ARCHITECTURE AND ART

The Church and Learning. Learning and education in the Middle Ages were directly dependent upon the Church Learned men, from Bede and Alcuin to St Thomas Aquinas and Roger Bacon, were churchmen. The learning of the day was largely Christian learning, education was for the better service of God and preparation for the future life, schools existed primarily to train boys and men for the service of the Church The whole of medieval learning and the system of education were coloured by this Pagan learning, whether Greek, Roman, or Saracen, passed through the medium of the Church just as light passed through the stained-glass windows of its cathedrals When the larger philosophical works of Aristotle became known and studied in western Europe in the thirteenth century they were harmonized, as far as might be, with Christian teaching, to form the scholastic philosophy which dominated the later Middle Ages The teaching of Roman Law was prohibited at the University of Paris by the Pope as inconsistent with the learning of the Church What scientific learning and knowledge existed was similarly moulded into the same pattern.

This was natural enough, for it was the Christian Church which had done

most to encourage learning and education True, rulers like Charlemagne and Alfred of England had sought to encourage learning, but in this they relied primarily on churchmen, and on the Church as a means of education And when, after their day, learning declined, it was the monasteries and the monastic and cathedral schools which carried on what tradition of learning existed during the dark period of the Norse invasions The Benedictine monasteries, while they did not exist for educational purposes, sometimes conducted schools such as that of Monte Cassino, or of Bec in Normandy, where Anselm succeeded Lanfranc as abbot The monasteries also gathered and copied manuscripts, thus making the medieval libraries In the scriptorium or writing-room, where the copying was done, often by professional copyists, were also written the chronicles on which we rely for our knowledge of events, the lives of the saints, and the wonderfully illuminated manuscripts which still remain to delight our eyes to-day



Cambridge University Press

A MEDIEVAL TEACHER AND HIS STUDENTS

Medieval Schools. The leading place in education between the time of Charlemagne and the thirteenth century was occupied by the cathedral schools, out of which were to develop the grammar schools and the universities The outstanding examples of these were the cathedral schools of northern France, such as those of Chartres, Orleans, Rheims, and Paris. In addition to training boys in the psalter and liturgy for the services of the Church, they taught grammar (i e Latin grammar and Latin literature), rhetoric, and theology to those who wished to enter the Church Secular or lay schools as we understand them did not exist The medieval peasant,

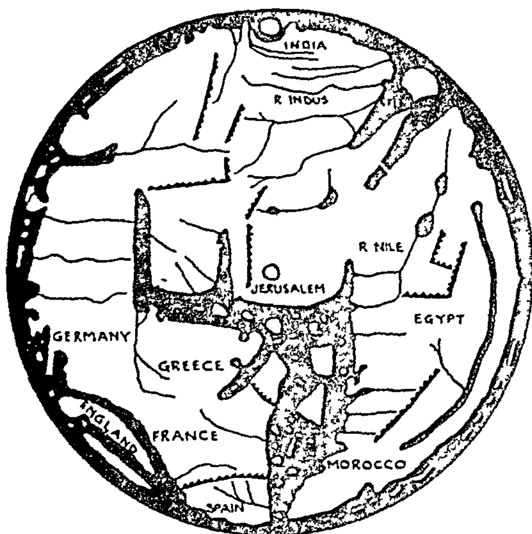
then and later, was not able to read and write Yet some parish schools existed where boys and girls were taught the psalter and singing for religious services, and the sons of the nobility received some education privately from a chaplain As the towns developed and the trader required reading, writing, and reckoning for his affairs, schools arose in commercial centres for this purpose

The Revival of the Twelfth Century. *In the twelfth century came a* revival of learning and education, with the growth of trade and the increased contact with the learning of the ancient world, and of the Saracens The Latin classics and Roman Law began to be more studied and better known From the Arabs in Spain came both translations of the Greek classics, above all of Aristotle and the scientific writers, Euclid and Ptolemy, Galen and Hippocrates, and translations of Arabic works on scientific subjects, mathematics, medicine, astrology, and the like Thus Arabic figures began to replace Roman numerals for mathematics With the increased interest in science and philosophy came also a revival of the study of theology The revival was visible in Italy, where Bologna became a great centre for the study of Roman Law, and in France, whence England, Germany, and the Netherlands drew teachers and inspiration The most obvious result was seen in the development of the universities, of which some eighty were founded between the close of the twelfth century and 1500

The Universities Our universities of to-day are the direct successors of these medieval universities Medieval life developed very largely in gilds or societies, and the universities which grew up in Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and elsewhere, were societies or corporations of teachers and students The first universities, such as that of Paris, grew out of the cathedral schools, by a natural development, others, such as Oxford, came into existence as offshoots of those already in operation Only as time went on did they acquire charters and become fully organized Later, new universities were founded by royal or clerical authority, as the University of Naples by Frederick II, that of Toulouse by Pope Gregory IX, that of Caen by Henry VI The universities of Germany did not appear until the second half of the fourteenth century. Of the older universities Paris became the great centre of theological studies, Bologna the centre for civil law, Salerno and Montpellier centres for medicine

Paris: Abelard and Aquinas The University of Paris owed much in its early years to the presence and teaching of the brilliant Abelard (1079–1142), a philosopher and logician, who developed the art of reasoning and medieval logic with his series of questions, *Sic et Non,* Yes and No, covering the whole field of theology and philosophy He is also remembered for his romantic and tragic love affair with Héloise The most

celebrated of the later teachers at the University of Paris was the learned Italian Dominican friar, St Thomas Aquinas (1227–74), though he taught in Italian universities as well Aquinas was the greatest of the medieval scholastics, harmonizing Aristotle and the teachings of the Church, confuting the arguments of heretics, building up the medieval theory of the universe and of man's relation to God, of the place of temporal rulers, and the scriptural authority of the Papacy, God's representative on earth In the thirteenth century the University of Paris is said to have had thirty thousand students, drawn from every country in Europe, we even hear of a Saracen prince studying there at this period By this time the organization of the universities into faculties was worked out, and the curriculum more or less determined, though of university buildings we hear little Yet colleges were coming into existence, as, for example, the Sorbonne in Paris, or Merton College, to be followed by many others, in Oxford



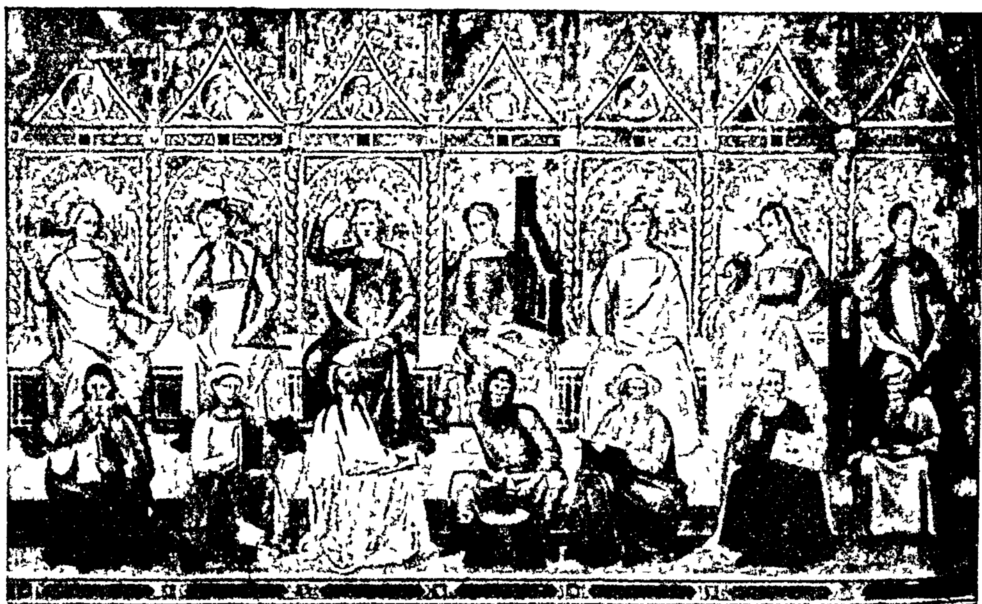
THE HEREFORD MAP

A famous medieval map, made about 1280 by the Prebendary of Hereford Cathedral The original has Latin names and a number of curious little pictures

Instruction The organization of the universities was designed not merely for study in general, but for the growing body of those who desired to secure authority to teach, and so sought licences or degrees, whether as Masters of Arts, or as Doctors of the higher faculties of Theology, Law, or Medicine Instruction to that end was given by masters or professors in the form of lectures, often in their own homes, with the students sitting on the straw-covered floor Sometimes, if room lacked, the lectures were given in the open air The foundation was Latin grammar, including Latin literature, studied by lectures and a textbook, the latter of course in manuscript, and rented rather than owned by the student The task of the teacher was to explain the text, though 'disputation' had its place, in preparation for the final examination when the student would publicly 'dispute' a thesis for his licence or degree For the ordinary Arts degree, taken by the majority of students, and a

necessary preliminary to study in the higher faculties, the course consisted from an early date of the Seven Liberal Arts, divided into two parts: the three arts of the Trivium, i e. Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic or Logic, and the four disciplines of the Quadrivium, i e Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music The course lasted not less than six years

The Students. The medieval student was of every class, type, and



THE SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS

In the foreground are representative exponents This is a fresco in the Chapel of the Church of Santa Maria Novella, Florence

age, though there were no women students in the medieval universities He did not necessarily stay in one university, but might go from one to another, even from one country to another, since learning, like its language, Latin, was international In Paris the students were organized into nations, and out of such divisions came some of the fighting and riots which frequently occurred in the universities, as they did outside For all who attended the university were not studious, pious, or law-abiding, and students fought with each other, or with the townsfolk, after the brutal fashion of the day, they 'playfully,' we are told, fell upon one another with daggers, they gambled, drank, and wasted their days and nights Yet, of course, such pictures of medieval student life tell only part of the story, and we know of them very often from the complaints of the authorities or those who sought to study in peace and quiet

Poverty was perhaps the outstanding complaint of the medieval student, and many of his letters have survived, telling the tale of his poverty, and begging for help from his parents. At bottom, like the university itself, he bore more than a passing resemblance to his modern counterpart.

Medieval Science. Of the study of science which plays so large a part in our modern universities we hear little in the medieval universities. What science was taught was included in philosophy, save for the medical science taught at universities like Salerno or Montpellier, and if we judge from the medical practice of the day much of that would scarcely be recognized to-day as 'scientific' in any real sense Individual investigators of scientific phenomena there were, for example Frederick II, who wrote a treatise on the habits of falcons, and shut up babies in silence to see which language they would first speak and so answer the question which language originated first Alas! the unfortunate victims died ere they prattled Hebrew, Greek, Latin, or Arabic

Roger Bacon. Roger Bacon (1214–94), the English Franciscan, who taught at Oxford University, made more fruitful experiments and observations, in his studies of mathematics, geography, and astronomy He thought of machines for propelling vehicles, even of aeroplanes, made experiments in physics (optics), knew how to make gunpowder, and was the best geographer of his day, though he believed, with every one else at this time, that the sun moved round the earth But Bacon's writings were condemned, and he spent many years in prison for his dangerous opinions In general the medieval world was not experimentally inclined, being more concerned to prepare men for the next world than to spend time in the close observation of this one (St. Bernard, we are told, travelled a whole day alongside a Swiss lake without noticing the fact) It developed the art and weapons of reasoning, but left it to a later age to apply them more universally.

Chivalry. Not all the education of the medieval period went on in the universities or schools The future knight in the days of chivalry received his training in the household of a prince or lord, perhaps the overlord of his father. There as page and squire he learnt some reading, writing, and Latin from the lord's chaplain, acquired the usage of arms, the code and graces of chivalry, something of music and poetry. There, too, his years of education complete, he was dubbed knight He first spent the night in prayer at the foot of the altar in the chapel, then next morning, clad all in white, confessed, and received the sacrament He took oath to be faithful to his lord, to fight for the faith, and obey the commands of the Church, to protect the weak and defenceless, and preserve untarnished the honour of knighthood He was then clad piece by piece in his knightly armour, exchanging the silver spurs of the squire for the gold ones of the

knight, and the lord struck him three times on the shoulder with the flat of his sword, with the words 'In the name of God, St Michael, and St George, I dub thee knight' The new-made knight then mounted his



THE CEREMONY OF DUBBING A KNIGHT

horse, to try lance and sword in joust or tournament Like Chaucer's 'very perfect gentle knight,'

> That from the time that he first began
> To riden out, he loved chivalry,
> Truth and honour, freedom and courtesy,

the medieval knight of chivalry, idealized in Sir Lancelot or Parsifal, was a sign and product of medieval education as much as the scholar of the schools, though the scholar was to outlast the knight as the pen the sword

Dante. It is, very properly, in a poet that we find the consummation of medieval culture Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) in his *Divine Comedy* mirrored the world of his day, its learning, its beliefs, its vices and its virtues, as they led men and women into the horrid depths of the *Inferno*, or to the striving circles of the *Purgatorio*, or up to the celestial light of the *Paradiso* The epic in which he relates his journey through these regions, with Vergil as his guide and a symbolized and idealized Beatrice as his inspiration, is one of the great poems of the world. But Dante was more than a poet, even a learned one Born in Florence, he was caught in the mesh of the fierce and destructive feuds of that amazing city, and was exiled Yet in his exile and wanderings he saw the more of Italy, and felt the crying need for more stable government

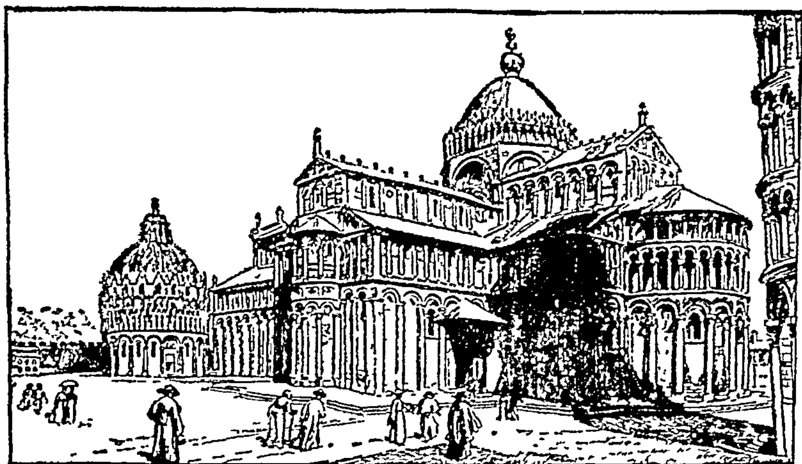
This he looked for from the emperors, and wrote a treatise, *De monarchia*, championing the imperial authority against the papal claims

Dante wrote under the scholastic influence and in the scholastic manner In this he is medieval, as he is in his love of order and symmetry, in the allegory and symbolism in his great poem, and in the religious faith which inspired it Yet Dante is full of contrasts he loves Florence, yet upbraids her most bitterly, he exalts the Christian virtues, yet condemns the men he hated or despised to the most lurid and brutal punishments in Hell He looks both back and forward He takes a pagan poet as his guide through the unseen world of his imagination, and judges Homer more gently than Pope Boniface VIII in the *Inferno*, having no blind faith in the leaders of the Church He writes his great epic not in Latin but in the Italian tongue, thereby helping to form it for literature. He is as much an individualist, and concerned with himself, as any of the men of the Renaissance Yet perhaps in all this, Dante is but the more medieval, for the medieval world, as we have seen, was full of contrasts, never attaining either unity or repose, and ever developing new forms, until without realizing the fact it ceased to be medieval

Medieval Architecture. The most plainly visible of the fruits of medieval civilization to-day are its creations in architecture, above all its cathedrals and churches The scholars of the Renaissance, in their admiration for classical architecture, applied to these medieval buildings the term 'Gothic,' meaning barbarian, and the title has remained, though we no longer think of them as barbarian Medieval church architecture developed over the whole period from the time of Charles the Great to the fifteenth century, and varied not merely from country to country, but even within one country It showed more Roman and Byzantine influence in Italy, more Saracen influence in Spain Though English architecture, like English law, developed gradually and individually, both there and in Germany we may see the influence of France, where Gothic reached its height Because of such national divergences there is some difference in the terms employed to classify medieval church architecture Yet we shall not err greatly if we divide the whole medieval period in architecture into two parts, one the Romanesque, the other Gothic, remembering, however, that they are both parts of a whole, and that there is no hard and fast line between the two Romanesque architecture may be considered as extending from the eighth to the twelfth century, including Norman architecture in England In and after the twelfth century, it developed into Gothic, the height and glory of medieval architecture

Romanesque Architecture. Medieval church architecture could only develop when the worst of the anarchy following the fall of Rome had

subsided, when the barbarians were converted and, to some extent, settled The Viking invasions checked for a time the beginnings made in the age of Charlemagne But as society grew more stable and the Church stronger, the religious and creative spirit began to find freer expression in the building of churches and cathedrals The Romanesque architecture which then came into existence owed much, as the title implies, to Rome It had some of the Roman simplicity and solidity It took from Rome the round arch, and often adopted the basilican



PISA CATHEDRAL, THE BAPTISTERY, AND PART OF THE LEANING TOWER

plan from the rectangular Roman halls of justice or exchanges, with rows of columns and apsidal (i e semicircular) east end The elongation of the sanctuary or chancel and the addition of transepts turned the basilican into the Latin cross plan The vaulting, too, was in part Roman In Italy special features showed themselves, such as the use of striped marbles of Saracenic origin, the building up of the western façade, or the erection of the detached campaniles or bell-towers (as at St Mark's, Venice). The unrivalled group of Pisa, the cathedral, the leaning bell-tower, and the baptistery, forms the greatest achievement of Italian Romanesque architecture

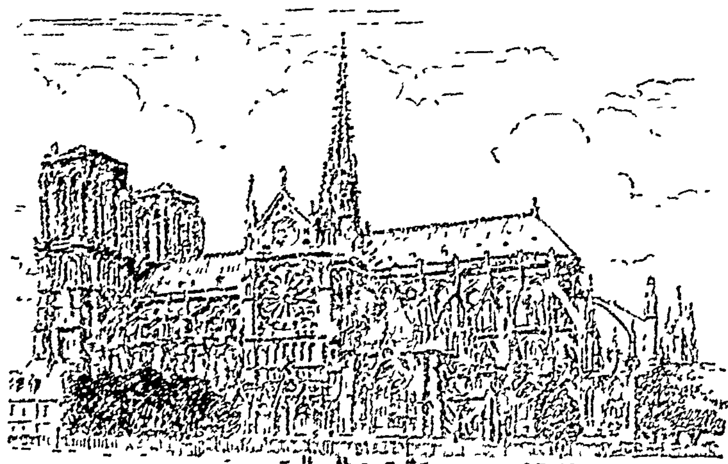
North of the Alps Romanesque architecture was heavier and simpler, with differences between the work of southern and northern France, and between the Romanesque churches of Normandy and the fine Romanesque cathedrals of the Rhine cities, Worms, Speyer, and Mainz The Normans took their architecture with them to England, as we have seen

Gothic Architecture. The transition from Romanesque to Gothic took place in the twelfth century, forming part of the general quickening and enriching of medieval life likewise illustrated in learning It implied

the substitution of the pointed for the round arch, a change connected with the more ambitious system of vaulting which now became prevalent. The walls of the Gothic cathedral became less solid, the windows larger, the use of pinnacles and buttresses, including flying buttresses, developed until, as an historian of architecture puts it

> The entire structure consists of a skeleton of piers, buttresses, arches, and ribbed vaulting, all held in equilibrium by the combination of oblique and vertical forces neutralizing each other

Building and ornament in stone became much freer, finer and more elaborate, both within and without the church, running at times into



NOTRE-DAME, PARIS

a lace-like tracery The glass of the great windows was richly coloured with sacred pictures, so that the whole building from the crypt to the top of the soaring towers became an almost living witness to the faith and skill of the designers and workmen of these triumphs of medieval art

France. Gothic architecture reached its height in France, in the first half of the thirteenth century, in the great cathedrals of Notre-Dame in Paris, Rheims, Chartres, Amiens, Rouen, Bourges, Beauvais, and Strasbourg We cannot attempt to describe any of these masterpieces of French Gothic, with their magnificent west fronts, deeply carved portals, such as the five-doored one at Bourges, their towers and spires, flying buttresses and pinnacles, their hundreds of sculptured figures, their double aisles and transepts, their lofty naves, great choirs, sometimes, as at Rheims, with a ring of chapels, their carved woodwork, their stained glass, as at Chartres

England. The influence of French Gothic was manifest both in

England and Germany, though modified by local circumstances With the outstanding exception of Salisbury, the English cathedrals show far more plainly than those of France the changing architectural styles of succeeding ages, from Norman through the Early English of the late twelfth and the thirteenth century, the Decorated of the fourteenth, to the Perpendicular of the fifteenth Canterbury and York, Lincoln and Ely, Gloucester and Winchester, each illustrate not one but three or even four architectural periods.

Germany, Italy, Spain. In Germany the great Gothic cathedral of Cologne was begun in the thirteenth century, but was left unfinished until the nineteenth Bamberg is part Romanesque, part Gothic, but the cathedrals of Freiburg, Ulm, and Regensburg are familiar examples of German Gothic If from these south German cities we go back again across the Alps to Italy, we find Italian Gothic has gone its own way, using marble instead of ordinary stone, as most magnificently in Milan, continuing to elaborate its western façades, as at Siena, preferring its separate bell-towers, as at Florence. We find also more Byzantine influences, both within and without the cathedrals, just as the Spanish Gothic of the same period, at Burgos, Toledo, Seville, and Barcelona, continues to exhibit the influence of Saracenic architecture in its use of the horseshoe arch, its elaborate tracery in stone, and its richness of ornament.

Medieval Art. It was in the decoration of the churches that sculpture and the painting of glass or fresco found their opportunity and means of expression. The artists used Biblical figures and episodes, prophets and saints, the Last Judgment, along with animals and birds, foliage and flowers, to fill up wall spaces or windows, niches, the capitals of pillars, doorways and doors, rain-spouts, the west front, indeed anywhere within or without the building Such pictures and statuary helped to make people familiar with the Bible story, and to reinforce the teachings of the Church At first such work was rather crude and formal, but as the architecture became bolder and freer so did the sculpture and painting grow in freedom and beauty, until they reached their crowning achievements in the statues of Rheims or Chartres (which has some ten thousand carved stone figures), Strasbourg or Bamberg, in the woodcarving of south Germany, the bronze and marble sculptured work of Italy. The increase in the size of the windows in French Gothic left less room for wall-painting, but led to the painting of the great windows. In Italy, however, the windows were smaller and the wall space larger There it was that medieval painting developed most freely and fruitfully, in mural decoration and the painting of altar pieces.

Italian Painting: Giotto. The 'new style' in painting, as it came to be

called, had as a material foundation the amazing growth of the Italian cities already referred to. The beginnings of this 'new style' are associated with three men in three different places, Duccio (1260–1320) in Siena, Pietro Cavallini (1279–1364) in Rome, and Cimabue (1240–1303) in Florence. Duccio was the founder of the Sienese school of painting,



D McLeish

BOURGES CATHEDRAL SCULPTURES

These thirteenth-century sculptures depict in the middle panel the separation of the just from the wicked, the latter being driven by demons into a cauldron of boiling oil. The lower panel is the scene at the Resurrection

which was more closely connected with the Byzantine tradition with its heavily gilded, crowded, and decorative altar paintings. Cavallini was a mosaicist, but developed more use of light and shade to give relief to his figures. Cimabue, likewise a mosaic painter, yet began to free himself from the older, stiffer traditions.

It was, however, in Giotto (1267–1337) that the 'new style' first found full and clear expression. Vasari, who in the sixteenth century wrote the lives of the Italian painters, tells us how Giotto, the son of a peasant, living near Florence, was discovered. As a boy Giotto while watching his father's sheep was always drawing on flat stones or sand.

Thus one day, when Cimabue was going on some business from Florence to Vespignano, he came upon Giotto, who, while his sheep were grazing, was drawing one of them from life with a roughly pointed piece of stone upon a smooth surface of rock, although he had never had any master but Nature. Cimabue stopped

in amazement and asked the boy if he would like to come and stay with him Giotto replied that he would go willingly if his father would consent Accordingly Cimabue asked Bondone, who gladly consented, and allowed him to take his son with him to Florence After his arrival there, assisted by his natural talent and taught by Cimabue, the boy not only equalled his master's style in a short time, but became such a good imitator of Nature that he entirely abandoned the rude Byzantine manner, and revived the modern and good style of painting, introducing the practice of making good portraits of living persons, a thing which had not been in use for more than two hundred years

Giotto's ability as a painter quickly became widely known all over Italy. He not merely painted frescoes for the chapels of the new church of Santa Croce in Florence, but was called to Assisi to complete the frescoes for the church of St. Francis there, he painted in Padua and Milan, for the Pope in Rome, for the King of Naples in his capital Many of these works still remain to attest his skill Nor was he painter alone, for it was Giotto who designed the famous Campanile in Florence. In turning to nature for his painting, as Vasari says, Giotto freed painting from some of its stiffness and unreality, his figures became more lifelike, they stood less flatly on the surface by his better use of light and shade, they were more animated.

With Fra Angelico (1387–1455) we pass into the fifteenth century. But while Fra Angelico was in some respects 'of his time,' by temperament and character he belongs to the Medieval Period. This 'simple and most holy man,' a Dominican friar of the little hill town of Fiesole near Florence, depicted the beauty of holiness as no one before or since has done. He was above all the painter of saints, yet with an eye for landscape and architecture, painting in the clearest of colours and with the bluest of blue skies the mystical pictures of his visions

For Further Reading

C. G Crump and E F Jacobs, *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*

Dante, *Divine Comedy.*

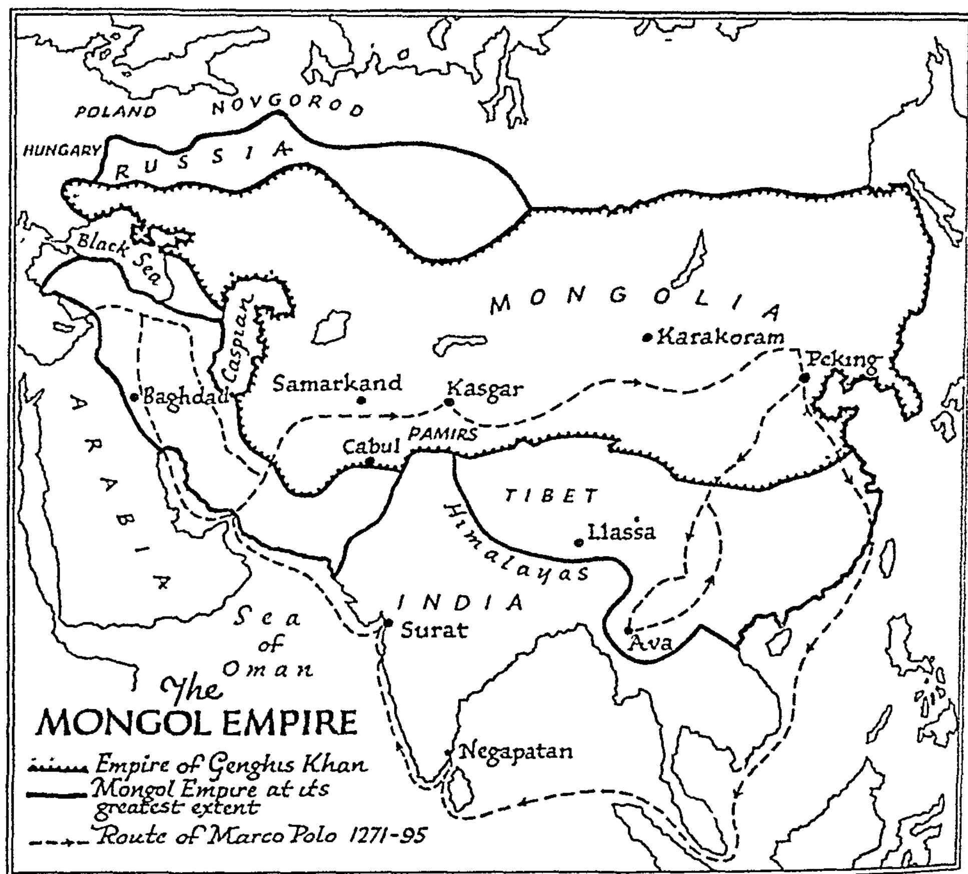
C H Haskins, *The Rise of Universities*

F Hearnshaw (Ed), *Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilization*

C Lethaby, *Medieval Art*

P. Venturi, *A Short History of Italian Art*

government Venice, protected by the lagoons out of which she had risen, had always maintained trading contact with Constantinople, and her traders early found their way across the Alps to the new Germanic kingdoms of the north Genoa and Pisa followed suit The connections made between Germany and Italy by the Holy Roman Empire fostered



the growth of north Italian cities such as Milan, Padua, Florence. The Crusades provided a great stimulus to traffic of all kinds for the seaports, notably Venice and Genoa Venice became rich, and strong enough to divert a Crusade for her own ends in 1204 She had her storehouses, sometimes tiny colonies, in all the ports of the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, as the trade with the east grew There was great rivalry for trade, which led to naval battles in 1284 the Genoese destroyed the fleet of Pisa, and practically ended Pisan rivalry in the bigger trade operations

The Rise of the Mongol Empire in Asia Meanwhile events in Asia had materially affected European connections with that continent The high plateau of central Asia early in the thirteenth century sent forth a new conqueror, Jenghiz Khan (=Invincible Emperor, *d* 1227), a second Attila, who after uniting the Mongol tribes under him began to spread his power east and west To the west the Mongols poured into Persia, destroyed the caliphate of Baghdad, and sacked Jerusalem, but were checked by the Mamelukes of Egypt Farther



MARCO POLO AND KUBLAI KHAN

Marco Polo is seen receiving a golden tablet which acted as a passport throughout Kublai Khan's empire

north they swept like a flood into Russia, threatening Poland and Hungary, and fastening their rule on Russia for two hundred years In the Far East the grandson of Jenghiz Khan, Kublai Khan (*d* 1294), completed the conquest of China and set up a rule there which was to last until the Ming dynasty overthrew it a century later By 1290 Kublai Khan ruled over the largest empire the world had known, stretching from the Arctic Ocean to the Strait of Malacca, from Korea to the Volga.

European Trade with Asia: Marco Polo. One result of this was to open the Far East to Europe for a time. Apart from the missionaries already mentioned, it was the Italian merchants who naturally took advantage of this opening of the land route to Cathay. The 'silk route' ran north or south of the Caspian to Bokhara, and then onward in a six months' journey to China Trade from the Far East also came by a middle route across Persia to Baghdad, and so across the desert to Damascus, or farther

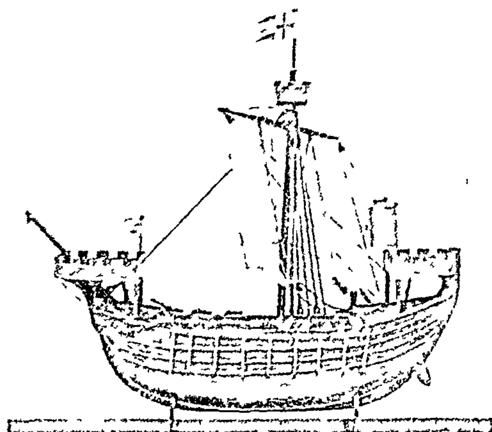
south by the sea from India to the Red Sea and across to the Nile and Alexandria It was mainly by the middle route that the greatest of all medieval travellers, the Venetian Marco Polo, made the famous journey to the east which he described in his *Travels*, and so 'created Asia for the European mind' Leaving Venice in 1271 with his father and uncle, who had already visited the Mongol realm, this boy of seventeen began an Odyssey from which he was to return twenty-five years later During that period he had not merely travelled overland through Persia and the plateau of central Asia to Peking, but, finding favour with Kublai Khan, had been employed for many years on royal missions through China ere he managed to return by sea round the Malay Peninsula and India to the Persian Gulf. To him we owe most of our knowledge of Kublai Khan and his empire, his palaces of Shandu and Kanbalu, his court, his army and methods of rule, the many cities of China, such as Hang-chow the ancient capital, 'the noblest and richest city in this world,' as Marco Polo terms it, the riches and marvels of the fabled Far East, from Japan to Ceylon

Through this eastern trade, and their position as intermediaries between Europe and Asia, the Italian cities grew so wealthy that they became the bankers for northern Europe. The Florentine gold coin (the florin) provided a standard coinage more stable and reliable than the coins of kings and princes. These Italians were manufacturers as well as traders and bankers: Venice then, as now, manufactured fine glass, Genoa built ships and made armour, Florence dyed and manufactured cloth On the basis of this material prosperity was established, in part. the cultural growth of the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance

Trade with Northern Europe. Meanwhile, farther west along the Mediterranean, to Marseilles and Barcelona, and across the passes of the Alps into the Empire, along the Roman roads in France, down the Rhine to Flanders, and across the Narrow Seas to England, the flow of trade likewise began to exert a quickening effect At first the trade was local, but it grew steadily until by the thirteenth century there was an ever-widening stream of traffic connecting the trading centres of north-western Europe with each other, and linked up with the Italian cities, and so with the trade of the east At first the overland route from Italy was mostly used, the Brenner Pass from Venice to Innsbruck, the Splugen and St Gotthard Passes farther west, and the great fairs of Troyes and other towns in Champagne and eastern France provided the meeting-place for the caravans from Italy and the traders from France, Flanders, northern Germany, and England But already the routes of trade were established into Russia from the Baltic, and in the fourteenth century the Venetian and Genoese galleys began to

avoid the toil of the Alpine crossings, and the innumerable tolls to which the overland trade was subject, by sailing through the Straits of Gibraltar, and round to Bruges in Flanders, touching at Lisbon and Southampton on the way At Bruges they met the traffic from Germany and the Baltic countries

Thus the complex trading system of medieval Europe was built up. Russia supplied furs, leather, honey, and amber, Scandinavia furs, metals, pitch, and tar, Germany metals, England metals, leather, and wool, the Low Countries cloth and dairy produce, France wine, arms, cutlery, and linen, Spain oil, wine, and metal work; Italy her own products and the variegated produce of the east, silks and carpets, drugs, spices, and jewels.



AN ENGLISH SHIP OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

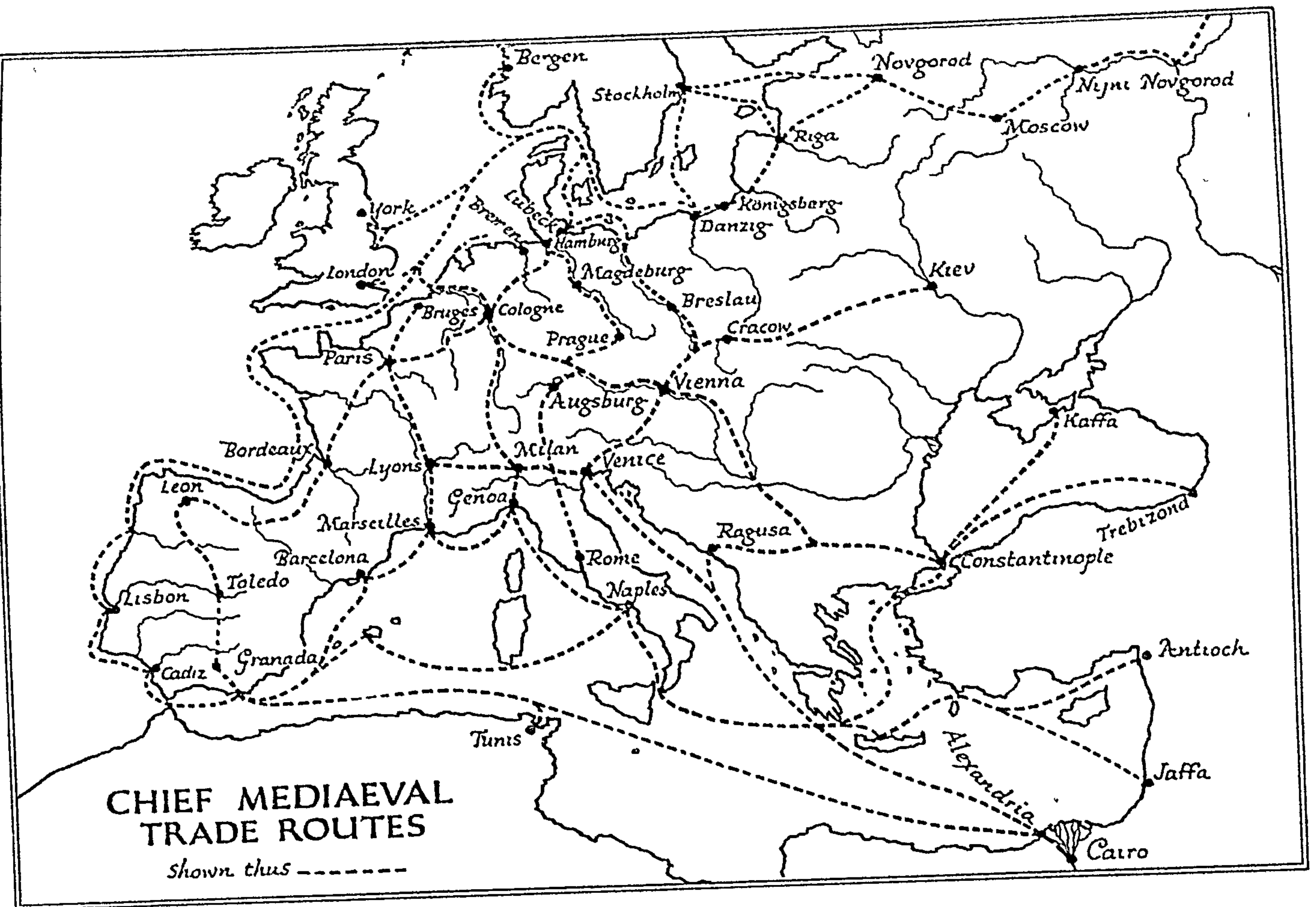
(From a model in the Science Museum, South Kensington)

The Growth of Municipal Freedom: Italy. As trade and industry grew, so did the towns And just as the traders had to make their tracks through the forest, so had the towns to carve out a place for themselves in medieval society. The feudal system gave them little room for development To grow they had to win freedom from the grip of the feudal lord over justice, the right to tax themselves, the right to hold fairs and markets, and the management of civic affairs generally Liberty had to be fought for, or bought, often both Here too the northern Italian cities led the way, impelled thereto by the lack of an effective central government in Italy Few cities had such advantage of geographical protection as Venice in her lagoons it was one of the secrets of her extraordinary development Elsewhere the northern Italian cities had to fight against the landed overlords or bishops, or against the emperor himself. Against Frederick Barbarossa they formed the Lombard League, in alliance with the Papacy, and after victory in the Battle of Legnano (1176) won recognition of their claims to elect their own magistrates, protect themselves with walls, and impose their own tolls as of old

Its Growth in Northern Europe Across the Alps the towns of northern France led the way in securing municipal liberties, forming in the late

eleventh century 'communes,' and securing royal charters which guaranteed some degree of self-government Similarly, in England, boroughs such as Southampton, York, and Norwich began from the time of Henry I to buy charters of liberties from the crown, the liberty to collect their own taxes, to hold their own courts, to elect their own mayors, to control their own markets, and to provide their own contingents for military services. These towns were on the royal domain towns on baronial or Church estates had a longer struggle for similar liberties. The degree of municipal freedom secured also varied greatly. In France and England it was limited by the growth of the royal authority. But in Germany and Flanders, where no such effective central government existed, the cities developed more after the fashion of the north Italian cities into what were often virtually independent republics The Counts of Flanders readily granted charters of liberties to the towns within their borders, getting a return in loans from rich merchants The Emperors, similarly, granted charters conceding market rights, rights of jurisdiction, and of free institutions to many towns in Germany, out of which arose the Imperial Cities. Here too, however, towns or cities on the lands of ecclesiastical or lay lords had a harder task Episcopal capitals such as Cologne were long in conflict with their bishops ere they secured freedom a bishop could scarcely be permanently ejected from the cathedral city of his diocese.

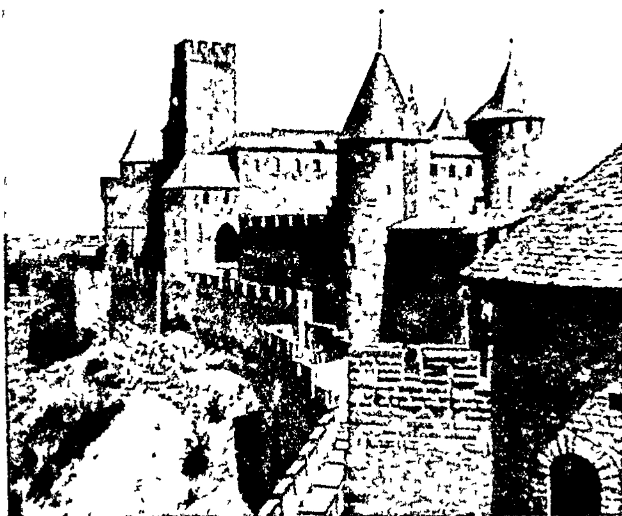
Municipal Organization: the Gilds. Before the towns had secured their freedom from feudal control, they possessed officials, podestàs (in Italy), mayors, bailiffs, or magistrates subject to the overlord for the administration of justice The struggle for liberty and the growth of trade and industry further developed their organization. In general, control of the towns fell into the hands of the richer and more powerful citizens Municipal freedom in the Middle Ages did not mean democratic control, though the degree of popular influence varied from town to town, and from period to period, as the continual struggles in Florence illustrate Venice, which had grown to power under an elected chief magistrate or doge, fell in the thirteenth century under the rule of the Great Council, drawn from about two hundred wealthy and old-established families In 1310 the famous Council of Ten was set up, a still narrower governmental body So too the great imperial city of Lubeck was ruled by its wealthy merchants, its craftsmen and artisans had no share in its government The traders of a medieval town commonly formed themselves into a corporation or gild called the gild merchant, to regulate trade, fix fair prices, and protect the interests of the town's trade at home and abroad The connection between government and trade is shown by the way in which, in England for example, the gild merchant



Bergen
Stockholm
Novgorod
Nijni Novgorod
Moscow
Riga
Königsberg
Danzig
York
Lubeck
Bremen
Hamburg
London
Magdeburg
Breslau
Kiev
Bruges
Cologne
Prague
Cracow
Paris
Vienna
Augsburg
Kaffa
Bordeaux
Lyons
Milan
Venice
Leon
Genoa
Marseilles
Trebizond
Ragusa
Barcelona
Rome
Constantinople
Toledo
Naples
Lisbon
Antioch
Cadiz
Granada
Tunis
Alexandria
Jaffa
Cairo
CHIEF MEDIAEVAL TRADE ROUTES
shown thus

came to be identified with the whole government of the town Here as on the Continent the gild merchant tended to become oligarchic, a closed corporation, hereditary and plutocratic

The Craft Gilds. Alongside, or rather below, the gild merchant, there grew up other gilds, craft gilds, to control and regulate the local industries, one for each industry in the town There were gilds for weavers, butchers, bakers, locksmiths, tanners, goldsmiths, and scores of other industries These gilds, to which all the workers in every industry must belong, chose their officials, fixed the rates of wages and conditions of labour, the terms for apprenticeship (usually seven years), supervised the product of their craft, aided their members in sickness and poverty, and even had their own shrines and priests. There were other gilds in the towns, corresponding to the parish gilds in the country, which were purely social and religious in character As industry came to be carried on on a large scale in Italy and Flanders in the later Middle Ages, the greater craft gilds, like the gilds merchant, became more oligarchic, the worker was not allowed to join them; wages and hours of labour were fixed by the employing master, who was virtually a capitalist, though his workmen did not work in a factory



D McLeish

THE WALLS OF CARCASSONNE

Towns and Defence. The towns of the Middle Ages were not very large by our standards Florence had a population of some ninety thousand in the fourteenth century, Venice about double that, while Paris was somewhat larger They depended on the adjacent countryside for food, indeed many of the inhabitants long continued to cultivate the soil outside the city walls It was on its walls that the town relied to a great extent for defence against its enemies, kings, princes, feudal lords, and rival towns As the town grew its walls were extended, though a prosperous town continually outgrew them Later, many of them disappeared the medieval bulwarks of Paris are to-day its boulevards But in Chester

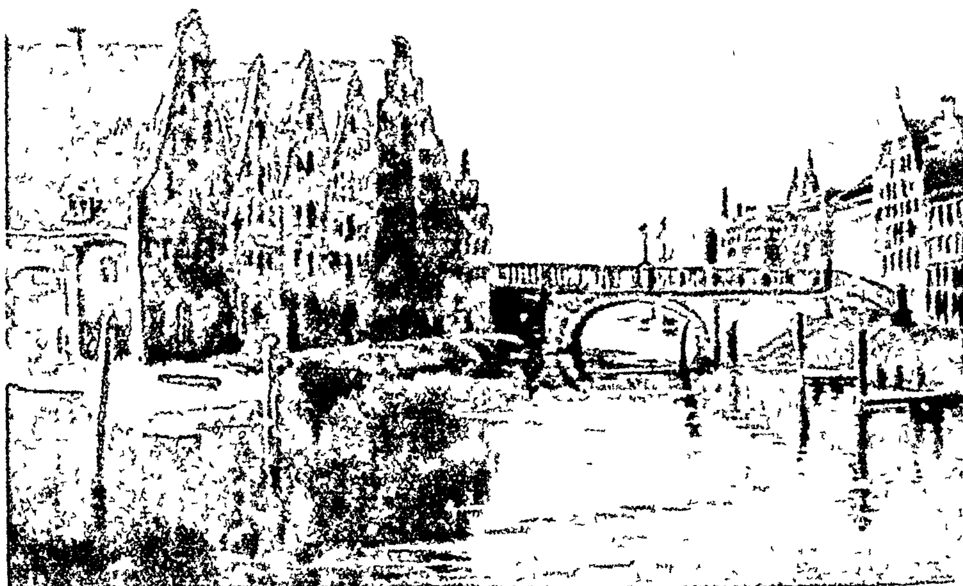
and York, in San Gimignano, in Rothenburg, in Carcassonne, and elsewhere, we can still see their remains, with their parapets, the walk along the inner side, their towers, gateways, and loopholes Yet even supposing that a town could withstand a siege, and many did, as Calais by Edward III, it could scarcely hope alone to protect its trade or its traders abroad.

Leagues of Cities. Hence there arose leagues of cities for mutual aid and protection, above all in Italy and Germany where the cities had more scope for development The Lombard League formed to combat the claims of Frederick Barbarossa has already been mentioned But once victory had been won, the league fell to pieces, and later attempts, such as that of Rienzi in the fourteenth century to federate the Italian cities under the leadership of Rome, met with no response from these fiercely individualistic and jealous communities They preferred to depend upon their walls and the *condottieri* or professional military leaders hired to defend them More successful and more permanent were the leagues of cities formed within the Holy Roman Empire One of these, which included country districts as well as towns, succeeded in forming a separate nation, that of Switzerland Others were formed along the Rhine and in southern Germany A Rhine League under the leadership of Mainz, 'golden Mainz' as it was called because of its wealth, was formed in 1247 but failed to last. In the next century a Swabian League was formed of imperial cities led by Ulm on the Danube, and the Rhenish League was revived But the league was defeated by the Emperor and a counter league of princes, and declared to be 'contrary to God, the King, the Empire and the Law' Of more significance than these Rhenish and Swabian leagues of cities, however, was the great northern league, the Hanseatic League

The Hanseatic League. A Hansa was an organization of merchant gilds formed to conduct and protect their foreign trade The north German cities developed not merely on the trade which flowed down the long German rivers to the North Sea and the Baltic, but also on that from Russia and Scandinavia, including the herring fishery of the Baltic, for much fish was eaten during Lent and on fast-days in medieval Europe. One of the reasons for the later decline of the league was the sudden change by which the herring in the fifteenth century moved their spawning grounds from the Baltic to the coast of Flanders The wealth of Lubeck, chief city of the league, was built on the herring industry, and these north German merchants built a city, Wisby, on the island of Gothland in mid-Baltic, with forty towers, for this same industry These German merchants had also settlements of their own, 'factories' or warehouses for the storing of goods and for trade, not unlike the factories

of the later Hudson's Bay Company, at Novgorod in Russia, at Bruges, and in London, where their house later came to be called the Steelyard

It was on this basis of co-operation abroad that the formal organization of the Hanseatic League in Germany began In 1241 Lubeck and Hamburg made a treaty of alliance, and from this beginning the league grew until it included most of the trading cities of northern Germany from



HANSEATIC WAREHOUSES AT LÜBECK

Danzig across to the Rhine, including Cologne and Frankfurt, the chief trading cities of Flanders, and a few foreign cities In all it included some eighty cities, though the number was never fixed, cities joined and dropped out again or were expelled, and the league was never a fully federated body, though it held diets, and had a code of laws for its traders and seamen With the decline of the empire, and the weakness of the Scandinavian countries, the Hanseatic League came to possess great economic and political power. It controlled the Baltic, and when Waldemar, King of Denmark, sacked its town of Wisby, it declared war (1362), utterly defeated him, and imposed its own terms For a century after this victory the Hansa League controlled the Baltic and its trade, regarding itself, and being regarded by the powers of Europe, as a sovereign power We see reflections of its greatness and wealth in the Hansa halls and warehouses which still remain in Lubeck and elsewhere

Flanders. Whilst the Flanders cities never attained the political power of either the north Italian or the north German towns, their large measure of freedom and their advantageous position near the mouths of the Rhine and Schelde, between France, England, Germany, and the Baltic, greatly aided their development They were both traders and manufacturers, above all of cloth, importing their wool from England, where the finest wool in Europe was grown, until in the late fourteenth century the English began to weave their own cloth, and to exchange it for the goods brought by the Venetian and Genoese galleys Bruges traded with no less than thirty countries, and in its warehouses and along its wharves (for Bruges was a seaport until its port silted up in the fifteenth century) were to be found all the products of the medieval world The cloth halls of these Flemish cities, such as that of Ypres, the warehouses along the canals at Bruges, and the houses of the merchants, still testify to the prosperity of Flanders in the later Middle Ages.

The Medieval Town. These medieval cities present a very picturesque appearance as we see them in illustrations of the time. Or we may still wander through the streets of Carcassonne in southern France, a medieval city restored in the nineteenth century. Life must have been crowded, noisy, and bustling in these close-built medieval towns with narrow streets Castle or cathedral, market place and town hall, made natural centres At fair and market times, for the many church processions, or for executions, or when a brawl arose, the streets would be full and choked On market days, country folk and strangers, 'foreigners' to the townsfolk even if they came from another town close by, would crowd the booths and stalls of the market, while animals wandered freely about the streets Sanitation and street lighting were little thought of, the plague made fearful havoc on its frequent visitations, and life was as cheap in the town as outside it Round the centre were the shops and workplaces, often dark and small Close by might be a separate quarter, shut off by wooden doors locked every night; this was the ghetto where the Jews lived

Then as now the cities contained both rich and poor a small number of wealthy burgesses, city fathers headed by the mayor or burgomaster, solid and substantial in their furred cloaks, keeping as tight a hold on civic affairs as on their money bags, and below them the far more numerous workmen, small shopkeepers, employees of all kinds, journeymen and apprentices, agricultural workers, down to the numerous beggars Yet if the medieval town was close and crowded, it was never cut off from the countryside; there would be some gardens within, especially just inside the town walls, and without the walls were more gardens, vineyards,


EUROPE
c. 1360
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
a Lands of the Habsburgs
b House of Bohemia & Luxemburg
c Eastern Empire
Dominions of Edward III in 1360
French Royal Domain
Church Lands
Boundary of Dominions of Stephen Dushan (1331-55)
Scale 1 20000000 (320 miles-1 inch)
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400
East 15 from
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
Dublin
Aberdeen
Edinburgh
Kings Lynn
Norwich
London
Oxford
Pembroke
Exeter
Channel Is
BRITTANY
Caen
Paris
Orleans
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Bourges
Poitiers
DUCHY OF AQUITAINE
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Rodez
Toulouse
Avignon
PROVENCE
Marseilles
Lyons
Macon
Troyes
Amiens
Calais
Bruges
BRABANT
DENMARK
Copenhagen
GOTHLAND
Calmar
Oslo
Bergen
Stavanger
Hamburg
Lübeck
Magdeburg
BRANDENBURG
SAXONY
Leipzig
Cologne
Frankfurt
BOHEMIA
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
Salzburg
TYROL
CARINTHIA
Augsburg
Nuremberg
Basel
Geneva
Turin
Milan
VISCONTI
Genoa
Venice
Florence
Lucca
Pisa
Siena
Ancona
PAPAL STATES
Viterbo
Rome
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Naples
Salerno
Messina
Palermo
KINGDOM OF SICILY
Malta (To Sicily)
Corsica
Sardinia (to Aragon)
Balearic Is (to Aragon)
Barcelona
Tarragona
Tortosa
Lerida
Saragossa
Pamplona
NAVARRE
Burgos
Valladolid
Leon
KINGDOM OF CASTILE
Madrid
Toledo
Valencia
Murcia
Cordova
Seville
Jaen
Granada
GRANADA
Almeria
Cadiz
Tarifa
Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta
Oran
Algiers
Bona
Tunis
Kairwan
Susa
Gabes
Tripoli
TRIPOLI
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
ZIYANIDS 1235-1393
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Oporto
Braga
Santiago
MEDITERRANEAN
Shetland Is
Orkney Is

20 25 30 35 45 50 55

FINLAND
Viborg
Abo
Reval
Stockholm
ESTHONIA
Dorpat
Novgorod
Pskof
LIVONIA
KNIGHTS
Riga
Libau
Dünaburg
Polotsk
Memel
SAMOGITIA
Kovno
Vitebsk
Vilna
Minsk
Königsberg
Grodno
Kulm
TEUTONIC
PODLESIA
LITHUANIA
KINGDOM
OF
POLAND
Lublin
Lemberg
VOLHYNIA
Kief
UKRAINE
Dnieper
PODOLIA
ZIPS
Budapest
Bistritz
Jassy
Dniester
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
Kalocsa
TRANSYLVANIA
Hermannstadt
Galatz
Tergovist
WALLACHIA
(To Hungary 1368)
Belgrade
Danube
Tirnova
Nish
SERVIAN
BULGARIA
Kossovo
Sofia
Uskub
(to Skoplie)
ALBANIAN
PRINCIPALITY
PRINCES
Philippopolis
Thessalonica
Corfu
(to Naples)
Janina
Lesbos
Negropont
(to Genoa)
Chios
(to Genoa)
Ephesus
Smyrna
LATIN STATES
PR OF ACHAIA
Modon
(to Venice)
Naxos
Rhodes
Knights of St John
Crete (to Venice)
BARKA
Alexandria
Cairo
RUSSIAN STATES
PRINCIPALITY OF
Kostroma
Volga
Tver
Moscow
MOSCOW
Smolensk
Kaluga
Nishni Novgorod
Kazan
KHANATE OF THE GOLDEN HORDE
(Tartars)
Sarai
Volga
Astrakhan
Don
Azof
(To Genoa)
Kaffa
(to Genoa)
Cherson
Caucasus
BLACK SEA
Constantsa
Varna
Adrianople
Constantinople
EMPIRE
Gallipoli
Pera (to Genoa)
Nicaea
Brusa
Angora
Ottoman Turks
Sinope
Amisus
(Genoa)
Trebizond
EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND
Amasra
(to Genoa)
Amasia
GEORGIA
MOHAMMED ABTEY
KINGDOM OF
Kara Kuyunli
Tigris
Mosul
Turkomans
Euphrates
Seljuk Turks
(Eight Emirates)
Konia
Taurus
Armenians
Aleppo
Tarsus
Antioch
KINGDOM OF CYPRUS
Famagusta
Tripolis
Damascus
Tyre
Acre
Jerusalem
SULTAN
AEGEAN SEA

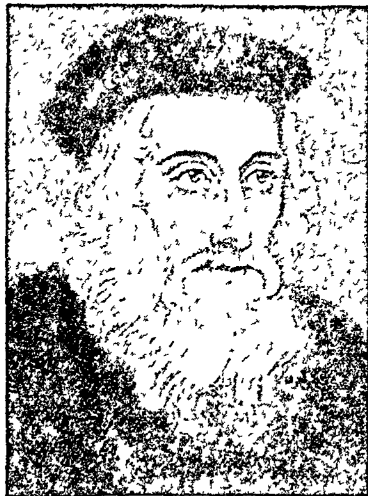
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In the fourteenth century protests arose in England, France, and Germany against these practices Edward III of England declared that the Pope should be the shepherd, not the shearer, of his flock and the English Parliament passed laws against papal control of livings, and appeals to the papal court. In Germany papal collectors were driven out of the country In France the clergy in 1398 solemnly withdrew their obedience from the Papacy, to be followed in this by the clergy of Castile in Spain

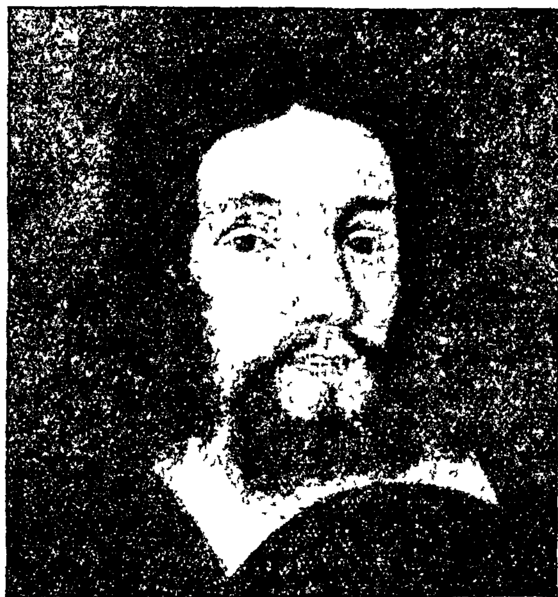
John Wyclif Demands for reform of the Church also arose in other directions The monastic orders had lost some of their purity and zeal and there was growing criticism of them, not least of the friars, who in mixing with the world had succumbed to worldly influences Criticism, once begun, did not stop at friars, or even at the Papacy, but began to question some of the accepted doctrines of medieval Christianity John Wyclif (1320–84), a priest and scholar of Oxford, wrote and preached over many years against the wealth and abuses of the Church, the power and pretensions of the Papacy, and even against the doctrine of transubstantiation, i e the doctrine that in the Mass or Communion the bread and wine were changed into the Body and Blood of Christ by the consecration of the priest He wished the Church to return to its primitive poverty and faith He founded an order of 'Poor Priests,' to preach about the land, and translated or encouraged the translation of the Bible into English, the first complete translation into the English tongue.



JOHN WYCLIF

John Huss. The spread of Wyclif's views led to the English Lollard movement, with its congregations of simple folk, numbers of whom were burnt for their faith in the early fifteenth century On the continent of Europe some of his views were adopted and expounded by John Huss (1369–1415) of Bohemia, a leading figure in the University of Prague, and a strong Czech nationalist opposed to German influence in his country Huss attacked the abuses of the Church, the sale of indulgences, and the Papacy, but did not follow Wyclif in the attack on transubstantiation Great controversy arose in Bohemia, and spread throughout Germany and central Europe Excommunication of Huss by the Pope failed to put an end to the storm Something more was needed

The Conciliar Movement Thus out of papal decline and schism, the undoubted abuses in the Church, and the spread of opposition and heresy, came the Conciliar Movement of the early fifteenth century. A first Council at Pisa merely produced a third pope Then the Emperor Sigismund, energetic but vain and (as Huss found to his cost) unfaithful to his word, took up the matter, and in 1414 there met in the imperial city of Constance a great General Council of the western Church, pledged to restore unity, peace, and faith to western Christendom It claimed to be above the Papacy, and did indeed end the schism, getting rid of three popes and electing a new one, Martin V (1417) But for Church reform the Council did little or nothing, and although it condemned and burnt John Huss (who had attended under safe-conduct from the Emperor) and a disciple, Jerome of Prague, it by no means put an end to opposition of the kind he and Wyclif had encouraged, as the Hussite religious wars which shortly broke out in Bohemia showed



JOHN HUSS

Nor was a further Council called to Basel in 1431 any more successful It is true that Cardinal Cesarini, its able president, secured a compromise which conceded most of the Hussite demands, and the Council further abolished annates and appeals to the Papal Curia But it failed to bring peace in Bohemia, and the Papacy ranged itself in opposition and then dissolved it Further controversy followed, but with the final dissolution of the Basel Council in 1449, indeed before, the Conciliar Movement showed itself a failure Its task was immensely difficult, the Papacy came to oppose it, and it was torn by internal dissension The unity of medieval western Christendom was, in fact, disappearing before the growing national differences, and the next attempts at reform of the Church were to take place along national rather than universal lines

II The Later Medieval Empire

The political history of the Empire in Germany, apart from developments such as that of the Hanseatic League, was characterized in the later medieval period by the triumph of the electoral principle, and the steady growth of the house of Habsburg Emperors from the house



of Habsburg, that of Luxemburg, or the Wittelsbachs of Bavaria, succeeded each other on the imperial throne, crowned with the four crowns of Germany, Burgundy, Italy (Lombardy), and the Empire But despite frequent wars between rivals no emperor became strong enough to reassert an effective authority over all Germany, or to secure control over Italy for more than a moment The shadowy claim of the Empire to represent the imperial authority of Rome over all Europe was almost forgotten

The life of Germany continued to develop in its various divisions, rather than as an empire The Golden Bull of Charles IV in 1356 marked the acceptance and regulation of the system of election to the imperial throne. By it the elections were to be held in the city of Frankfurt, and the three Archbishops, of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier, and four lay electoral princes, the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, were to elect the Emperor by a majority vote. There was no question of papal sanction, the Empire had become purely a German institution We may still see the hall where the seven electors met, and the Kaisersaal where the new emperor dined with his electors and showed himself to the public.

The Habsburgs. Yet if the Empire was thus declared an elected monarchy it was in this same period that the Habsburgs secured a prior claim to the throne. Rudolf of Habsburg (Habsburg=Hawkscastle, from a castle in Switzerland) had been elected emperor in 1273, at the close of the Great Interregnum, mainly because he was not one of the chief rivals for power at this time But he and his successors showed considerable ability in gaining new lands for their family Chief of these acquisitions was the border duchy of Austria (with Styria and Carinthia) which Rudolf took from the King of Bohemia, and which became the key possession of the Habsburg house, and the centre of its widening rule, so that we always think of the Habsburgs and Austria together Though the imperial crown passed away from the Habsburg house for a time, it returned to it again, and at the very end of the Middle Ages a Habsburg emperor, Frederick III, though futile as an imperial ruler, both further consolidated the Habsburg dominions and secured the succession to the large Burgundian realm by marrying his son Maximilian to the daughter of Charles the Bold From his day onwards with one brief exception (Charles VII), the imperial crown was to remain in the house of Habsburg, until Napoleon ended the Empire's inglorious existence in 1806

The Emergence of Switzerland. One of the signs of the passing of the medieval period was the the emergence of new states and nations, breaking even the appearance of unity in western civilization Some of these, such as the Slav nations, lay outside the bounds of medieval Europe proper, and consideration of them may be left until later. But the little mountain republic of Switzerland emerged in the very heart of Europe, and from the Empire itself In Hohenstaufen days the future Switzerland formed part of Swabia As towns like Berne or Zurich grew, they had to fight for freedom against the feudal lords, the centre of the struggle being the area round Lake Lucerne, where the Habsburg family ruled. To maintain the unequal struggle the townsfolk and

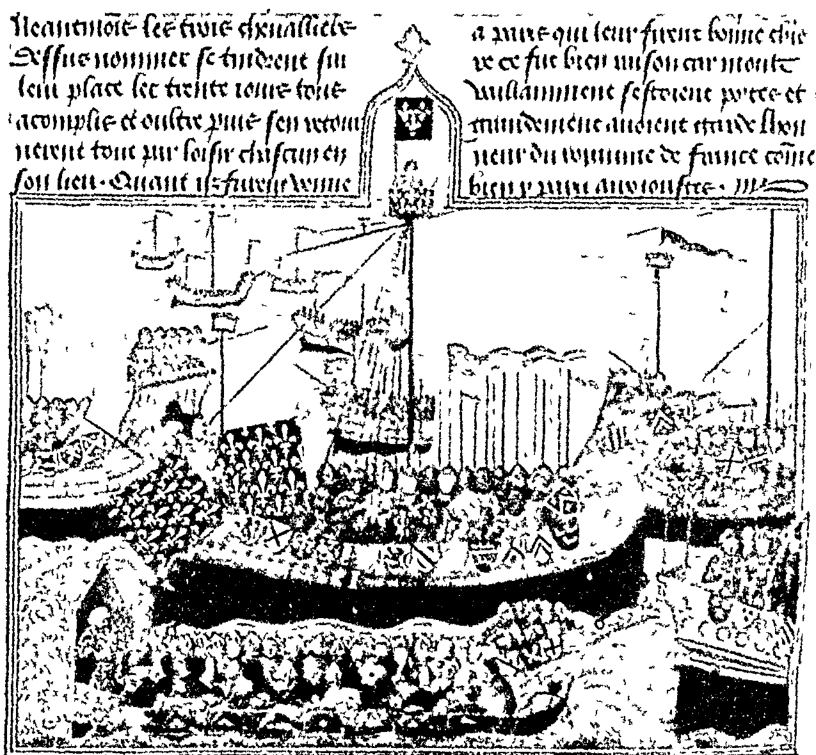
peasantry were driven to form unions, and in 1291 the three districts or 'cantons' of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden formed a Perpetual League against their oppressor This was the formal beginning of Switzerland, although the struggle for independence continued for another century until, after the decisive victory of Sempach (1386), the Habsburgs were driven to acknowledge defeat, and Switzerland, its cantons now increased to eight, began its career as the home of a free people It was from this period that the legend of William Tell arose, true in spirit if not wholly so in fact Switzerland remained formally within the bounds of the Empire for still another century (to 1499).

III FRANCE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

In France the nearly two hundred years between the death of St Louis in 1270 and the accession of the first 'modern' king, Louis XI, in 1461, saw the gradual decay of the feudal Capetian monarchy, and the anarchy of the Hundred Years' War with England For a time after the death of St Louis the monarchy appeared to be growing rather than declining Philip IV, the Fair (1285–1314), tall, kingly, simple, and pious, added to his territories, won a victory over the Papacy, and took an important step forward in the organization of his rule by calling together the Estates General, a body like the English Parliament, made up of nobles, clergy, and townsfolk. But after his death, if not before, a real decline set in If government was better organized, it was also more expensive, and the kings were continually short of money The Estates General somehow failed to develop into a responsible national assembly At bottom France was still greatly divided, and the Estates reflected the division There was indeed a recrudescence of feudalism, with rebellion and internal strife The peasantry rose against the nobility in the so-called Jacquerie riots (1358), to be put down with merciless severity The continuous direct line of the Capetians failed, and in 1328 there was no male heir, not even a brother of the deceased king The English were still in France, holding Guienne, and with old claims to other provinces They were rivals for influence in Flanders, as on the seas It scarcely needed the claim of Edward III to the throne of France to plunge both countries into the conflict which opened in 1337 and was to close over a century later

The Hundred Years' War The war which thus opened and lasted so long did not go on continuously. there was a peace in 1360 (Bretigny), and after the war had begun again in 1369, a truce came in 1396 Henry V of England began it again in 1415, whence it dragged on until 1453

There is no need for us to try to follow its dreary and fruitless course It is true that the first half of the war is illumined for us by Froissart's *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain,* and that Froissart was an incomparable story-teller, in whose pages the pageantry of chivalry lives again. But even Froissart's colourful narrative does not wholly



An early fifteenth-century illustration of a French expedition overseas described by Froissart, beautifully coloured, in the original British Museum MS

conceal the miseries of the war The Black Prince, pattern of chivalry, did nothing to stop the massacre of the men, women, and children of Limoges And if Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt are 'household words' in English history, we have to set against these victories of the English long-bow, the burning of Joan of Arc, and the English share in the reduction of the fertile land of France to a desolate waste We are told that in certain places, frequently ravaged by the war, the very cattle learnt to know the sound of the alarm bell, and to race for refuge from soldiers or the brigands who abounded 'Not since King Clovis's day,' as a chronicler mourned, 'was France so desolate as she is to-day'

The war was not wholly a war with England, it became a civil war as well, for a great feud arose between the Duke of Burgundy, backed more by the common people, and the Duke of Orleans, supported by the nobility



E N A

JOAN OF ARC ENTERING ORLEANS
(*Scherrer*)

Joan of Arc. Yet if the countryside of France was desolated, out of this same countryside came the deliverer, Joan of Arc, a girl from the village of Domrémy on the edge of Lorraine, who saw visions, and heard the voice of St Michael, the protector of France, calling her to drive

out the English and save her country This she literally accomplished, for before she was captured and handed over to the English by the Burgundians in 1430, Charles VII had been crowned King of France at Rheims, and the English cause in France was lost, though the war was to drag on for another twenty years, until only Calais remained in English hands Thus in the end, though at great cost, France was freed of the foreigner And she had won, through the inspiration of the Maid, a consciousness of nationality which was of great importance for the future The way was clear for the development of the modern French monarchy and nation

IV ENGLAND IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

In England in this period the medieval monarchy likewise declined from the heights reached under Edward I The fact was that in both countries the old forces of feudal anarchy had not yet been completely destroyed, and the new forces of law and order still depended too much on the personality and power of the crown to withstand the test of long war under weak rulers

Parliament. The growth of Parliament was indeed the outstanding development of this period, marking the emergence of the political genius of the English people, their discovery and application of the principle of representative government, which neither the Greeks nor the Romans had discovered The form had been worked out by experiment in the thirteenth century, as described above The next two centuries saw the growth of organization and the acquisition of power From about the time the Hundred Years' War began Parliament fell into two 'Houses,' one made up of the 'Lords' who as nobles and higher clergy each received a separate summons to its meetings, the other of the 'Commons,' the knights or lesser nobility and the burgesses, who were elected It met oftener, sometimes every year Parliament had been originally called together to grant money, and helped by the king's need for money in war, the principle was slowly established that Parliamentary consent was needed for taxes, and that the representatives of the commonalty, the House of Commons, had special rights in such matters, and might even exercise some control over the spending of the money they granted

In the actual making of the laws progress was slower Parliament could, and did, present petitions for laws and win a share in law-making, but not until the time of Henry VI (1422–61) could it really draw up laws to be passed, or rejected, by the king Parliament also began to try to make the government responsible to them in 1376 the House of Commons 'impeached,' i e accused before the court of the House of

Lords, two royal officials They even took a hand in king-making, once to declare Edward II deposed, again to do the same for Richard II, and to declare Henry IV his lawful successor This last action introduced what has been called the Lancastrian Experiment, of government largely through and by Parliament. But the effort was premature Parliament was not really strong enough to govern England yet With the reign of Henry VI and the Wars of the Roses, the great barons were to have a final fling, and when they had destroyed each other, the firm hand of the Tudor kings allowed Parliament only limited powers Its day was still to come

Wales. The creation of the national monarchy in England was naturally followed by the attempt to bring the adjoining countries of Wales and Scotland under its sway Wales, the refuge of Celt from Saxon, protected by its mountains, poor and backward, but independent under its princes and with its own language, had long resisted efforts to reduce it Edward I, soldier as well as lawgiver, undertook the task more seriously, and effected the conquest after two campaigns His son, like all later heirs to the English throne, became Prince of Wales, and the row of castles he built from Conway to Harlech still remains to mark his work. Although Wales was not fully incorporated with England until a later date, and was to retain both its language and much of its individuality, the work of Edward I was not to be undone At the end of the Middle Ages we find Wales providing a king for the English throne, Henry VII, the first of the Tudors

Scotland. A like effort to incorporate Scotland had a different fate, however From Norman times the kings of England had claimed a vague sort of feudal lordship over Scotland, and the lack of a direct heir to the Scottish throne gave Edward I an opportunity to interfere Divided and backward as the Scots were, however, Highland and Lowland were agreed in spurning English rule A Scottish noble, Robert Bruce, raised the standard of revolt against Edward's rule, and after the great Edward's death, defeated his feebler son at the famous battle of Bannockburn near Stirling in 1314 The battle marked the achievement of Scottish independence, and despite intermittent warfare, when Scotland allied with France, and constant border fighting, the verdict of battle held, and Scotland was long left to develop in her own way

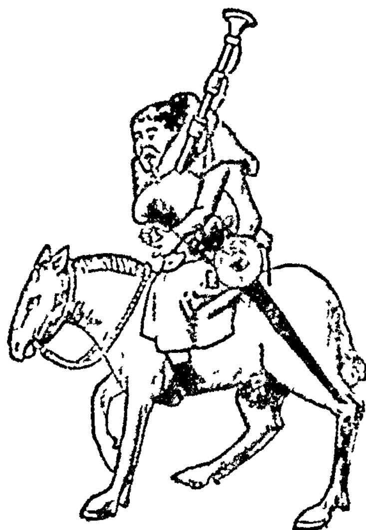
Ireland. Relations between England and Ireland underwent little change in this period Despite Henry II's adoption of the title 'Lord of Ireland,' his successors, concerned more with the English Channel than the Irish Sea, left Ireland pretty much alone The English 'pale,' the area round Dublin, remained under English rule, the rest of Ireland was left under its local kings, with the old tribal organization, and a sprinkling of Anglo-

Norman lords, some of them by this time rather Irish than English The day of acute Anglo-Irish difficulties had not yet arisen

The Wars of the Roses. The Hundred Years' War, long as it was, was but the concluding part of the long struggle of the Normans and Angevins with the Capetian kings for the soil of France. When the long war began the English kings still held south-western France round Bordeaux, when it closed they held only Calais And no sooner was



THE KNIGHT OF THE 'CANTERBURY TALES'



THE MILLER OF THE 'CANTERBURY TALES'

the French war over than England was plunged into a civil war which lasted for a generation (1455–1485) In this war the nation as a whole took little part It was a war of the nobility for power, in which the partisans of York and Lancaster, white rose and red, took sides in this blind resurgence of the feudal spirit in England. Before the wars ended at Bosworth, with the death of the Yorkist usurper, King Richard III, the feudal nobility had largely destroyed each other, and the way was clear for the new monarchy of the Tudors

English Literature: Chaucer. Less resounding than the clash of weapons on armour, or the newer roar of artillery, but no less significant, was the emergence in this period of a literature in the English tongue It was the fruit of the slow fusion of English and Norman. The loss of the French connection was to further its growth, but already, in the days of

Edward III, the first great English poet had appeared And in the poetry of Geoffrey Chaucer (1340–1400), as in the *Piers Plowman* of his contemporary Langland, we find mirrored the England of that day The Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* gathers together, for a pilgrimage to the tomb of St Thomas (Becket) at Canterbury, all the types of the English commonalty a 'very perfect gentle knight', his son, a gay young squire, a yeoman in coat and hood of green, a gentle nun, a manly monk, a friar with twinkling eyes and a wide knowledge of taverns, a solemn merchant in beaver hat, a lean clerk from Oxford, a master mariner, a doctor of physic, burgesses and craftsmen, a parson and a ploughman, a miller and a reeve—all these and more gather at the Tabard Inn at Southwark in London and on the road to Canterbury beguile the time with the stories Chaucer puts into their mouths It was an achievement greater and more permanent than the battles and sieges of the French war, or the feuds of Nevilles and Beauforts in the Wars of the Roses

V Social Changes

Before leaving this medieval world it is worth while to pause and consider how society as a whole in western Europe had changed and developed If we look over the whole period from the invasions of the barbarians, it is obvious that the changes had been enormous By modern standards western Europe still might be 'barbarous' in some ways, e g in its wars, its methods of punishment, its practice of medicine, but it was no longer 'barbarian' In addition to making kingdoms and laws, its peoples had learnt to build cities, to raise cathedrals for prayer and praise, to create languages and literatures, to develop learning, to draw and paint, to work cunningly in metal and cloth, to decorate their churches, houses, and clothes, to make sacred and secular music

By the fifteenth century houses were built less for defence, more for dignity and comfort, costumes were less martial but more elaborate Indeed costume, whether of men or women of the higher classes, had become so elaborate that laws began to be passed to check its extravagances Trade and wealth had brought comfort and even luxury Thus we hear of bathrooms, at all events in royal palaces like Westminster The wealthy burgess of the fifteenth century lived more comfortably than Charles the Great had done, with a solid stone house and a garden, fire-places and chimneys, glass windows, tapestries and curtains, rich tableware, feather beds, damask table-cloths, nightcaps and linen sheets, furs and silk and fine linen to wear, with jewels and ornaments for his wife And his manners were more polished Life was a little safer and more stable, though still harsh and rough in many ways It was noisy,

but no noisier than our own, though the noises were different. Culture had more opportunity for development. we are even on the verge of printing.

The Peasantry. The majority of the population of western Europe however, lived neither in palaces nor in the solid houses of the burgesses, but on the land which they cultivated. 'I work hard . . . be it never so stark winter I dare not linger at home for awe of my lord . . . Mighty hard work it is, for I am not free,' said the ploughman serf of the eleventh-century England. Farming was to continue to be 'mighty hard work' long after the peasant ceased to be in legal bondage to a lord. The methods actually employed in farming did not change much in the medieval period, the three-field system of agriculture was to last for some time yet. But the social frame-work was giving way before new forces. The serf very naturally strove to free himself from the burdens the manorial system laid upon him. Some escaped from villeinage to the wars, others into growing towns, for 'town air makes free,' ran the proverb a villein who could live in a town for a year and a day was henceforth free. But only a limited number could escape in this way. The majority were to gain their freedom more slowly by the change from the payment of services to the payment of rent, from a 'natural' to a money economy. The growth of markets on a wider scale than those of the self-sufficing manor, and bound up with the use of money, likewise aided the process. With the removal of economic bondage, legal serfdom gradually disappeared.



A WINTER SCENE
(From a medieval manuscript)

This process was far from complete when the Middle Ages ended, and varied greatly in its methods and course from country to country. The emancipation of the peasantry was not completed in France until

the revolution of 1789, and in Germany not until early in the nineteenth century Serfdom survived in Russia for another half-century. In Italy the growth of the city republics early did away with personal servitude, as the townsmen bought up the land in their struggle with the landed nobility

Emancipation in England. In England the manorial system broke up in the later Middle Ages It was already giving way when in the middle of the fourteenth century there swept across Europe from the East the plague of the Black Death, destroying perhaps twenty-five million people in Europe In England so far as we can tell, it destroyed between a third and half of the population of three to four millions Since the bulk of the population were peasants, the plague thus created a great shortage of agricultural labour The State tried by statute to prevent the peasantry from taking advantage of this situation The reply of the peasantry was the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, a challenge to the whole social order 'When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?' asked their leader, the Kentish priest, John Ball 'We will that you free us for ever, us and our lands,' they demanded of the king After a moment of success, the revolt was crushed, as the early Jacqueries of the French peasantry had been Yet the day of villeinage was over in England none the less Feudalism gave way in this as it had given way in government Without any definite Magna Carta for the peasantry serfdom slowly disappeared The feudal lord became less of a farmer and more of a landlord, the serf became the tenant paying rent Soon the landlord was to begin to 'enclose' his land for sheep-farming, and the 'freedom' of the peasant might mean his ejection from the land But that takes us beyond the medieval period

For Further Reading

CHAUCER, *Canterbury Tales*

M DEANSLEY, *A History of the Medieval Church*

FROISSART, *Chronicle* (trans)

E LODGE, *The Close of the Middle Ages*

C SEIGNOBOS, *History of France*

G. M TREVELYAN, *England in the Age of Wyclif*

PART VII

THE AGE OF THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION

INTRODUCTION

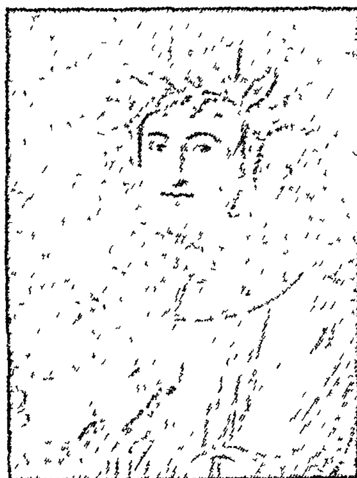
HISTORY used to be divided into Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Medieval History began with the fall of Rome, and Modern History with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, or the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492 Actually all divisions of history into closed periods are made in part for convenience of arrangement, and do not entirely fit the facts. Nowadays we regard western society as evolving gradually over the many centuries we still call medieval, to merge more slowly into modern times Hence it seems better to avoid the wide and incomplete division of medieval and modern, and to make use of more limited periods with more definite and easily recognizable features

There is no doubt that changes of great significance did occur in western society in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and on almost every side In the first place there was a real quickening of intellectual, literary, and artistic life in Italy, and then elsewhere in Europe (Chapter I) This movement was more critical, more scientific, and more inventive than the preceding age Hence came new conceptions of the universe, inventions such as printing, and the wide range of maritime discoveries (Chapter II) These changes inevitably affected religion The Papacy and Church needed reform, and the new humanism was more critical of accepted beliefs In Germany a monk named Martin Luther protested against the sale of indulgences, and so precipitated the storm of the Reformation Spreading over all western Europe, in the end this revolution split western Christendom permanently into Protestant and Catholic, the latter revived and disciplined by the Counter-Reformation (Chapter III) Political and economic changes likewise occurred during this period The monarchies of the nation states increased greatly in strength, as we may see in France and England The period also saw the rise of a moneyed middle class, with changes in agriculture as well, making up the beginnings of what has come to be called the capitalistic system (Chapter IV) Finally, the period was marked by the ascendancy of Spain, now united by Ferdinand and Isabella Spain became supreme in Europe under Charles V, and established her rule in the New World of America (Chapter V)

CHAPTER I

THE RENAISSANCE

The Meaning of the Renaissance. The word 'renaissance' means re-birth, and was first applied to the revival of Greek and Latin forms in architecture and literature in Italy But the Renaissance was more than a pure return to ancient forms Although it professed in some ways to despise the Middle Ages, it nevertheless emerged from the preceding centuries, and owed much to them And it had qualities which were peculiarly its own It represented an outburst of individualism, a new freedom of thought and action, a quickening of personality on every side of human life, from fashion in dress to speculation on this world and the next It was intensely curious, and intensely interested in humanity, its 'humanism' implies just this With this interest in man came a new interest in the workings of nature and in science The critical faculty, which had slumbered through the Middle Ages, now awakened, with results of the utmost importance for every side of human history



PETRARCH

The Background of the Renaissance in Italy. It may seem surprising that a country so divided as Italy in the fifteenth century, and so open to invasions by its stronger neighbours (as in 1494 and later), should be the home of so potent a movement Yet cultural development does not necessarily need a large state for its growth, though it does imply a certain level of material well-being, if not of wealth The Italian cities, Florence, Venice, and Milan above all, had accumulated a large amount of wealth by trade over a long period, and the growth of this trading, middle-class, urban interest, had broken the back of feudalism in Italy, save in the south, far earlier than elsewhere in Europe Italy had her direct connection with the Roman world, her trade kept her in close and constant touch with Greece and the East, she had a warm and sunny climate, and she had early developed a language and a literature of her own Finally the Papacy, forgetting for a time its highest duties, was to play no small part in the new movement

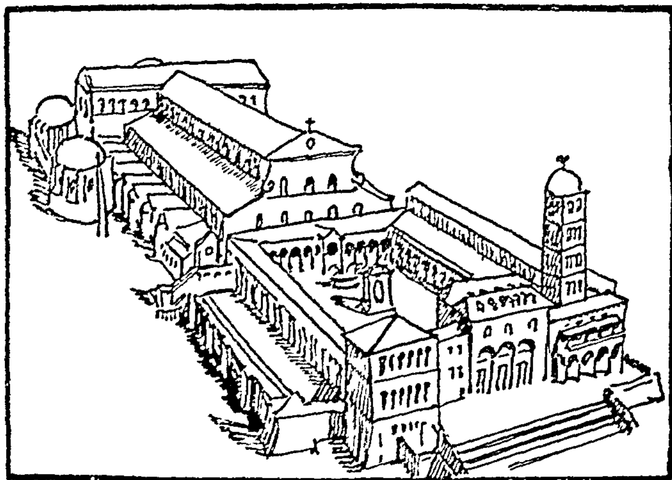
The Divisions of Italy Naples. Politically, Italy at the time of the

Renaissance was divided into five major units, with many smaller and less important states to complete its complicated pattern The kingdom of Naples covered most of the southern half of the peninsula, but its history belied the appearance of solidity suggested by the map For Naples had passed in the thirteenth century under the French house of Anjou, then the Sicilians had revolted and invited the Spanish house of Aragon to rule over their island There ensued generations of civil war, until the Aragonese were victorious in the person of Alfonso the Magnanimous The French claim was revived by Charles VIII, to justify his invasion of Italy in 1494, and only abandoned ten years later after further war Naples, then as later, was more backward and feudal than northern Italy, though under Alfonso it played some part in the intellectual movement

The Papal States and the Papacy. The Papal States had necessarily suffered from the decline of the Papacy, and the long exile in Avignon Nor were the Popes after their return more successful either in repressing the turbulence and disorder in Rome, where the great families of the Colonna and Orsini still retained their influence, or in establishing their authority firmly over the rest of their domains The Papal States became the breeding ground of the *condottieri*, those military leaders of the period who hired themselves out to the highest bidder, and who tried, often successfully, to set themselves up as tyrants over cities which employed them, or which they captured in war The placing on the papal throne of a distinguished scholar, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II, 1458–64), did little to improve matters, for although Pius was learned, and strove to arouse Europe to a new Crusade against the advancing Turks, he was quite unable to bring about reform at home Instead there followed, after a short interval, a succession of Popes who degraded the Papacy below the level of even the lay princes of Italy, and did the sacred office irreparable harm Sixtus IV (1471–84), a Franciscan friar, who had risen by his learning, pursued a purely secular policy of alliance and war with the other states of Italy, bending all his energies to building up the fortunes of his nephews, two of whom he made cardinals, regardless of their unfitness for such office Innocent VIII (1484–92) not merely acknowledged his illegitimate children, but made one of them a cardinal at the age of fourteen Under him Rome became a sink of lawlessness and iniquity

The Borgias That evil reputation it maintained, and if possible, increased, under his successor, the notorious Alexander VI (1492–1503), a Spaniard of the Borgia family, nephew of a former Pope, and cardinal at the age of twelve, the richest cardinal in Rome Alexander VI was a man of magnificent appearance and great ambition, with several children, best known of whom were his son Cesare, and his daughter Lucrezia

Cesare inherited his father's ambition to the full, and pursued his path to power with a violence and lack of scruple which has drawn on him the execration of later ages, though Machiavelli at the time saw in him the one hope of Italy, and defended his methods in the best known of his writings, *The Prince*. But the power of Cesare failed to survive the sudden and unexpected death of his father, the result, according to rumour, of poison they had prepared for another



OLD ST PETER'S, ROME
(Compare it with the present buildings on page 407)

Julius II. Leo X. Julius II (1503–13), if he did not reform the Papacy, at least did something to remove the grossest stains from its character Moved above all by the desire for fame, he caused the revered Basilica of St. Peter to be torn down to make room for a more magnificent cathedral, and engaged Michelangelo to build a colossal tomb for him With warlike impetuosity he engaged in the task of restoring papal authority in his domains, and carried on campaigns, made alliances and broke them, like any lay prince of the time No less secular in his interests was his successor, the Medici Pope Leo X (1513–21), who is said to have begun his reign with the remark 'Let us enjoy the Papacy, since God has given it to us' Enjoyment, to Leo X, lay in the arts and letters of the Renaissance as in magnificence and pomp, and under him Rome became the centre of both learning and art But after his death both Rome and the Papacy paid for the accumulated vices and defects of the whole period we have described In 1527 Rome was pillaged for three days by the army of Charles V, and shortly afterwards nearly half Europe was to reject the authority of the Popes

Milan and Venice. Of the three most important northern states in Italy Milan had early fallen into the hands of the Visconti, and was the outstanding example of a tyranny, with all the accompaniments of violence, cunning, war, and tyrannicide In 1450 Francesco Sforza, the ablest *condottiere* in Italy, succeeded to the rule, and maintained it with great ability But his successor was a depraved and worthless ruler, and his murder brought to power Ludovico Sforza, the Moor, able but crafty, on whose head rests the accusation that he brought the French invader into Italy Neighbour and rival to Milan was the Republic of Venice, governed by its Doge and the Council of Ten, wealthiest of all the Italian states, but now threatened by the advance of the Turks, with whom Venice was driven in 1479 to make a disastrous peace Very soon the discovery of a new route to the east was still further to hasten her decline from the proud position she occupied when the fifteenth century opened Yet in Italy during this period she occupied the first place in importance, and was feared and hated for that reason



LORENZO DE' MEDICI

Florence. Likewise a republic in form, but differing widely in many respects from Venice, was the state of Florence, heart and centre of Renaissance Italy Out of the conflicts between the greater and lesser Florentine trade gilds, one family, the Medici, had come early in the fifteenth century to occupy a predominant position, resting at bottom on wealth, ability, and the divisions of their enemies Cosimo de' Medici (*d* 1464) displayed great skill in establishing his family's power, which reached its height under his grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent (ruler 1469–92) Lorenzo deserved his title for his encouragement of art and letters, which in Florence reached their height in his day, but he lowered


ITALY
in the XV Century
Scale 1:5,000,000 (80 miles 1 inch)
English Miles
0 20 40 60 80
George Philip & Son, Ltd.
Continuation westward on the same scale
REPUBLIC OF VENICE
FRIULI
Udine
Gradisca
Trieste
ISTRIA (to Venice)
Fiume
Pola
Drove
Inn
Bormio
Bozen
Adige
Cadore
Belluno
Feltre
Trent
Ceneda
Piave
Treviso
Venice
Chioggia
Verona
Vicenza
Padua
Este
Bergamo
Brescia
Castiglione
Como
Monza
Biossca
Milan
Novara
Marignano
Landriano
Lodi
Casale
Pavia
Cremona
Trezzo
MARQ. OF MANTUA (GONZAGA)
Mirandola
D. OF FERRARA (ESTE)
Ferrara
Po
Tortona
Piacenza
Alessandria
Guastalla
Parma
Carpi
Correggio
Modena
Reggio
Bologna
DUCHY OF MODENA (ESTE)
EMILIA
Imola
Faenza
Forli
Forlimpopoli
Cesena
Rimini
San Marino
Pesaro
Fano
Sinigaglia
Urbino
Fossombrone
Ancona
REP. OF GENOA
Genoa
Rapallo
Savona
Spezia
Pontremoli
REP. OF LUCCA
Lucca
Pistoia
Prato
Fiesole
Florence
Vallombrosa
Anghiari
Arno
Pisa
Livorno
REPUBLIC OF FLORENCE
Volterra
Arezzo
Citta di Castello
Siena
Cortona
L. Trasimeno
Perugia
Assisi
REPUBLIC OF SIENA
Piombino
Elba
STATES OF THE CHURCH
THE MARCHES
Camerino
Fermo
Ascoli
UMBRIA
Orvieto
Spoleto
L. Bolsena
Viterbo
SABINA
Tiber
PATRIMONY OF ST PETER
Civita Vecchia
Tivoli
Rome
Ostia
CAMPAGNA
Anagni
Roccasecca
Pontecorvo
Terracina
Gaeta
Ponza
Garigliano
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
ABRUZZI
Civitella
Pescara
Chieti
MOLISE
Campobasso
Sessa
Capua
Benevento
TERRA DI LAVORO
Aversa
Naples
Amalfi
Sorrento
Salerno
ADRIATIC SEA
Lausanne
Geneva
Rhône
VALAIS
SAVOY
DUCHY OF SAVOY
Aosta
Dora Baltea
Biella
Ivrea
Vercelli
Isère
Grenoble
Susa
Turin
Mt. Genèvre
Pinerolo
Asti
MONFERRAT
DAUPHINÉ
MARQUISATE OF SALUZZO
Saluzzo
Durance
Cuneo
Mondovi
Tenda
Monaco
Nice
Ventimiglia
FRANCE
ALPS
10
12
14
46
44
42
40
6
8

both the political and moral standards of the republic over which he ruled Yet neither the preaching of Savonarola, who refused the dying Lorenzo absolution, nor the attempts at rebellion, availed to free Florence from the yoke of the Medici Although driven out in 1494, they were restored by Spanish arms; driven out again in 1527, they were restored three years later The Republic of Florence was formally dissolved, and the Medici became the dukes, first of Florence, then of Tuscany, to retain that office for two hundred years

Naturally, such conditions in Italy did not make for political stability, and there were continuous efforts to dispossess tyrants and restore former liberties, as in the famous Pazzi conspiracy of Florence (1478), or to enlarge the boundaries and power of one state at the expense of its neighbours, as the Visconti had done in Milan Thus Italy was in a constant state of unrest, and patriotic Italians like Machiavelli longed for a master who would give peace and order to the distracted peninsula Instead, however, there came foreign invasions For whilst Italy was thus divided, and at best in a state of uneasy equilibrium, elsewhere in western Europe there had appeared strong and united monarchies, to whom Italy afforded an easy opportunity of acquiring wealth and glory

The Foreign Invasions of Italy. The story of the foreign invasions of Italy needs no long recounting It was, indeed, the old story of the barbarian invasion of Italy repeated Charles VIII of France scarcely needed the invitation of the crafty Ludovico Sforza of Milan to cross the Alps in 1494, using the old claim of the French to Naples But Charles was no hero to master Italy, and, after his first triumphant march down to Naples, was forced to beat a hasty retreat before a league formed by Venice against him Yet he had opened the way, and his successor, Louis XII, occupied Milan, whilst Ferdinand of Spain seized the kingdom of Naples Pope Julius II allied with the foreigner against Venice, but shortly repented, and formed a 'Holy League' against France. Yet though the French were driven out, they returned again under Francis I, who, after a bloody battle at Marignano (1515), won back the duchy of Milan The rise of the Emperor Charles V, however, again turned the scales against France in Italy, and this time permanently Francis was defeated and captured at Pavia (1525), and within a few years Charles was supreme in the peninsula During thirty-six years Italy had been ravaged and despoiled from end to end The horrors of the sack of Rome in 1527 were but the culmination of many similar calamities suffered at the hands of foreign soldiery, above all the Spanish and the German And at the end of the wars the Renaissance was over, and Italy was parcelled out under foreign princes, so to remain for three hundred years

The Intellectual and Artistic Side of the Renaissance in Italy. It is a relief to turn from this catalogue of war and outrage to the achievement of the new movement in letters and art. For neither the tyranny of the princes nor the excesses of the invaders could prevent the flowering of the genius of this amazing period, so full of names not merely renowned then, but which have retained their glory to our own day. One feature of this period was that men not merely excelled in one thing, but were masters of a number of arts or crafts. Indeed, the Renaissance ideal was not that of the specialist, but that of the all-round man, illustrated by the career of Alberti (*d.* 1472), who was a writer, architect, painter, sculptor, athlete, and mathematician. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), in addition to being a painter of unsurpassed genius, possessed the most fertile curiosity of his time, seeking not merely for beauty but also for the secrets of life and the soul itself, making attempts to fly, speculating on fossils, designing fearsome implements of war, making the most detailed study of nature, as of design and colouring. Michelangelo was likewise painter, sculptor, and poet.



LEONARDO DA VINCI

The Revival of Classical Learning. 'I go to awaken the dead,' said a searcher for Greek and Roman remains in the middle of the fifteenth century. For the beginnings of this search, which had become a veritable passion in Italy by this date, we must go back a century at least. Although the medieval world had never entirely lost touch with the literature of classical times, its knowledge was confined to a few writers, such as Vergil and Aristotle, and was very fragmentary. It was in the days of Petrarch (1304–74) that Italians began to search more diligently for the lost treasures of the Greek and Roman writers, to copy the style of the

Romans, to learn the Greek which had been a forgotten tongue through western Europe   Petrarch is best known in Italian literature for the famous sonnets to his Laura, but in the history of the Renaissance we know him as the man who both sought the learning of the ancients himself, and inspired others to follow the same path   Boccaccio, the contemporary and friend of Petrarch, and likewise known for the tales (the *Decameron*) he wrote in Italian, felt the same zest for the classics, and was best known at the time for his Latin works

The tide which thus began to flow grew in volume and vigour during the following century, strengthened by the successive discoveries of the writings of the great Greek and Latin authors   Long before the capture of Constantinople by the Turks teachers of Greek like Chrysoloras had found their way to Italy   There was a perfect frenzy of enthusiasm for the old authors, the collection and copying of manuscripts became a considerable industry, and libraries were established to house the precious texts, as the Laurentian Library in Florence   At first there was little critical scholarship; men were content to admire and to copy so far as they could in their own writings, the manner of the classical writers   With the coming of printing, however, and the establishment of such presses as that of the Aldi in Venice, not merely was the knowledge of Greek and Roman writers far more rapidly spread, but more criticism was applied both to the texts and their contents   There developed a new study of the art of letters, directly based on classical models

Humanism. Yet the revival was never purely literary in character   From the first, the spirit as well as the letter of the classical, pagan times had appealed to the men of the new age   They found this literature more humane, or human, than the dry bones of medieval learning   Hence to the humanists of the Renaissance neither the matter nor the manner of the scholastic education sufficed any longer   Aristotle was no longer to be confined within the limits of medieval scholasticism   In this more secular age the classical writers were to be read and interpreted by and for themselves   The fact that these writers were pagan did not in the least prevent Popes like Pius II or, above all, Leo X, from fostering their study and taking delight in them as in all other manifestations of classical art   In this art and literature the humanists found a new ideal of beauty and freedom   This sometimes led to corruption and licence, though it would be quite unjust to attribute the moral decadence of the period in Italy wholly to the classical revival   In the ancient political and historical writers Guicciardini and Machiavelli, the two greatest historians of the Italian Renaissance, found their inspiration and model   Machiavelli, the greatest political thinker of the age, was steeped in classical ideas of humanity and Roman conceptions of how men should be governed, ideas which he

extended and applied to the Italy of his day in his famous book called *The Prince* The interest of the Renaissance in the individual led to the development of biographical and autobiographical writing Vasari's *Lives of the Italian Painters* illustrates the one, as the *Autobiography* of Benvenuto Cellini does the other The educationists of the time, chief of them Vittorino da Feltre of Mantua, based their theories of education largely on classical models, and on the study of Latin and Greek For an account of what the humanists thought of the qualities necessary for a cultured gentleman we must turn to the book of *The Courtier*, written by Castiglione at the court of Urbino



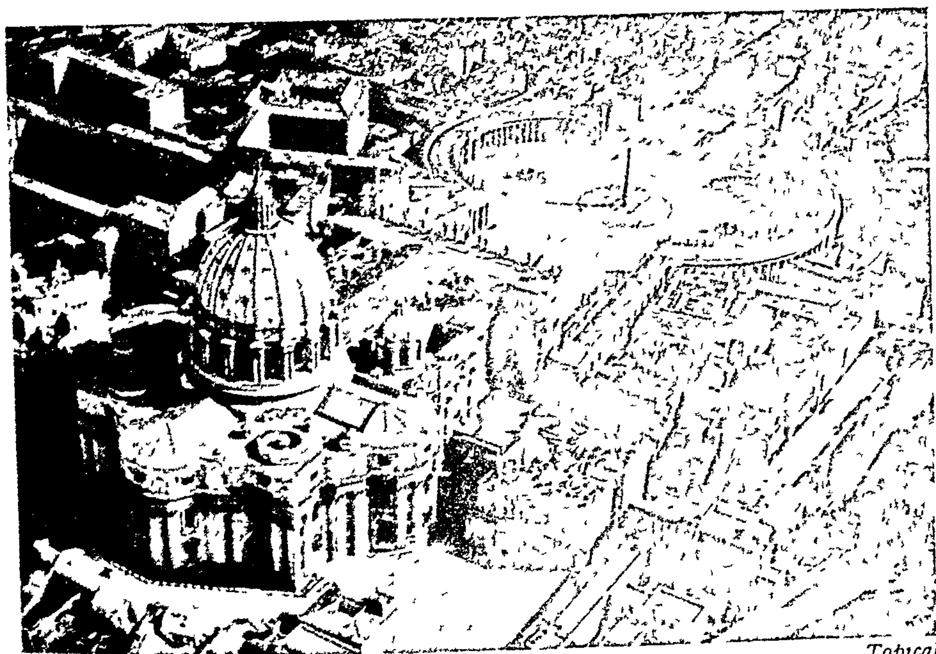
A GOLD SALT-CELLAR

A beautiful example of the skill of Benvenuto Cellini, one of the most famous of Renaissance artists

Humanism outside Italy. Nor was humanism confined to Italy With the German scholar Reuchlin (1455–1522) Greek 'flew across the Alps,' though Reuchlin, after his return from Italy, was more interested in Hebrew and the Bible than in pagan learning That indeed was more characteristic of humanism in Germany and England Through Reuchlin and Ulrich von Hutten in Germany, Lefèvre d'Étaples in France, Linacre, Grocyn, Latimer, and Colet in England, and, above all, through Erasmus of Rotterdam, the humanism of the Renaissance in Italy was directly connected with the Reformation in religion, as we shall see later In France the Renaissance gave a new stimulus to literature, as may be seen in the lyric poetry of Ronsard and his school In prose the great representative of the new movement was Rabelais (1495–1553), in whose vast novels are exhibited the freedom, licence indeed, and immense vitality of the new humanism In the *Essays* of his quieter successor, Montaigne (1533–92), we find the intense interest in the individual, as well as the wide knowledge of the classical writers, and the clearness of expression, which were to make and mark French prose in its greatest age Yet, to go back to England, it is less the exactitude of style or wide classical scholarship than the deep interest in and knowledge of human nature, which make the plays of Shakespeare at once the highest expression of the spirit of the Renaissance and of the literary genius of mankind

Renaissance Architecture In architecture the Renaissance built not

merely for its own day, but also for later times; modern architecture is directly descended from that of the Italian Renaissance We have seen that Italy during the Gothic period had maintained her close connection with Roman and Byzantine influences Now, with the new enthusiasm for classical achievement, men turned to the architectural remains in Rome for example and inspiration The definition of the various classical



Topical

ST PETER'S, ROME

orders of architecture by Vitruvius, the Roman architect and military engineer of the time of Augustus, was revived and applied, notably by Palladio (1518–80) The round Roman arch returned to take the place of the pointed Gothic one Since many of the Renaissance architects, like Raphael and Michelangelo, were artists, more attention was given to form than to methods of construction, the domes, for example, were held together by iron chains embedded within the masonry The Renaissance builders did not merely copy slavishly, however, but adapted and combined classical, and above all Roman, architectural forms Whereas medieval architecture had been mainly ecclesiastical, the new style of building was applied not merely to churches, but also to palaces, villas, and public buildings

Florence led the way. Brunelleschi's dome for the cathedral (1436)

serves as an outstanding example of the new trend, though the dome came from Byzantium rather than from Rome. In secular architecture the Medici-Riccardi palace, as well as the Medici villas, likewise illustrate the new style In Rome, beyond palaces like the Farnese palace, the outstanding example of the new architecture was the great cathedral of St Peter, whose building illustrates the development of architecture over the whole Renaissance period and beyond Julius II tore down the old basilica, and Bramante designed a new one, Raphael and Michelangelo in succession modified his designs, the latter adding the great dome Later their designs were altered, the nave was lengthened, a baroque façade added, and Bernini's famous approach included, to make the St Peter's we know to-day. Meanwhile Sansovino and Palladio had erected their masterpieces of Renaissance architecture in Venice and elsewhere in northern Italy

Renaissance Architecture outside Italy. Thanks partly to the French and other invaders of Italy, the new architectural style soon found its way over the Alps In France it found its best expression in secular, royal buildings, in the many châteaux of the Loire, in the palaces of Fontainebleau and the early Louvre Similarly in Spain the enormous Escorial palace built for Philip II shows the same influence In Germany Heidelberg Castle and various town halls testify to the transition from Gothic to the new Italian ideas, whilst the Antwerp town hall (1565) shows their penetration into the Low Countries In England the revived classical style was slower in finding acceptance. Not until Inigo Jones returned to England from Italy early in the seventeenth century did it find adequate representation there, to reach its height in Wren's work, including the rebuilding of St Paul's Cathedral

Renaissance Sculpture. Here again we begin with Florence The great advance made by Ghiberti (1376–1455) between the earlier and the later bronze doors he designed for the baptistery there marked the first blossoming of the new era, as did also the work of Donatello (1386–1466), notably his bronze statue of David To the same city in this period of the early Renaissance belong the terracotta works of Luca della Robbia, as well as Verrocchio's work, including the statue of Colleoni In the later or High Renaissance the sculpture of Michelangelo stands without peer, whether it be the 'Pietà' he did at the age of twenty-four, or the 'David' he carved out of an unused block of marble, or the 'Moses' in the tomb of Julius II

Renaissance Painting. The genius of the Renaissance, its freedom, love of beauty, joy in nature and humanity, found its happiest and most complete expression in its painting. The development was in part one of technique, marked by the increased knowledge of perspective, of

light and shade, of the anatomy of the human body, the discovery and growing use of oil for painting The growth of variety and gaiety in dress at this period affected painting, as did also the increasing interest in secular life. The Renaissance painters did not cease to paint Madonnas and Saints, though their Madonnas came to have a more worldly aspect as time went on But they painted more and more the worldly scene about them, in city and country, they introduced portraits of living persons, they drew on heathen mythology (as Botticelli's 'Birth of Venus'), they painted easel pictures as well as mural or altar pieces, losing the piety of a Fra Angelico, but gaining far greater freedom of subject Da Vinci's 'Mona Lisa,' for example, could never have been painted for a church



Louvre

THE 'MONA LISA'
(*Da Vinci*)

The Fifteenth Century. There were various schools of painting in early Renaissance Italy, chief of them the Florentine, the Umbrian, and the Venetian As in the other arts, the amazing genius of Florence at the time led the way. The youthful Masaccio (1400–28) in his frescoes showed more reality, naturalness, and depth of perspective than ever Giotto had done, and other Florentine painters followed the same trend With Botticelli (1444–1510) the secular and classical influence becomes more marked, though Botticelli was capable of being moved by the preaching of Savonarola to give up his art The Umbrian painters were distinguished throughout by greater seriousness and serenity, although Perugino, the most widely known of them, marred his reputation for

religious painting by commercial exploitation. In Venice, Florentine naturalism and Umbrian piety were modified, if not transformed, by a greater love of decoration, gorgeous colouring, and sensuousness, reminding us of her closer contact with the East All these schools and their individual painters were influenced by each other, as their paintings plainly show. Thus Bellini brought to Venice the influence of Umbria, whilst Mantegna combined Venetian colour and decoration with definite classical influences

The Golden Age of Renaissance Painting. With the end of the fifteenth century we pass into the greatest age of Italian painting In Venice the school continued through Giorgione to Titian (1477–1576), whose painting magnificently represented the secular, pageant-like splendour of the great republic, to Paolo Veronese and Tintoretto Elsewhere, however, the genius of the age expressed itself rather in the work of individuals, above all in that of Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Raphael Leonardo illustrates, as we have seen, the many-sidedness of the Renaissance artists Whilst working at Milan on the fresco of the Last Supper, he was also engaged on an equestrian statue, later destroyed Ever restless, he travelled all over Italy and beyond, taking his unfinished picture of Mona Lisa to France, writing a treatise on painting, studying nature, inspiring others to paint rather than producing many pictures himself Similarly restless, but filled with a despondency all his own, was Michelangelo (1475–1564). Julius II forced him to leave his work on the vast tomb the Pope projected for himself, in order to decorate the Sistine Chapel There the tremendous Biblical scenes, completed twenty years later by the gigantic 'Last Judgment,' fittingly express Michelangelo's grand and lonely genius, which found in the human body, often of exaggerated proportions, the plainest manifestation of the Deity

Raphael and After. Happier and gentler, sometimes accused of too much gentle sweetness, was the art of Raphael (1483–1520). Called to Rome by Julius II, he was commissioned to decorate the papal apartments in the Vatican with the great frescoes which we see to-day, with their mixture of classical and sacred subjects He followed this up by designing tapestries for the Vatican, by acting as chief architect for St Peter's, and by painting portraits of popes, cardinals, and others with extraordinary facility and skill But for many Raphael's madonnas, and above all, the 'Sistine Madonna,' will stand for the most beautiful examples of the art of this latest of the great painters of the high Renaissance Not that painters of the first rank were lacking when Raphael died Apart from Michelangelo, the gentle Andrea del Sarto was in Florence, the joyous Correggio, 'the master of light,' at Parma, whilst in Venice Tintoretto was in his cradle, and

Titian had half a century of life and activity in front of him But none the less, speaking generally, after Raphael the art of painting declined in Italy It became less inspired and less sincere, despite its increased technical skill Neither the Reformation, nor the Counter-Reformation which followed, was favourable to the encouragement of art, though it



This painting by Vasari shows a typical Renaissance nobleman surrounded by his various skilled employees, such as architects sculptors, and engineers

would be unfair to put down wholly to their influence the deterioration which had its roots in part in the very nature of the Renaissance itself

Renaissance Painting outside Italy: Germany Outside Italy the rise of a new spirit in art is best seen in Germany and Flanders As in Italy, the new art began with the religious subjects familiar at the close of the medieval period, to emerge slowly into the secular world about it Of the German painters Albrecht Durer (1471–1528) of Nuremberg was far the most outstanding, though he is better known for his unrivalled etchings and woodcuts, with their marvellous skill in design, their amazing

revelation of the closest observation of nature, and their astonishing maturity of execution Next to Durer comes Hans Holbein the Younger (1497–1543), who became the greatest portrait-painter of his age, leaving Germany to settle for his last years in London, where he painted the portraits we know to-day of Henry VIII and many others With Holbein, however, we have moved from the Renaissance to the Reformation, and the absorption of Germany in the religious struggle checked artistic development there



DÜRER'S ENGRAVING OF THE CRUCIFIXION

Flanders In Flanders, farther away from Italy, but with an accumulation of wealth comparable to that of the northern Italian towns, there was a native growth of painting independent of Italy, and of no small importance Already the art of miniature painting had reached a very high level, and from that there came an extension into painting proper The Van Eycks, Hubert and Jan, early in the fifteenth century discovered the art of fixing the brighter colours of oil-painting by means of a transparent varnish, a development of the greatest importance for the general history of painting This new method they employed with effect in their religious painting, to be followed by Bouts, Memling, Matsys, and others The genius of the painters of Flanders was, however, to be exhibited not only in religious art, but also in the depicting of the secular life of their busy towns and the adjacent countryside This is well illustrated in the canvases of the Breughel family, who painted from the middle of the sixteenth century until well on in the seventeenth

For Further Reading

W H Hudson, *The Renaissance*
H S Lucas, *The Renaissance and the Reformation*
Merejkowski, *Leonardo da Vinci*
J A Symonds, *Short History of the Renaissance*
Vasari, *Lives of the Italian Painters*

CHAPTER II

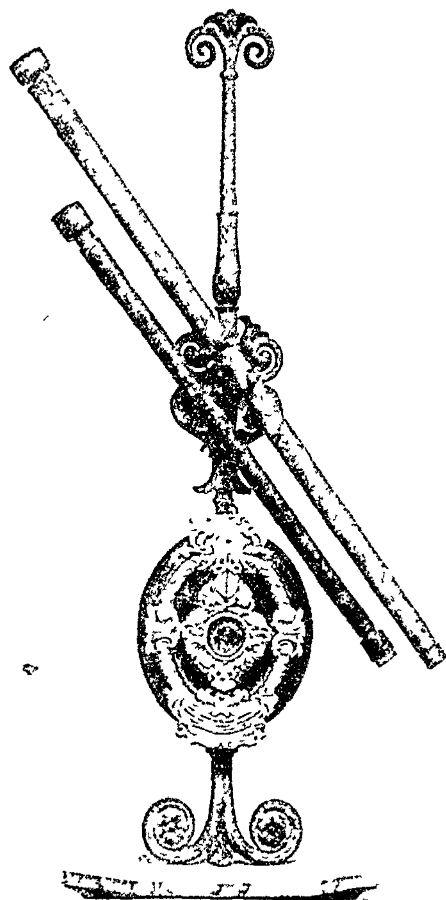
THE GROWTH OF SCIENCE, INVENTION, AND MARITIME DISCOVERY

The Growth of the Scientific Spirit The medieval world had no lack of men with what Francis Bacon termed 'sharp and strong wits,' and minds stored with deep learning But although knowledge steadily increased, and some medieval thinkers like Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, and Lull gave the widest range to their speculations, the prime interest remained theology, authority was everything, and the scholastic system tended to lose sight of the end in the means The Renaissance humanists were not primarily scientific, but the classical revival brought to light the scientific as well as the literary writings of the ancient world, and the unbounded curiosity of the humanists stimulated speculation and the spirit of criticism. Lorenzo Valla (1405–57), for example, applied a critical mind to both profane and sacred writings He proved that the alleged Donation of Constantine, on which in part the temporal power of the Papacy was founded, was a forgery, and that the text of the Vulgate contained numerous errors

Francis Bacon The thinker whose writings best illustrate the new attitude was Francis Bacon (1561–1626), at once philosopher, historian, lawyer, and courtier Bacon defined and established on firm foundations the new knowledge and the new approach to it His particular contribution lay in the emphasis he laid on the collection of *facts* as the basis for the discovery of truth, substituting this 'inductive' method for the reasoning from authority and general formulas characteristic of the medieval period He defined the aim of human inquiry as 'the knowledge of causes and secret motions of things, and the enlargement of the bounds of human empire to the effecting of all things possible' In the *Advancement of Learning* (1605) Bacon surveyed the whole realm of human learning, remarking where such knowledge was deficient or erroneous In the *Novum Organum*, or New Method (1620) he worked out in greater detail how the new inductive method was to be applied, both to enlarge the bounds of knowledge and to make it more fruitful to mankind

The Applications of the New Attitude. Astronomy. According to the Greek mathematician Ptolemy the earth was the stationary centre of the universe, about which the sun and the planets revolved in circular orbits Ptolemy's views were accepted throughout the Middle Ages, though whether the earth was a sphere remained an open question The study of the stars, whether by Arabs or Christians, was bound up with the so-called science of astrology Vague suggestions had

been made, even in classical times, that the earth might not be the centre of the universe, but medieval theology frowned on such a disturbing theory Now, however, with greater knowledge and freedom of speculation, the failure of the Ptolemaic theory to explain all the movements of the planets drove men to seek for a more satisfactory explanation


Alinari

GALILEO'S TELESCOPES

The Copernican Theory. Nicholas Copernicus (1473–1543), a Polish priest who had studied in Italy and learnt to observe the stars, after over thirty years of study, worked out the theory called after him and generally accepted today, that the earth is but one of the planets revolving round the sun, the turning on its own axis causing day and night The famous book in which Copernicus advanced this theory, *Concerning the Revolutions of the Celestial Bodies*, was only printed as he died, and did not for a time create any great disturbance Copernicus had worked less from direct observation than from theory, and neither he nor the Danish observer, Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), nor indeed the great Kepler (1571–1630), who by years of patient and brilliant work discovered the laws governing the movements of the planets round the sun, had the use of the telescope

Galileo That was reserved for the fourth great astronomer of this period, the Italian Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) Hearing that an optician's apprentice in Holland had accidentally discovered that two glasses placed some distance apart would magnify distant objects, Galileo after reflection and experiment began to make telescopes, and to use them

for the observation of the heavens, With these he first saw the planets as round disks, discovered the nature of the Milky Way, found the four larger moons of Jupiter, and the ring of Saturn But if Galileo had in this a great advantage over his predecessors, he had also greater troubles He had already upset the statement of the revered Aristotle that light bodies fall more slowly than heavy ones by demonstration from the top of the leaning tower of Pisa He openly accepted the Copernican theory, and again contradicted Aristotle by discovering that the surfaces of the sun and moon were not perfectly smooth Philosophers and rival scientists leagued against such impious daring, rousing the authorities of the Church against him In his seventieth year Galileo was called before the Inquisition, and formally denied his 'errors and heresies' Broken in health and spirit, he ended his days a sad and blind old man But the astronomical and physical truths Galileo had discovered were to refute such methods of denial Direct scientific observation and measurement had vanquished accepted formulas, however ancient or revered

The Development of Other Sciences. Astronomy was not alone in thus making great strides, indeed it could hardly have made such strides alone, depending as it did upon mathematics and physics Chemistry had throughout the Middle Ages been mainly alchemy, concerned to find a way of transmuting the baser metals into gold Modern chemistry scarcely comes into existence until the eighteenth century, but already a Swiss professor possessed of much strange learning and the astounding name of Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus Bombastus von Hohenheim (1493–1541), had declared that the true work of chemistry was not to make gold but to prepare medicines Medical knowledge was indeed making considerable progress, crude though much of its theory and practice would appear to-day. The new interest in man and nature led to a closer examination of human anatomy, the leader in this being a Fleming, Andreas Vesalius (1514–64), physician to Charles V Vesalius practised dissection, and wrote a famous book, *On the Structure of the Human Body*, which appeared in the same year (1543) as the great work of Copernicus Others carried his work still further, one of these being the Englishman, William Harvey (1578–1657), who discovered the circulation of the blood in the human body. The practice of medicine and surgery benefited by these and other researches of the time, diseases became better known, and also remedies, though blood-letting still remained the favourite panacea for human ailments, as Pepys's *Diary* reminds us

The Invention of Printing. The spread of knowledge of every kind at this time was enormously aided by a new invention, that of printing The medieval copying of manuscripts by hand on parchment, beautiful

as were some of its products, was extremely slow and laborious, and only the rich could afford to own more than one or two books In Flanders during the fourteenth century, as in China earlier, men had printed from wood or copper blocks Printing as we understand it, however, required the use of separate and movable type, and of paper instead of parchment



AN EARLY CHEMICAL LABORATORY

or papyrus The Chinese had long ago made paper from silk and other materials, the Arabs learnt to make it of cotton, and finally western Europe in the fourteenth century began to make it of linen Then about 1450 a certain John Gutenberg of Mainz began to employ movable type to print upon paper by means of a press, the art of printing was founded. The new art spread rapidly through western Europe In Venice, for example, Aldus Manutius set up a press whereby he produced beautiful editions of the classical writers In France a press was set up in the Sorbonne, in England William Caxton in 1476 set up his press at Westminster Even the New World had a press by 1536, when the Spaniards set one up in Mexico City

The introduction of printing wrought a revolution of incalculable importance Whereas a copyist might produce one or two books a year, the new machine, even worked by hand as it was, could print many

thousands of copies from one set of type in a year. The new volumes were infinitely cheaper than the old manuscripts, which meant that far more people could buy and read them Thus they aided enormously in the spreading of knowledge of every kind, putting an end to the monopoly of learning in the hands of a few, fostering the new learning, providing a reading public for the writings of men like Erasmus and Luther. Indeed, it is impossible to think of the Reformation without the new power of the printing press And not merely the Reformation, but every modern movement of any importance, has depended increasingly upon this greatest of inventions· to-day a world without printed books, magazines, and newspapers would be unrecognizable

Other Inventions. There were other inventions in this period We have already mentioned the telescope, and with it should be included the microscope, which was invented by a spectacle-maker of Holland (Zacharias Jansen) The Venetian glass-makers began to make mirrors Galileo's observations of the swing of the pendulum led to the making of more accurate timepieces, while the invention of the spiral spring early in the sixteenth century provided the first watches The spinning-wheel came into use in Europe about the same time The making of gunpowder, already mentioned in connection with Roger Bacon, led in this period to the growing manufacture and use of artillery, with important effects on the whole art of war And last, but assuredly not least, came a series of inventions and developments which were to make possible the far-reaching maritime discoveries of the period

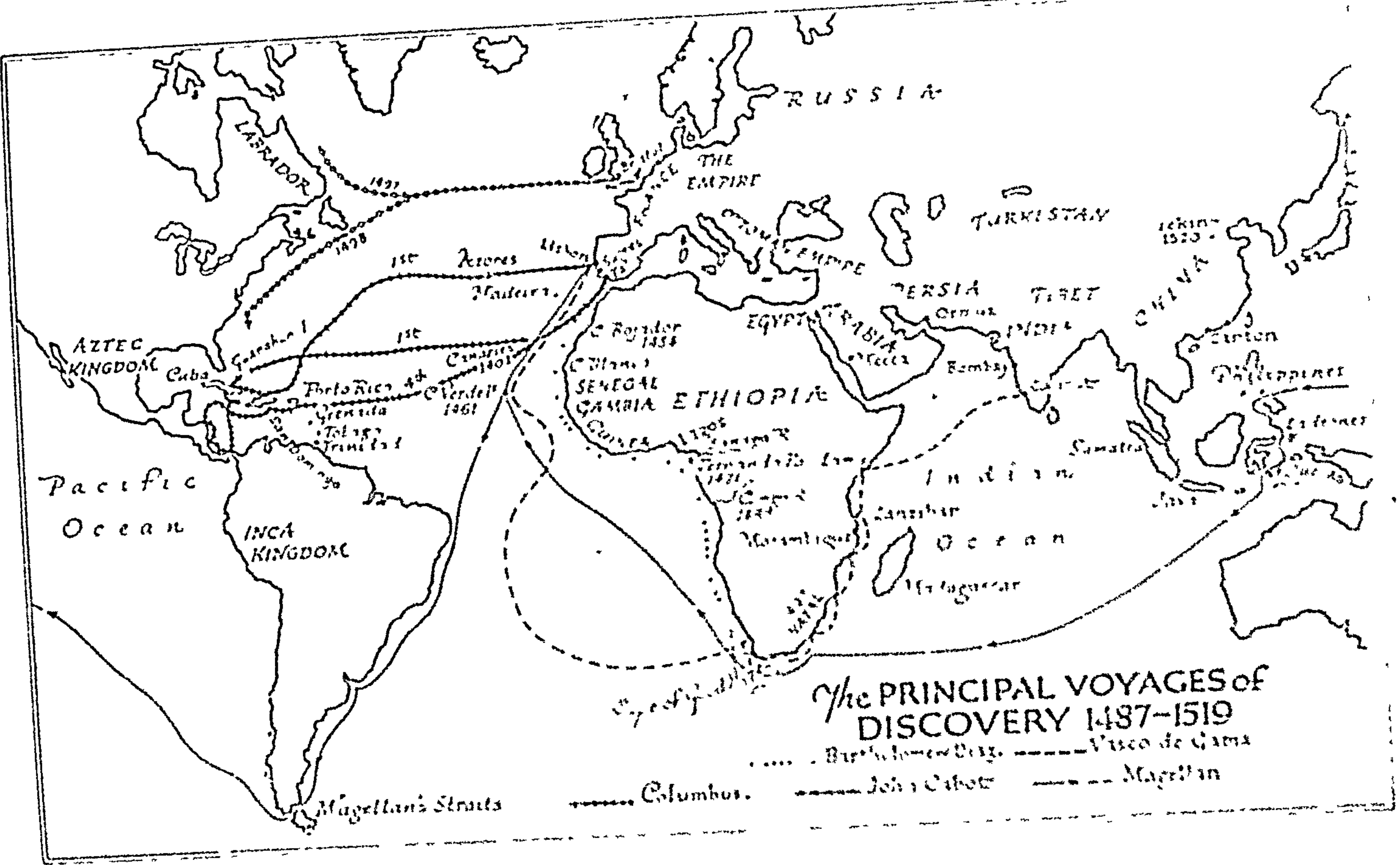
Navigation and Maps. Sea-travel in the Middle Ages was a perilous matter Not merely were the ships small, but the aids to accurate navigation were very limited, so that it was little wonder that for many centuries the Mediterranean peoples kept to their inland waters The discovery, perhaps of Chinese origin, that a needle magnetized by a loadstone always pointed to the magnetic north, provided an indispensable aid to direction for mariners By the thirteenth century European sailors could steer a course in this way, and Genoese mariners found their way through the Straits of Gibralter into the wide Atlantic But to estimate the position of a vessel at sea was another matter For this the astrolabe, a disk marked with degrees, with a movable needle, came to be used It was held suspended, and the needle pointed at the sun at noon or the pole-star at night, by which means the latitude could be read The quadrant also measured altitudes, and the sextant and cross-staff (a cruder alternative to the astrolabe) likewise came into use Such instruments, although not very accurate in their results, nevertheless enabled skilled mariners to navigate out of sight of land in a way undreamt of before Their development and use were bound up with the growth of astronomy

reached the Gulf of Guinea, not merely trading in gold, but also beginning the slave trade

Diaz and da Gama. After the death of Henry there was a check for a time, but then under King John II the ships of Portugal began to plough their way ever farther south Diego Cam in two voyages after 1482 sailed past the Congo, along fifteen hundred miles of fresh coastline, and in 1487 Bartholomew Diaz, his two tiny caravels driven by a strong wind, reached and rounded the southern extremity of the continent, the Cape of Good Hope, first called, significantly, the Cape of Storms The long-sought way round to India was discovered, and after some delay (during which Columbus made his first voyage to the west) in 1497 Vasco da Gama set out with four ships (the largest a little over two hundred tons), with provisions for three years It took him nearly five months to round the Cape, and another five to sail up the African coast, and across the Indian Ocean to his destination at Calicut, meeting-place for merchants from the Far East and the Arab intermediaries with Europe Two years after his departure from the Tagus, da Gama returned with a most profitable cargo, but with only one-third of his men The King of Portugal became by title 'Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Persia, and India'

The Portuguese in the East. Great as the discovery was, and large as were the profits to be obtained by direct sea connection with the East, the fruits were not to be plucked without great trouble The Arab traders, long established as intermediaries in the trade between Asia and Europe, were hostile to this intrusion into their preserves, so that open warfare continued for some time in and about the Indian Ocean The Sultan of Egypt aided the Arab traders, and even the Venetians prayed for the success of the heathen, since the new discovery was a direct blow to their trade and wealth Yet the Portuguese proved superior at sea with their stouter ships and guns, defeating the Moslems in a great sea fight in 1509 Their great viceroy, Albuquerque, captured Ormuz, the key to the Persian Gulf, took Goa on the Indian coast, and made it his capital, and in 1511 pressed farther east to Malacca, and so opened direct communication with the Far East He even sent expeditions by sea to China itself Thus the Portuguese rule and supremacy were established, until the Dutch ousted them, over the wide sweep of the Indian Ocean, and the keels of European ships ploughed the direct sea-route to the east, as they have done from that day to this The direct exploitation of the east by Europe had begun The Mediterranean route to the east fell into relative decline, until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1875 and, in our own day, the re-opening of the land route across the Syrian desert

Portuguese Western Voyages. The energies of Portugal were not

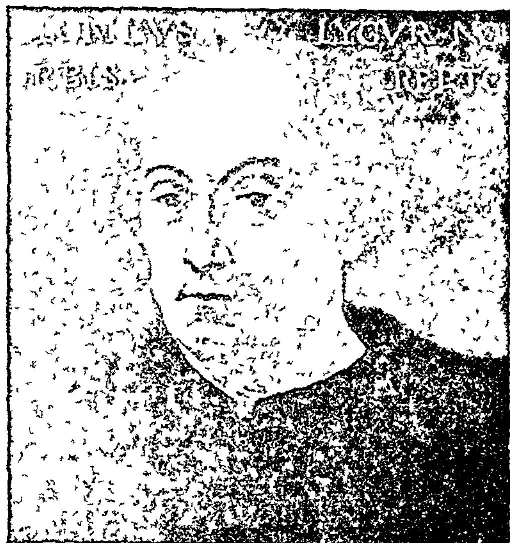

The PRINCIPAL VOYAGES of DISCOVERY 1487–1519
Bartholomew Diaz
Vasco de Gama
Columbus
John Cabot
Magellan
RUSSIA
THE EMPIRE
TURKISTAN
PERSIA
TIBET
INDIA
CHINA
EGYPT
ARABIA
Mecca
Ormuz
Bombay
Calicut
ETHIOPIA
SENEGAL
GAMBIA
Guinea
Zanzibar
Mozambique
Madagascar
Sumatra
Java
Philippines
Indian Ocean
Pacific Ocean
AZTEC KINGDOM
INCA KINGDOM
LABRADOR
Cuba
Porto Rico
Azores
Madeira
Canaries
C. Verde
Magellan's Straits
Lisbon

wholly absorbed by the eastern route Connected with this was the discovery of Brazil by Cabral in 1500, on his way to India Cabral was probably not the first European to reach Brazil, but his was the first attested voyage to that country, which was to become far the largest of Portugal's colonies. Its coastline was shortly explored farther by Coelho, and Portuguese mariners likewise found their way to the northern American continent, though forestalled by Spain in the West Indies. A certain John Fernandez accompanied Cabot on his second voyage, and his surname or title of Labrador (i e landowner) was given to Greenland, to be later transferred to the land so called to-day. Then in 1500 began the voyages of the Corte-Real brothers to the north-west, leading to the discovery of Labrador proper and Newfoundland, though the two brothers never returned from their quest for new lands and treasure Taken all in all, the Portuguese record of discovery and maritime activity in this great era of discovery was an amazing one, fully justifying the boast of their poet Camoens that, 'had there been more of the world, they would have discovered it'

The Spanish Discoveries. Columbus. It was natural that Spain should share in the discovery and exploitation of new lands For she had recently acquired a large measure of political unity by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, she possessed even more strongly than Portugal the crusading spirit, she had built up an efficient administrative system, and she had experience of overseas expansion in the Mediterranean Yet Christopher Columbus, son of a poor Genoese weaver and innkeeper, a sailor with 'high imaginings' of fresh lands to be discovered, had naturally enough settled in Lisbon, and having married a Portuguese wife and made various voyages, approached the King of Portugal for permission to explore westwards into the Atlantic But the royal advisers were not attracted by the idea, and Columbus left Portugal to try his fortunes elsewhere A brother approached King Henry VII of England, whilst Christopher sought a hearing for his plans at the court of Spain Failing at first, in the end he won the support of Queen Isabella, largely on religious grounds Whether he defined his aims as the discovery of a westward route to India, or merely the discovery of new lands across the Atlantic, we do not know for certain Perhaps he hoped for both The globe of the world, made about this time (1490) by the German geographer, Martin Behaim, showed the island of Cipango (Japan) and Cathay across the Atlantic, pretty much where the new world Columbus was to discover actually lay And Columbus to the end of his days claimed to have discovered eastern Asia

The Voyages of Columbus. Columbus set off on his most momentous voyage from Palos on 3rd August 1492, with three caravels, the *Santa*

Maria, of some one hundred tons, and the smaller *Pinta* and *Niña* A month later they left the Canaries, and early on the morning of 12th October sighted land, one of the Bahama islands, which Columbus duly claimed for Spain From there they reached Cuba, which Columbus thought was the mainland of Asia, and San Domingo, which he called Española, and where he built a fort and left some of his men; he himself returned to Europe, to announce that he had found the much desired western route to 'the Indies' The title was to remain, though by 1500 men were beginning to recognize the islands as part of a 'new world' Columbus was to make three further voyages to the Indies (in 1493, 1498, and 1502), discovering more of the islands, and the mainland south of them, but wearing himself out in the vain search for a through passage to India, making an evident failure as a governor in the Indies, and ultimately returning to Spain completely discredited to die Some of the credit which should have been his went to another Italian, Amerigo Vespucci, who described certain voyages he had made to South America after 1497, and so caused a German map-maker to give his name to the newly discovered continent



Canadian Public Archives

COLUMBUS

Magellan's Voyage. The story of the Spanish Empire in the New World must be dealt with elsewhere, but the great exploit of Magellan calls for mention here The unruly but heroic Balboa sighted the Pacific Ocean from a peak in Panama (1513), but it was the Portuguese Magellan, in the service of Spain, who first found his way there by sea In 1519 he set off with five ships across the Atlantic to seek a passage westwards to the Far East, and after a year of search, found the strait called after him He had lost two ships and quelled a mutiny ere he entered the ocean he called the Pacific, from the calm weather he experienced there, and nothing but his stern determination took him across its wide expanse to discover the Philippines The crews were reduced to eating rats, biscuits full of worms, and the hard leather of the yard-arms soaked in salt water In the Philippines Magellan was killed, another ship was destroyed, a

fourth was left behind, and only the *Victoria*, under Sebastian del Cano, managed to struggle home round the Cape to reach Seville just three years after the expedition had set out. Magellan's voyage, the first circumnavigation of the earth, was one of the greatest ever made. It proved the earth was a sphere, found the Pacific and a route thereto from the west, and gave Spain a footing in the Far East.

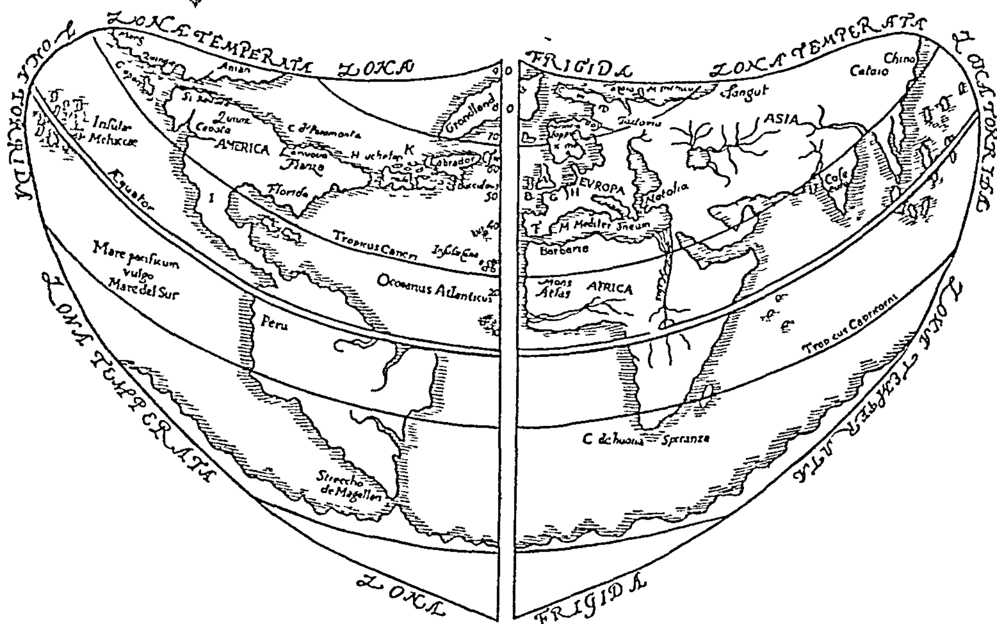


SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

Northern Explorations: Cabot. The search for a passage by sea to Asia was not confined to the tropics or the south, or to Portugal and Spain. It seemed equally possible that a route might be found through northern seas, and both Britain and France felt the stimulus to discover such a passage. As early as 1480 two ships had sailed from Bristol to discover 'Brasyl,' or the Isles of the Blest, without result. A Genoese trader and navigator, Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot), living in England, believed that a western route to the Spice Islands could be found, and in 1497 set out with royal permission to discover it and any new lands he could find in northern seas. Reaching (probably) Cape Breton Island, he claimed it for Henry VII, and returned believing, like Columbus, that he had reached Asia. Sailing again with a larger expedition in the following year, he sighted Greenland and Labrador, but missed the entrance to the St. Lawrence as he sailed south, and was forced to return without having achieved his aim. Yet when the sixteenth century opened, English, French, and Portuguese fishermen were beginning to find their way to the rich fishing grounds off Newfoundland, and further exploration there was bound to follow.

France: Jacques Cartier. French maritime discovery in this period, like the English, begins with an Italian name. In 1524 Verrazano made a voyage of exploration along the coast of North America, for the King

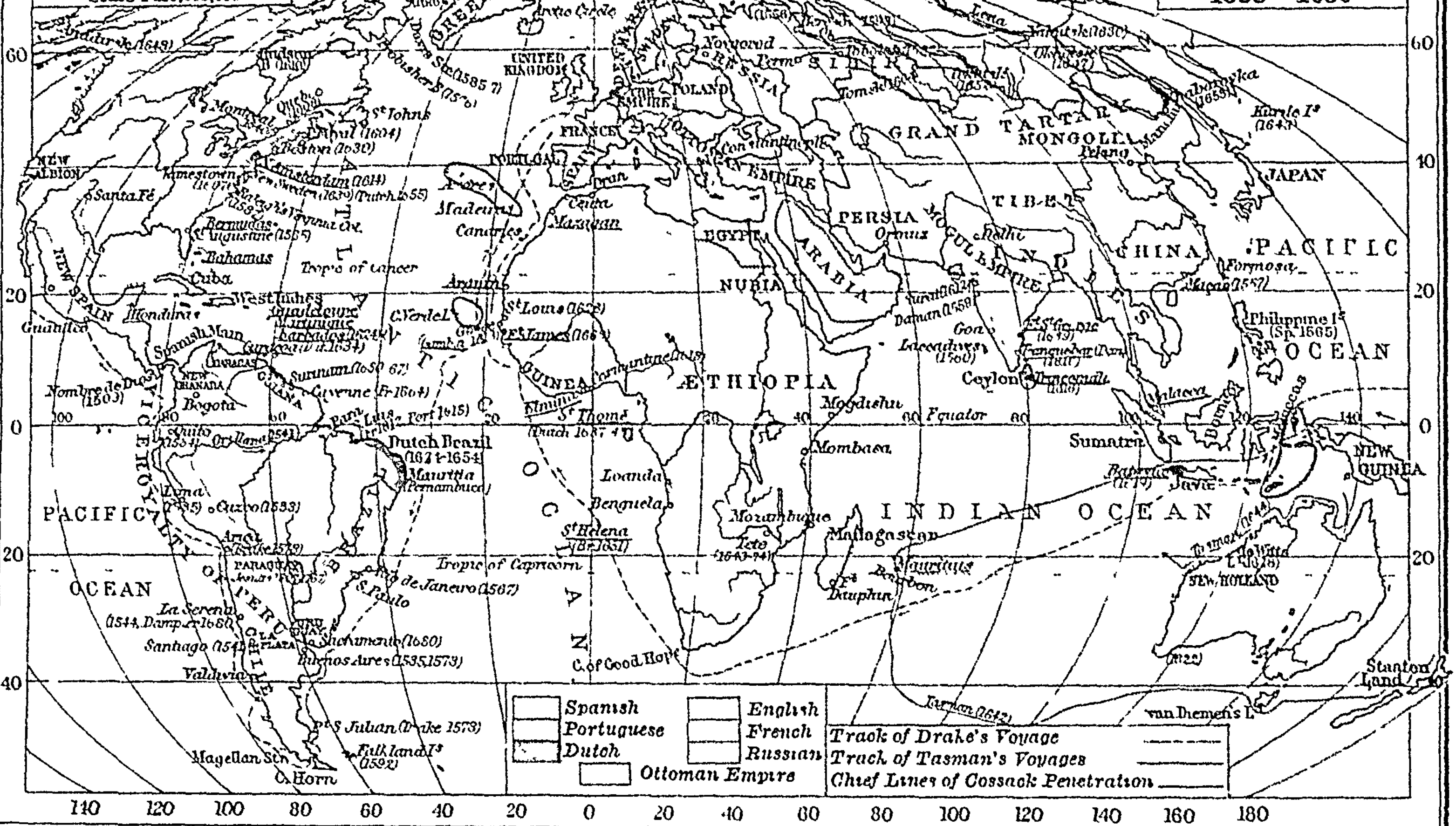
of France Of this we know very little, but ten years later a Frenchman, Jacques Cartier, made more definite and fruitful discoveries Cartier had already been to Brazil, and was skilled in navigation, before he set off by the now familiar route to Newfoundland in 1534 On this first voyage he sailed through the Strait of Belle Isle, and down the west coast of Newfoundland, exploring the Baie de Chaleur, but missing the main channel up the great gulf In the following year, however, he returned



SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S MAP
This appeared in his *Discourse*, mentioned in the text

and penetrated the unknown St Lawrence as far as the future Montreal, wintering on the St Charles river A third voyage in 1541 added little to his discoveries, nor did the effort of Roberval to discover and conquer the alleged rich kingdom of the Saguenay bring any successful result Yet although Cartier had failed to find either gold or the hoped-for passage to Asia, he had discovered and explored nearly a thousand miles of the St Lawrence, and thereby won a place amongst the great explorers of his day.

Later Attempts to Discover a Northern Passage. It was quite natural that the attempt to discover a northern way to the Far East should be continued, since Spain and Portugal claimed a monopoly of the regions along other routes In this English sailors played the greatest part, in keeping with their growing maritime interest in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries They tried both eastwards and westwards, though


THE WORLD
1588—1650
On Mollweide's Equivalent Projection
Scale 1:180,000,000
Spanish
Portuguese
Dutch
English
French
Russian
Ottoman Empire
Track of Drake's Voyage
Track of Tasman's Voyages
Chief Lines of Cossack Penetration
GRAND TARTAR
MONGOLIA
TIBET
CHINA
JAPAN
PERSIA
ARABIA
EGYPT
NUBIA
ÆTHIOPIA
GUINEA
FRANCE
POLAND
UNITED KINGDOM
NEW SPAIN
NEW ALBION
PERU
CHILE
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
NEW GUINEA
NEW HOLLAND
Sumatra
Ceylon
Goa
Ormus
Mombasa
Loanda
Benguela
Mozambique
Madagascar
Mauritius
C. of Good Hope
St Helena
Dutch Brazil
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
Equator
Cuba
Bahamas
West Indies
Bogota
Cuzco
Santa Fé
Montreal
Quebec
Magellan Str.
C. Horn
Valdivia
Buenos Aires
Rio de Janeiro
Canaries
Madeira
Azores
Spitzbergen
Arctic Circle
Novgorod
Lena
Formosa
Philippine Is
Kurile Is
Stanton Land
van Diemen's L.
George Philip & Son, Ltd

the attempt to find an eastern passage began and ended first In 1553 the Muscovy Company, as it became, was founded, and Willoughby and Chancellor set out, to reach the north coast of Russia, where Willoughby perished, whilst Chancellor penetrated overland to Moscow They were followed by other voyagers, who explored Novaya Zemlya and the Kara Sea, but ice and cold prevented them from voyaging along the frozen northern coast of Siberia The same enemies brought failure to the longer search for a north-west passage Sir Humphrey Gilbert wrote a famous *Discourse* (1576), arguing for the existence of such a passage, and first Frobisher, and then Davis, in turn made three separate voyages to discover it Hudson, in the last of his four voyages (1610), penetrated the strait to the bay which bears his name, there to perish after being put adrift in a small boat by his mutinous crew The search continued, as the voyages of Baffin, Foxe, and James attest But it remained for later explorers to discover that a way did in fact exist round to the strait between North America and Asia

The Significance of the Discoveries. The importance of this long series of discoveries can hardly be exaggerated The world had been circumnavigated and mapped, its main seaways opened for the first time to human travel, by the efforts of the western European peoples These peoples had found new and direct routes to the populous and wealthy east, and had also found a New World, partly empty, partly inhabited by peoples who could be exploited, or displaced In either case the New World of America, and to a lesser extent Africa, offered room for the expansion of the European nations on a scale undreamt of in earlier colonizing movements The Mediterranean, the scene of classical, and to a large extent of medieval civilization, lost its former predominance Whilst for a time Portugal and Spain reaped the lion's share of the benefits from the new discoveries, this could not last, despite the papal decree dividing the New World between them The King of France declared that he knew of no provision of Father Adam to this effect, and England and Holland were no more ready to accept exclusion from the new sources of trade and wealth The northern nations struggled first with Spain, and then with each other, for trade, colonies, and overseas empire, so that the whole scope of their history was enlarged

The widening of the physical horizon brought a corresponding extension of the intellectual horizon Sir Thomas More used the stories of travel in strange parts to depict Utopia (the Land of Nowhere) as the home of a new and more enlightened society, and Montaigne similarly criticized the old world from his knowledge of the new The fact that accepted authority, above all the Church, had declared impossible the existence of many of the lands and peoples now discovered shook that authority, and

gave more force to other movements likewise attacking it from other sides Thus from the discovery movement, as from the Renaissance proper, we approach the Reformation in religion.

J E. GILLESPIE, *A History of Geographical Discovery.*
W LIBBY, *Introduction to the History of Science*
H MACPHERSON, *Makers of Astronomy*
E J PAYNE, *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen*
P SYKES, *History of Exploration*

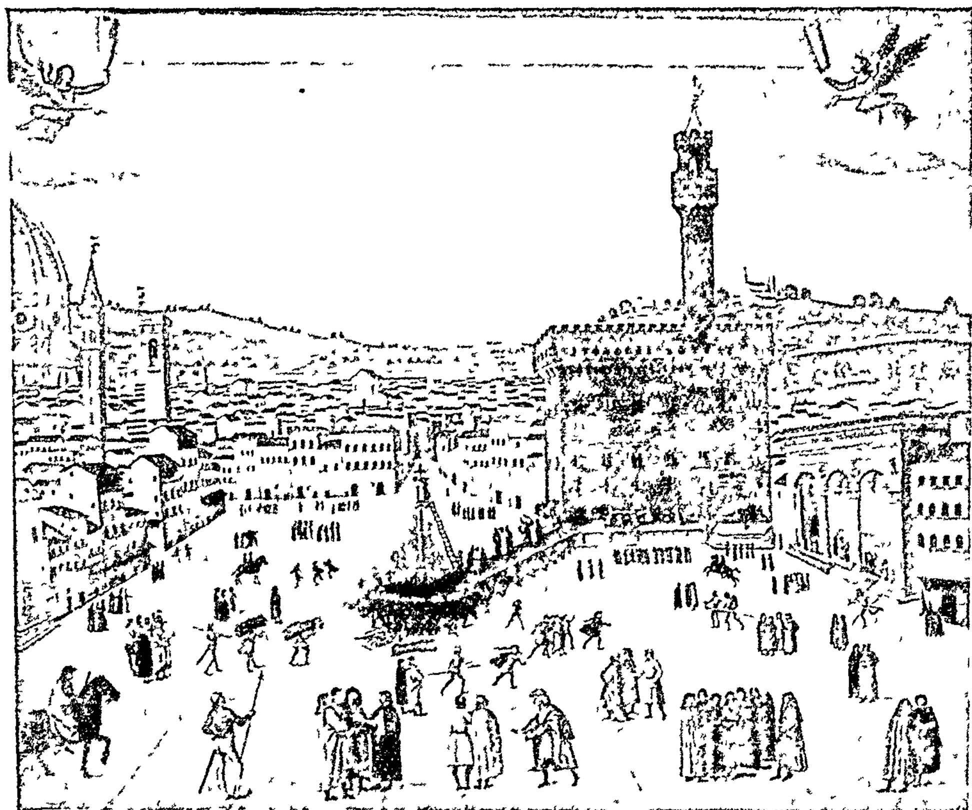
CHAPTER III

THE REFORMATION

Introductory: The Condition of the Church. The breach in the unity of western Christendom which we call the Reformation was the result of a number of causes, to some of which we have already referred. A society so universal as the medieval Church, whose head was a temporal as well as a spiritual ruler, was bound to need frequent reform. In addition, the new age was no longer satisfied with some of the practices and beliefs of the medieval world It challenged the claims of the Papacy in spiritual and temporal affairs, questioned the privileged position of the clergy, rejected some of the abuses which had grown up round such things as the worship of relics, and protested against the vast revenue which the Church collected in the form of tithes, fees and taxes of various kinds, and profits from the sale of pardons for sins (indulgences). This last was plainly open to abuse, as was also the use by the Papacy of the revenues so obtained. For the Papacy in the second half of the fifteenth century, as we have seen, was very far from providing a pattern by which men should live Christian lives Pious visitors to Rome, like Luther, were horrified at the depravity and corruption they found in clerical circles there This very horror showed that the religious life of the Church was far from dead. There was, in fact, much zeal for reform, but ere reform came, the Church was to be split from end to end

The Precursors of the Reformation: Savonarola. There were various kinds of religious reformers before Luther Of Wyclif and Huss we have already spoken Then there were the mystics of Germany and the Low Countries, whose preachings and writings stirred men's hearts to seek salvation, as did *The Imitation of Christ,* written at this time by the Dutch priest, Thomas à Kempis. Related to these men, though

different in temper, was the Dominican monk, Savonarola (1452–98), who revolted against the gay licence of Renaissance Italy, and the corruption of the Church, to become the greatest and most vehement preacher of reform in Florence. The coming of the French into Italy in 1494 he saw as the Deluge merited by the sins of the day But although



Alinari

THE EXECUTION OF SAVONAROLA AND HIS COMPANIONS

Florence was swept for a moment by a wave of religious revival, so that even artists and scholars helped to make a bonfire of their Renaissance 'vanities,' Savonarola was drawn into the fierce political controversies there following the death of Lorenzo de' Medici and the coming of the French His attacks on the Papal Curia drew upon him the wrath of Alexander VI, the fickle mob turned against him, and he was excommunicated, arrested, tortured, and finally executed

The Humanists Italian humanism was scarcely concerned with questions of religion, though Valla applied criticism to things ecclesiastical,

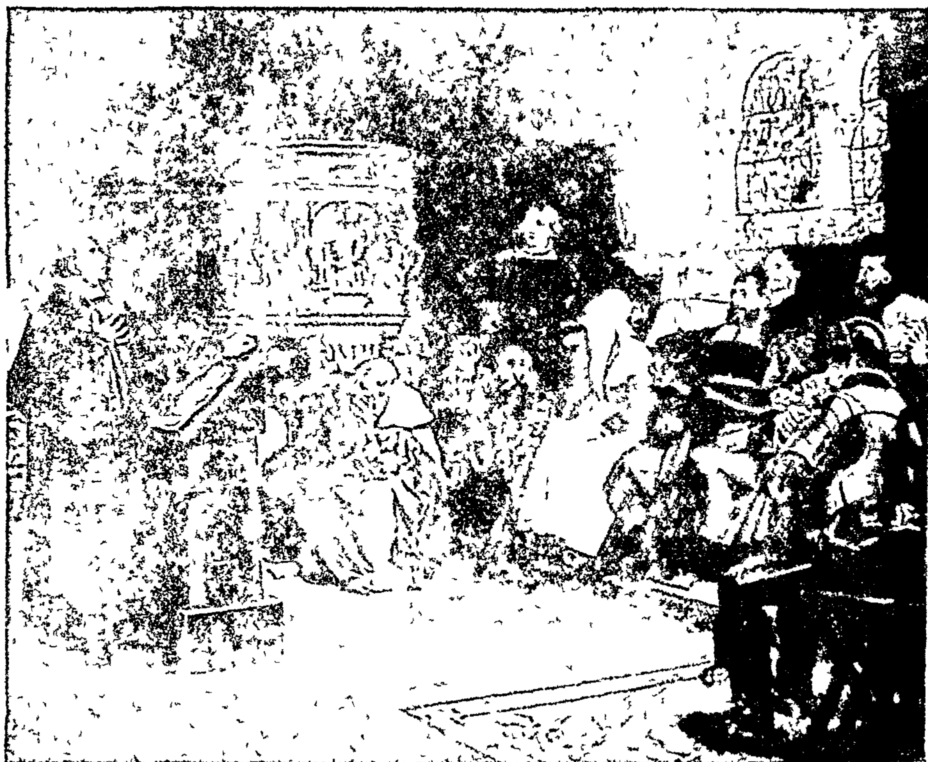
edition of the Greek New Testament (1516), together with his edition of the Latin Vulgate, represented the highest scholarship applied to the sacred texts He hoped, but in vain, that reform could be accomplished without any irreparable breach with the past. And when the breach came, Erasmus stood by the old institution and the old faith, breaking with Luther.

The Reformation in Germany: Martin Luther. The early stages of the Reformation in Germany can best be followed in the career of Martin Luther (1483–1546) Luther was a poor peasant's son of central Germany, whose pious parents destined this eldest boy for a career in law Instead, however, Martin suddenly and unexpectedly decided to become an Augustinian monk, seeking peace of soul in prayer, fasting, scourging, and zealous study of the Scriptures At length he found what he sought in the statement of St Paul· 'The just shall live by faith' 'That passage,' he later declared, 'was to me the true door of Paradise' This doctrine of justification by faith alone (as opposed to the belief in works as well as faith) was to be the central doctrine of Lutheranism, though at the time Luther scarcely realized its implications He became a professor of philosophy at Wittenberg University, was sent on missions for his Order, and began to be widely known as a preacher and scholar

The Indulgence Controversy. It was Luther's opposition to the sale of indulgences which made of him a national figure in Germany. To raise money for the building of St Peter's, Pope Leo X authorized the sale of indulgences, which a loud-voiced Dominican, Tetzel, hawked about Germany, with exaggerations disliked by many pious folk Amongst these was Luther, who, after much thought, put his criticisms into writing (the Ninety-Five Theses), nailing them to the door of the castle church in Wittenberg on 31st October 1517 The effect was immediate and widespread, the sale of pardons fell off heavily, and Tetzel was mobbed. The effort to make Luther recant his opinions fairly launched the Reformation in Germany For Luther was forced to define his position more clearly, and in so doing the revolutionary nature of his religious views became manifest In the famous *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (1520) Luther attacked the authority of the Papacy, with its exactions and corruption, denied the superiority of the clerical estate, condemned the begging orders, proposed marriage for priests, and union with the Bohemian Hussites 'Here I stand, I can do no other,' Luther stoutly declared when called before the Imperial Diet at Worms (1521), after he had burnt a Papal Bull and been excommunicated therefor The new force of the press spread Luther's opinions far and wide, and by the amazing literary activity Luther displayed for the remainder of his life he gave Germany a new literature as well as a new faith, his hymns

and his translation of the Bible alone would make of him a significant figure

The General Upheaval in Germany. Although Luther was hidden away in the remote Wartburg Castle to save his life after the Diet of Worms, the storm he had raised agitated Germany from one end to the other



LUTHER PREACHING IN THE WARTBURG
(*Hugo Vogel*)

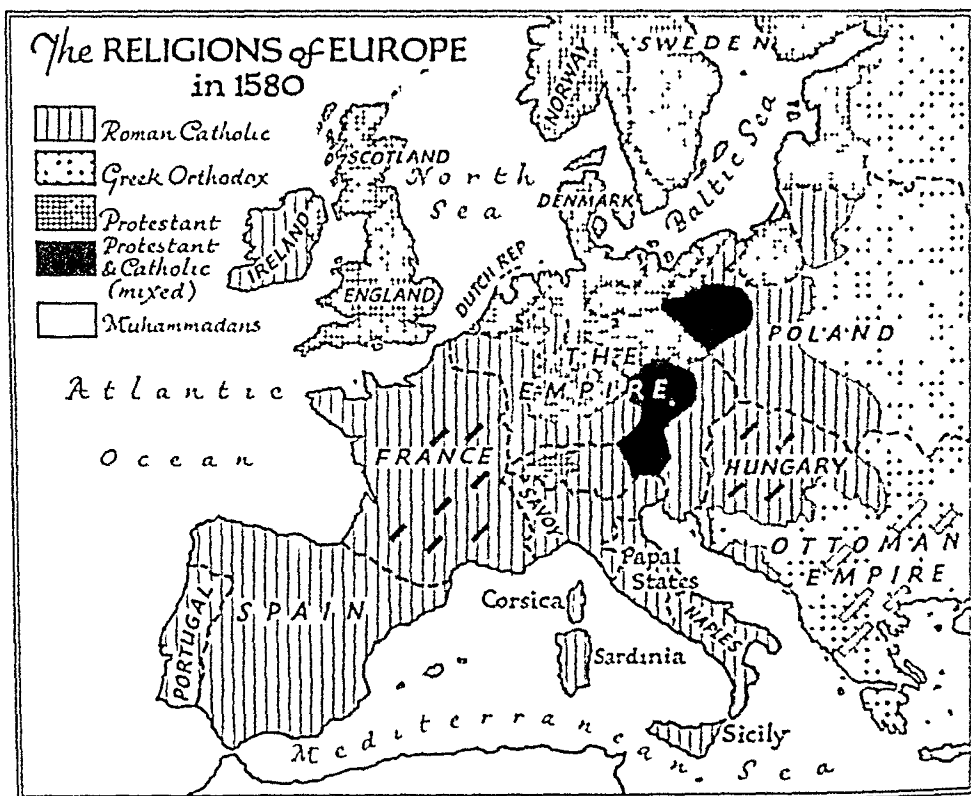
Nor was the upheaval confined to religion First some of the Free Knights of the Empire seized the opportunity to rise in futile revolt, and then, more serious, came a rising of the peasantry and poorer townspeople, seeking freedom from the burdens of serfdom, the payment of tithes, and the excessive taxation But although the movement spread over most of Germany in 1524–5 it had the usual weaknesses of such revolts, and was put down with horrible cruelty Luther, at first partly sympathetic, later denounced it, and urged its vigorous suppression, it is the worst thing we know of him Meanwhile Protestantism continued to grow in Germany, though there was great variety and confusion of opinion In 1530 Melanchthon drew up the Augsburg Confession, a very moderate

definition of Lutheran faith, and Luther, as he grew older, became more conservative Yet he was as positive and vehement as ever, falling into controversy with Erasmus on the one hand, and with the Protestant extremists on the other These extremists wished to sweep away everything but the Bible, and were commonly called Anabaptists from the objection some of them had to infant baptism They were severely persecuted ere they found refuge in Holland

The Peace of Augsburg, 1555. Had the rule of the Emperor in Germany been stronger, or had Charles V been less absorbed in issues outside Germany, doubtless the course of the movement there would have been different, for Charles never wavered in his allegiance to the old faith But as it was, despite attempts in many imperial diets, Germany split into two armed camps, led by Catholic and Protestant princes, with intermittent conflict if not regular civil war In 1555, however, a diet at Augsburg agreed that the princes and free cities of Germany could choose between the old and the Lutheran faiths, leaving their subjects to accept the choice or withdraw elsewhere The arrangement was far from satisfactory in some respects, but it gave Germany a measure of peace for a time By it Germany was divided into two parts, most of northern Germany becoming Protestant, whilst the south and west remained Catholic The division was not entirely fixed, since Calvinism, and revived Catholicism, were to modify it later, but in the main it held, despite the long war of the next century Thus the old particularism of Germany became permanently reflected in the religious division of the country, and the Reformation gave new power to the princes over their subjects And although Luther died in 1545, his faith was to spread outside Germany into the adjacent Teutonic countries of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, Poland, which likewise accepted Protestantism, was won back for the old Church by the Counter-Reformation, as was most of Hungary

The Reformation in Switzerland. The Reformation in Switzerland was led by two outstanding men, Zwingli and Calvin Zwingli (1484–1531), a humanist and scholar, was more moderate and liberal-minded than either Luther or Calvin But although he started the Reformation in Zurich and elsewhere, he perished in the religious wars which shortly broke out between the urban, Protestant, and the rural, Catholic cantons Calvin (1509–64) was a French scholar who, drawn to the new movement, fled from persecution to Switzerland, where he published his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), the most complete definition of Protestant faith It it was to be found Calvin's essential and peculiar belief, 'God's eternal decree,' according to which the salvation or damnation of every individual was foreordained and unchangeable Only the elect could be

saved, and by faith alone Yet since election must manifest itself in extreme purity of life, Calvin strove with all his might to inculcate human perfection He found his opportunity in Geneva, which city the fiery French reformer Farel had impelled to repudiate its former faith and ruler. There Calvin set up and maintained for well over a score of years a rule without precedent, a clerical tyranny of the most rigid kind Geneva

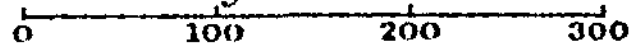


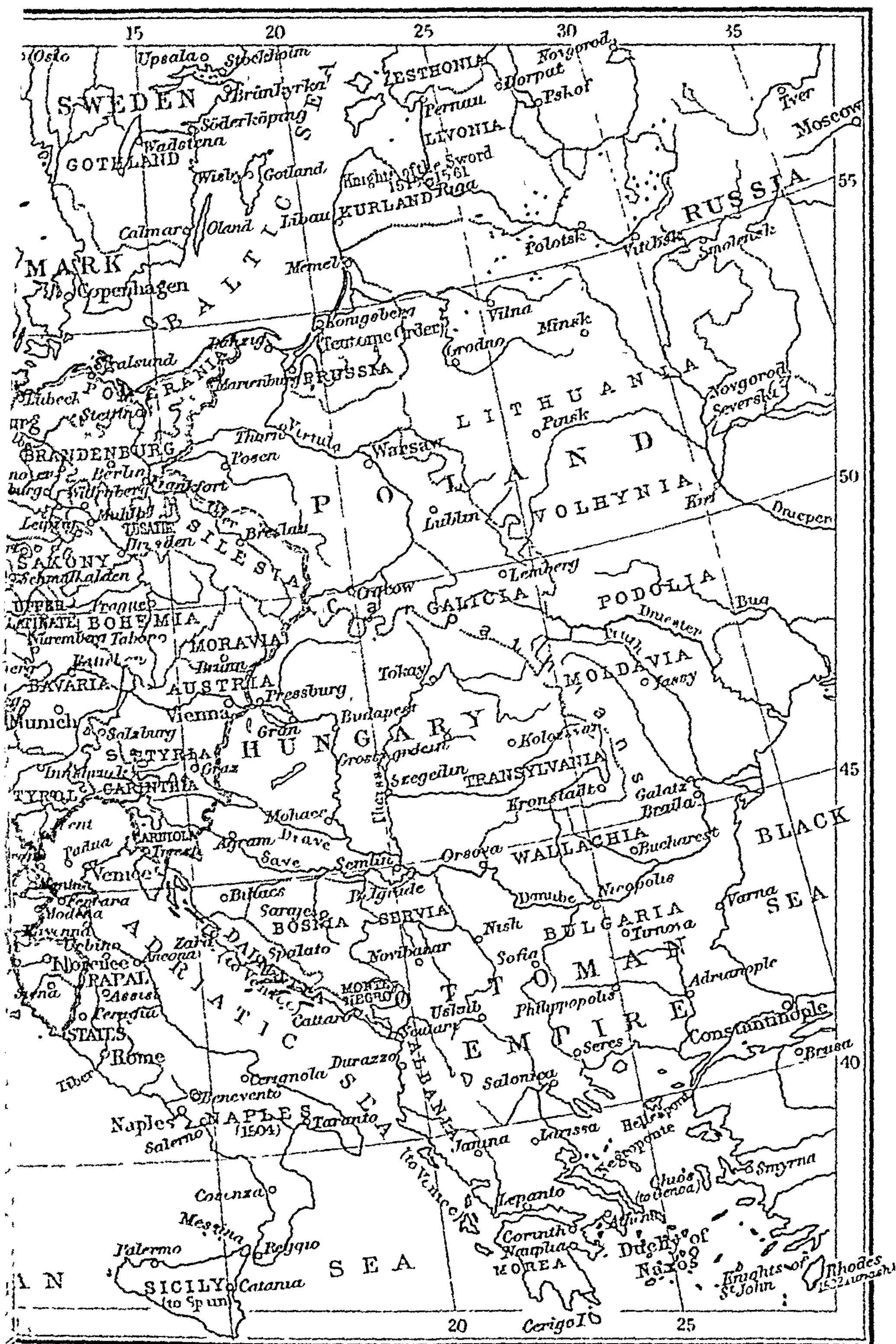
became a city of the elect, wherein the slightest sign of worldliness, a laugh, a ribbon, brought severe punishment, and men were banished, or even, like the unfortunate Spanish scholar Servetus, burnt, for daring to disagree with the manifest decrees of God as interpreted by Calvin

Under Calvin Geneva became the Protestant capital of Europe, to which disciples flocked from all parts And through this, as through Calvin's *Institutes* and other writings, and by his preaching and example, Calvinism became the dominant form of Protestantism in parts of Germany, in the Netherlands, in Scotland, and it exerted a great influence over the movement in France,

EUROPE IN 1519

Scale 1 15000000 (240 miles = 1 inch)





SWEDEN
GOTHLAND
Upsala
Stockholm
Wadstena
Söderköping
Wisby
Gotland
Calmar
Oland
MARK
Copenhagen
BALTIC SEA
ESTHONIA
Novgorod
Dorpat
Pskov
Pernau
LIVONIA
Knights of the Sword
KURLAND
Riga
Libau
Memel
RUSSIA
Tver
Moscow
Polotsk
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Vilna
Minsk
Grodno
Teutonic Order
PRUSSIA
Marienburg
Stralsund
Lübeck
POMERANIA
Stettin
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Frankfort
Thorn
Vistula
Posen
Warsaw
LITHUANIA
POLAND
Pinsk
Novgorod Seversk
VOLHYNIA
Kiev
Dnieper
Lublin
Breslau
SILESIA
Dresden
Leipzig
SAXONY
Schmalkalden
Prague
BOHEMIA
Nuremberg
Tabor
MORAVIA
Brünn
Cracow
GALICIA
Lemberg
PODOLIA
Bug
Dniester
Pruth
MOLDAVIA
Jassy
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
Munich
Vienna
Pressburg
Tokay
Budapest
Gran
HUNGARY
Salzburg
STYRIA
Graz
TYROL
CARINTHIA
Szegedin
TRANSYLVANIA
Kolozsvar
Kronstadt
Galatz
Braila
Mohacs
Drave
Save
Agram
Padua
Venice
Ferrara
Modena
Ravenna
Urbino
Florence
Ancona
Siena
Assisi
Perugia
PAPAL STATES
Rome
Tiber
ADRIATIC SEA
Spalato
Bihacs
Sarajevo
BOSNIA
Semlin
Belgrade
SERVIA
Orsova
WALLACHIA
Bucharest
Danube
Nicopolis
Varna
BLACK SEA
Nish
Sofia
BULGARIA
Tirnova
Novibazar
MONTENEGRO
Cattaro
Scutari
Uskub
Philippopolis
Adrianople
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
Brusa
Seres
Salonica
Durazzo
ALBANIA
Cerignola
Benevento
Naples
Salerno
NAPLES (1504)
Taranto
Janina
Larissa
Hellespont
Negropont
Smyrna
Chios (to Genoa)
Lepanto
Cosenza
Messina
Reggio
Palermo
SICILY (to Spain)
Catania
SEA
Corinth
Nauplia
MOREA
Duchy of Naxos
Knights of St John
Rhodes
Cerigo
15
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45
40
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The Reformation in the Netherlands. The Netherlands, adjacent to Germany, naturally felt the influence of the Lutheran revolt Charles V attempted to put down heresy, with a firmer hand than he used in Germany, but despite severe persecution, both Lutheranism and the more radical Anabaptism grew steadily throughout his reign Yet the majority of the people of the Netherlands were still Catholic when the tired emperor stepped down from his throne in 1555 It was the coming of Calvinism, and the policy of the Spanish successor of Charles, Philip II, which were to bring about the stirring chapter in the history of the Low Countries, by which the fight for the new faith became wedded to that for national independence, and the new State of Holland was born as a result, as we shall see elsewhere

The Reformation in France. The Reformation came rather later in France than in Germany, and was to run a different course Although begun by the humanist reformers, one of whom, Lefèvre d'Étaples, translated the Bible into French, it was from Calvin that the French Protestants, or Huguenots, drew most in inspiration and doctrine The adherents of the new faith, in Paris and other northern cities, in the west and the south, belonged mainly to the humbler classes of society, with an occasional convert like Admiral Coligny from the nobility From the beginning King Francis I (1515–47) set his face against what he regarded as a movement dangerous to his authority, and did not hesitate to suppress it with fire and sword, torture and the stake In 1545 there took place a dreadful massacre of some eight hundred Waldenses Yet such measures only served to stiffen the faith of Protestants all over France, and for a time after Francis's death they even won a measure of toleration in France, since Catherine de' Medici was more politically minded and strove to diminish the antagonism dividing France But the opposition between the two parties was too bitter, so that France was plunged into a whole series of religious wars (1559–95)

The French Wars of Religion. Although the Huguenots numbered at most a fifth of the population, they fought less to conquer than to gain religious freedom, and the weakness of the successive kings encouraged faction amongst the nobles Thus the wars were struggles for power as well as wars of religion, and the entry of Spain made them, in part, foreign wars as well On the Protestant side were the great names of Condé and Coligny, on the Catholic side that of Guise, associated with the Catholic League, and with the bloody massacre of St Bartholomew's Day, 1572, when thousands of Protestants were murdered Yet the Huguenots survived the blow, and the wars continued until the Protestant heir to the throne, the great Henry of Navarre, first defeated the League in battle at Ivry (1590), and then, since, as he put it, 'Paris was worth a

Mass,' made open profession of Catholicism to end the devastating civil wars Freedom and toleration for the Huguenots he secured by the Edict of Nantes in 1598 Only then could France settle down to develop those qualities which were to make her the leader of Europe, in succession to Spain

The Reformation in England. England had already had her Wyclif and her Lollards, and had already protested against the exercise of papal patronage and judicial authority in the island It was inevitable that the new movement should spread there, although England was to produce no leader of the eminence of Luther or Calvin The reformation doctrines quickly found adherents in England in the townsfolk and amongst men of the new learning, and Tyndale translated the Bible into English before he was burnt as a heretic in Flanders The course of the Reformation in England was, however, greatly influenced by the fact that King Henry VIII wished to divorce his wife, Catherine of Spain, in order to marry Anne Boleyn To achieve this Henry called together the famous Reformation Parliament of 1529–36, which abolished appeals to the papal court, confirmed the divorce, and declared by statute that the King of England 'justly is, and ought to be, the Supreme Head of the Church of England' So far the Reformation in England was national rather than doctrinal, and Henry burnt Anabaptists and Lutherans at the stake, whilst he also executed papalists like Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, and dissolved the monasteries, largely to secure their wealth In his later years he was increasingly orthodox, and defined the national faith in Catholic terms

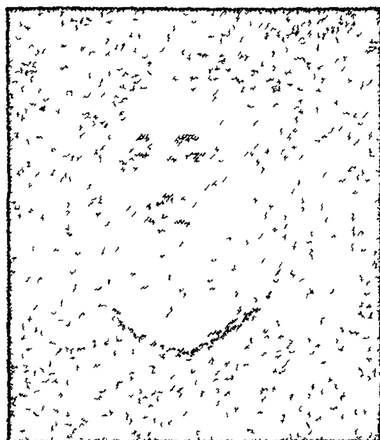

The first Chapter.

IN ye begynnynge God created heauen & earth: and ye earth was voyde and emptie, and darcknes was vpon the depe, & ye spirite of God moued vpō the water.
And God sayde: let there be light, & there was light. And God sawe the light that it was good. Then God deuyded ye light from the darcknes, and called the light, Daye: and the darcknes, Night. Then of the euenynge and mornynge was made the first daye.

THE FIRST PRINTED ENGLISH BIBLE, COVERDALE'S, 1535

But it lay beyond the masterful Henry to determine the history of the Reformation in England Protestantism had grown despite his decrees

and persecution, and in the short reign of his son, Edward VI (1547–53), the doctrines of the national church were re-defined in unmistakably Protestant terms Opinion was still greatly divided, however, and many were ready with Queen Mary (1553–8) to return to the ancient faith and ways But Mary's marriage alliance with Philip II of Spain, and the persecution of Protestants and burning of such men as Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, helped to destroy whatever possibilities existed of such a return Her successor, Queen Elizabeth, swung back to a Protestant settlement By it the Church of England was established as the national church Its creed was based on the Thirty-Nine Articles, preserving much of the old ecclesiastical system and doctrine, but rejecting the papal authority, and unmistakably Protestant in certain important respects. The religious controversy was by no means ended with the Elizabethan Settlement Yet the settlement was to be a final one, and to last to this day



JOHN KNOX

Scotland. As compared with the hesitant swing of the religious pendulum in England the movement in Scotland seems to have the rush and violence of one of its mountain torrents The movement came later there, which helps to explain the fact that Calvin, rather than Luther, provided inspiration and a model for the leaders of the change There was no incentive from the Crown, as in England, the lovely and unfortunate Queen Mary played little more than a negative part in the story which John Knox (1505–72), its chief author, has told for us in his own words. Knox was a disciple of Wishart, the outstanding martyr for the new gospel in Scotland, and was long an exile from his country, returning a complete disciple of the unbending Calvin Thus armed, he and the other zealots of the faith swept away not merely popery and 'idolatry,' as Knox called the old system of service, but also the power of the Crown, substituting in its place the rule of the Presbyterian Church, the kirk, based on a new Confession of Faith (1560) The abrogation of the powers of the Crown was to be temporary, but the domination of the kirk and the ideals of John Knox, or rather Calvin, over the lives of the people of Scotland was to last for over three centuries, with results difficult to over-estimate

The difference between English and Scottish Protestantism was to cause difficulties for a time, but was not to prevent the ultimate union of the

two countries. In Ireland, however, the majority of the people remained in the old faith, and thus added to the difficulties of relations with Protestant England, the more so as, in addition to the English Protestant Pale round Dublin, a Scottish immigration into Ulster was shortly to create another religious minority as well

The Significance of the Reformation. The Reformation cannot be separated from the other important movements of the period, and its



P H Calderon, R A.

THE ENGLISH EMBASSY IN PARIS ON THE DAY OF ST BARTHOLOMEW

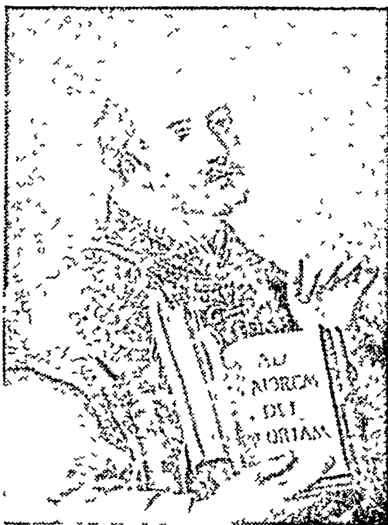
results were worked out over a long period of time Perhaps the most obvious result was that by the close of the sixteenth century Christendom was divided into three instead of two main divisions But whereas Greek and Roman Christianity were still units, Protestant Europe was divided into three major creeds, with other minor sects as well Lutheranism was the leading Protestant faith in Germany, as well as in Denmark, Scandinavia, Finland, and what is now Esthonia Calvinism had its churches in parts of Germany, in Holland, France, Hungary, and Scotland England had her own State Church, with adherents in both Scotland and Ireland. These Protestant churches differed in organization and creed,

notably in their views of the Sacraments, especially that of the Communion Of the lesser creeds encouraged by the Protestant belief in the Bible and individual salvation, many were given the common title of Anabaptism, although only a limited number of those included under the title advocated adult baptism, to become the later Baptists Other so-called Anabaptists advocated radical social changes, such as the redistribution of property, which accounted for their general persecution One Anabaptist, Menno Simons, founded the Mennonite sect, with its simple faith, opposition to war, and to any connection between religion and the State Other extremists questioned belief in the Trinity, to become the Socinians (from an Italian founder), later the Unitarians An Englishman named Browne, disliking the hierarchy of the Church of England, became the founder of the Congregational form of church organization Many of these sects may be grouped under the heading of Puritanism, which was a direct product of the Reformation

The Reformation ushered in a century of religious wars and strife. Reformers like Calvin and Luther were far from tolerant, and the Papacy on its side used every means to fight heresy, the Pope struck medals, and sang a special Te Deum, for the massacre of St Bartholomew's Day In the long run the Reformation helped to bring about religious toleration, as men learnt to separate politics and religion, but that was a slow development For the time both sides fought and persecuted, and their wars became wars of ambition, of conquest, of rival dynasties For from the start kings and princes naturally took an active part in the movement, either for or against, and the Reformation tended to increase royal power in England and Germany by giving to secular princes property and powers taken from the Church It also gave to the lay authority the care of such matters as education and charity which had formerly been in the province of the Church, not always with the best results, for a time Nor did intellectual life gain immediately from the Reformation, which found little place for the broader spirit of the humanists, thus Luther denounced the Copernican theory as contrary to Scripture Yet here, too, in the long run, Protestantism, with its belief in the individual, was to further both popular government and intellectual freedom

The Counter-Reformation: The Council of Trent The effect of the Reformation on the Catholic Church was to further the cause of reform In this the Papacy took an increasing part as the sixteenth century wore on, but more decisive contributions were made by the Council of Trent, and the new Jesuit Order The Council of Trent, which met at intervals from 1545 to 1563, was called to meet the demand of Charles V for a definition of faith which should put an end to the schism tearing the Empire in two It was also to reform abuses, and to organize a Crusade

against the advancing Turk Actually, whilst early leaders like Contarini and Pole were conciliatory, it was too late to end the schism in the Church, and men like Caraffa (later Pope Paul IV) were uncompromising in their attitude, which became that of the Council The Protestant claim that only the Bible was necessary to salvation was denied, as was also justification by faith alone. The text of the Vulgate, and the Seven Sacraments, were declared authoritative Thus the Council, whilst defining the doctrines of the Catholic Church, also defined more plainly the breach with Protestantism Whilst it also brought about a number of reforms, its later sessions were marked by increasing firmness against any compromise with heresy



IGNATIUS LOYOLA

The Jesuits. This attitude was partly due to the appearance in the Council of members of a new monastic Order, pledged to militant attack on heresy The Company of Jesus was not the only new Order testifying (as in the Middle Ages) to a revival of religious zeal in the Church, for Theatines, Capuchins, Barnabites, and Ursulines appeared about the same time But the Jesuits were to be the most important of these new creations Their founder, a Basque Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola (1493–1556), of noble family, educated as soldier and courtier, had been wounded in battle, which left him long an invalid, and a cripple for the rest of his days During his slow recovery he dedicated himself to the service of Christ and His Church undergoing a period of intense religious experience marked by innumerable visions He drew up a manual of *Spiritual Exercises* for the attainment of complete subjection to God's will, essayed to go on a Crusade, and spent seven years in Paris acquiring the learning necessary for his task In these years his fiery and compelling personality drew to him disciples like Francis Xavier, Lainez, who was to succeed him as General of his Order, and others, mostly Spaniards With these he organized his Society of Jesus, securing papal approval, taking vows, and setting off for Jerusalem

The Society could not have appeared at a more opportune moment for the Papacy The discipline and strict obedience of its members made them invaluable in the struggle with Protestantism Great stress was laid on education, men of good family were preferred, and recruits went through a most rigid process of selection ere the final vows could be taken

The Order grew rapidly in numbers and strength, and played a part not merely in the Council of Trent, but along all the frontiers of the Church in the fight with Protestantism, winning victories in Poland and elsewhere The Jesuits became the best-known preachers of the day, the trusted confessors and advisers of kings, the most successful instructors of youth Yet along with this they found their way across the Atlantic, up the unknown St Lawrence, through the dark forests of Brazil, stayed neither by hardship nor martyrdom Francis Xavier blazed a way for them to India, China, and Japan, dying in China These triumphs were not achieved without opposition or criticism Protestants found cause for hatred not merely in their faith and energy, but also in their methods. even Catholics came at times to look askance at their capacity for compromise

The Inquisition and the Index. Two other agencies of the Counter-Reformation must be mentioned. The Inquisition, established in the Middle Ages to purge heresy, now became more important Set up in Spain, whose rulers became the chief temporal supporters of the Counter-Reformation, with Torquemada as Inquisitor General, it found its earliest victims in the Jews and converted Moslems there, but was then applied with equal zeal to the fight with Protestantism Whilst it doubtless confirmed many in the old faith, its wide powers, secrecy, severity, and ruthlessness made it almost universally feared and hated Its *autos-da-fé* (acts of faith), as the public burnings of heretics were called, testified to its power in Spain, but embittered the struggle with Protestantism The Index of Prohibited Books (1564) resulted from the efforts of the Council of Trent to check the spread of heretical books and writings which the introduction of printing had allowed Once established, the Index was to become a permanent element in the machinery of the Papacy and Church

For Further Reading

T M Lindsay, *Luther and the German Reformation*
H S Lucas, *The Renaissance and the Reformation*
C. Reade, *The Cloister and the Hearth*
Preserved Smith, *The Age of the Reformation*

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF THE NATION STATES OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND AND THE BEGINNINGS OF CAPITALISM

The Political Map of Europe about 1500. By the close of the Middle Ages the map of Europe was slowly taking its modern shape In addition to France, Germany, and England, other national units were being more permanently defined To the south Spain and Portugal filled out the Iberian peninsula In the north the Scandinavian peoples had been united in the fourteenth century into one realm (1397), by an able and ambitious woman, Queen Margaret Now, however, by the secession of Sweden (1523) they took on the form they were to retain for three centuries To the east, Poland, united with Lithuania, and victorious at length in her long struggle with the Teutonic Order, had become a large and important state Eastward again, Russia, free from the Mongol yoke, by the accession of Ivan III (1462–1505), saw the beginning of the long rule of the Tsardom of Moscow, to which Ivan added the wide realm of Novgorod, stretching over most of northern Russia, and parts of Lithuania The Balkans had fallen under Turkish rule, so to remain until the nineteenth century, and the Turkish advance farther west affected the fortunes of both Bohemia and Hungary For after the victory of Suleiman the Magnificent at Mohacs (1526) Bohemia fell into the hands of the Habsburgs, to remain under them for four centuries, whilst Hungary was partly absorbed into the Ottoman Empire, and partly added to the Habsburg realm, which was growing steadily, piece by piece

But the share of these eastern states and peoples in the general life of the continent of Europe lay in the future For the first modern nation states we must look farther west, not to Italy with her many divisions, or to the Empire, similarly divided, but to France and England The weakness and division of the Empire are illustrated by the fact that at this period the Dukes of Burgundy, notably Charles the Bold (1466–77), tried to revive the old middle kingdom of Lotharingia Spain can best be looked at in connection with her empire

The Foundations of the Nation States The states into which Europe was coming to be divided were the result of a number of forces Geography had obviously something to do with promoting unity, as in England Common descent also helped, although by this time the fusion of peoples (e g of Romanized Celts and Franks in France) had gone far enough to allow a national unit to be built of mixed elements Yet Spain achieved unity in part by driving out divergent elements like the Moors

and Jews. The rise of national languages and literatures, aided by printing, also promoted national unity. For these literatures helped the building up of a consciousness of a common past and common traditions in a way the general medieval language, Latin, could never do The Reformation also added in certain cases the strength of adhesion to a national creed, and of a national struggle waged for that creed, as in Holland and elsewhere. Bound up with all this was the growth of the commonalty, the third estate, in freedom, strength, wealth, and so in national consciousness, to form an integral part of the nation

The New Monarchies. Yet, save for one or two exceptions, as Switzerland or Holland, it was round the kings that the nation states were being built up The monarchies had grown steadily over many centuries, taking over some of the attributes of the Roman emperors, crowned and anointed by the Church as God's representatives upon earth To rebel against them was treason, the worst of crimes, for which men were broken on the wheel They had their courts and their growing bodies of royal officials, to keep the king's peace and administer royal justice Kings taxed their subjects, called them to war, and led them in battle With the aid of the Church and the Third Estate they had defeated the feudal barons, and they alone could afford to purchase the new all-powerful artillery Their wealth was indeed an all-important element in their power With it they could build up navies (as Henry VIII), or armies (as Charles V), and the growth of overseas trade poured riches into their treasuries They were likewise aided by the political philosophy of the Renaissance, as expounded by Machiavelli in *The Prince*

Thus they tended to be absolutist, and the dynastic interest became for a time all-important, fortified as it was by marriage alliances, often determining policy and wars The outstanding example of this was the Habsburg dynasty The poverty-stricken Habsburg Emperor Maximilian married the heiress of Burgundy, and by marrying his son to the heiress of Spain he built up the great empire of Charles V These monarchs made use of 'new' men instead of the nobility for administration, as Henry VIII used Thomas Cromwell Whilst in addition to the royal councils, wherein clergy and nobility played a part, there were also wider national assemblies, the Parliament in England, the Estates General in France, the Cortes in Spain and Portugal, the Diets in Germany and Poland, the Tables in Hungary, yet the growth of royal power in this period diminished the influence of these bodies, and even threatened their existence Not until the latter part of the sixteenth century did the English Parliament begin to recover the ground lost under the early Tudors, the Estates General in France practically disappeared

France: Louis XI. France was in some ways the most advantageously

period France was ruled by the Italian queen, Catherine de' Medici, wife of Henry II, astute and able, but a foreigner, concerned like an Italian tyrant to maintain her power and that of her sons even to the point of approving the St Bartholomew's Day massacre of the Huguenots. With the accession of Henry IV and the end of the religious wars we enter



EMBARKATION OF HENRY VIII AT DOVER (1520) TO MEET FRANCIS I ON THE FAMOUS FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD

a new period of French history, when with a declining Spain, with England and Germany absorbed in internal divisions, France was to rise to her height under Louis XIV

England: Henry VII. The new monarchy came in England a little later than in France The Wars of the Roses prepared for it by causing the rival noble houses to destroy each other A successful Yorkist king, Edward IV, left a child as heir, to be a prey to the ambitious villainy of his uncle, Richard, who murdered both the young king, Edward V, and his brother, in the Tower of London But with the accession of Henry VII England entered upon a new era Although the influence of the Italian Renaissance was visible in England in Henry's day, and even before, and although Henry was interested in trade and overseas enterprise, yet his main concern was to build up the royal power He put down pretenders, filled the royal treasury with gold, established special royal courts like that of the Star Chamber, won the support of the middle and lower classes who had suffered from the last feudal war, and clipped the wings of Parliament, which had developed greatly during the French

wars, but was now an obstacle in the way of the royal authority. He pursued a peaceful and profitable foreign policy, married his daughter to the King of Scotland, so preparing for the later union with that country, and his son to the daughter of the King of Spain He was, without a doubt, one of the great kings of England, yet his astute and tortuous methods, and his miserliness, prevented him from becoming popular



HENRY VIII
(*Holbein*)

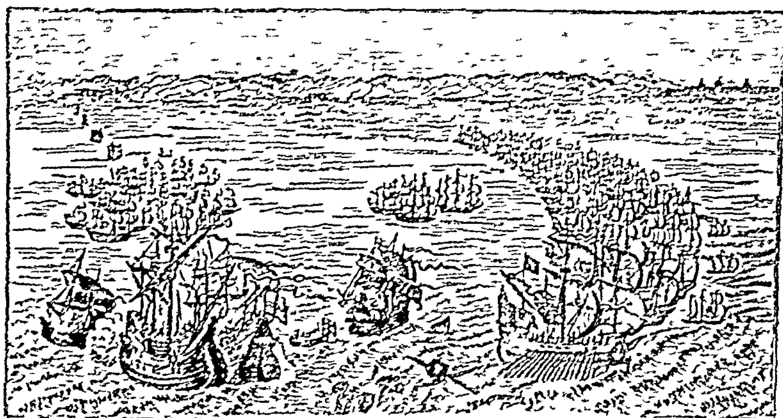
Henry VIII (1509-47) His son and successor, Henry VIII, was a very different person, spendthrift and dashing, marrying six wives in succession, engaging in foreign wars and entanglements which brought no profit and little credit True, the Crown was more firmly established, so that there was less need for cautious penury, and across the Channel there was the example of the equally dashing and impetuous Francis I In certain essentials the second Tudor Henry resembled his father, as we may see in his attitude to Parliament and to the religious revolution He ruled with a high hand, brooking little interference, becoming more tyrannical than ever his father had been, and wearing out much of the popularity which had greeted him when as a young man he ascended the throne His part in the Reformation we have referred to elsewhere Yet if Henry's wars, marriages, and tyranny in religion brought him little credit, there is one thing on the other side he built a royal navy Before this England relied on merchant ships for defence and sea-fighting Henry VIII built royal ships, such as the *Great Harry*, no less than eighty-five in all, and fitted them with broadsides of the new artillery It was a necessary preliminary to the growth of English sea-power The short reigns of Edward, his son, and of Mary, his daughter by the divorced Spanish Catherine, were largely filled up with the religious struggle and need no separate mention here.

The Age of Elizabeth. Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603), though her mother, Anne Boleyn, had been executed, and she herself declared illegitimate, was to be the most remarkable of all these Tudor monarchs Possessed of the caution of Henry VII, and the bluff charm of her father,

she won also an appeal to the hearts of her people which was to count more than her remarkably good education, her knowledge of languages and of books For on it was to be built the distinguishing characteristic of her reign and age, the growth and expression of a national English sentiment whereby, as Shakespeare was to put it.

Naught shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true

Not at first did this appear The religious settlement had first to be made, and then to be proved The adherents to Rome in the North revolted in 1569, the Puritans became more irreconcilable as time went on, and Elizabeth, though politically rather than religiously minded, was

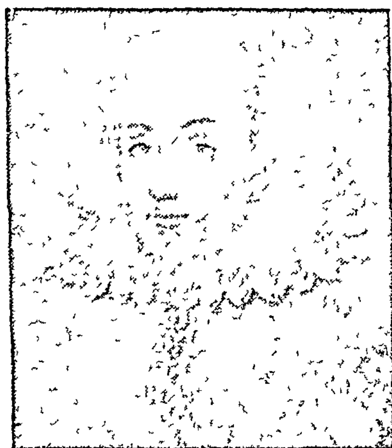


THE ARMADA
(*From a contemporary print*)

driven to persecute on both sides at once The connection with Spain made by Queen Mary, the problem of her own marriage, which she solved in the end by remaining single, the growth of the Counter-Reformation abroad, her excommunication and the loosing of her subjects from their allegiance by the Pope, the plots and threats of assassination, had all to be faced in turn or together Bound up with these was the hard problem of Mary Queen of Scots, Catholic, rival claimant for the English throne, who, whether in Scotland or England, remained a problem and a menace for nearly twenty years, until the axe of Fotheringhay descended in 1587 Mary apart, England's relations with the old enemy Scotland were improving But Ireland was another story The hold of the old faith there helps to explain, though not to justify, the harsh measures of Elizabeth's reign, by which English rule and Irish hatred of it grew together

The Struggle with Spain. Yet it was in the solution of the problems

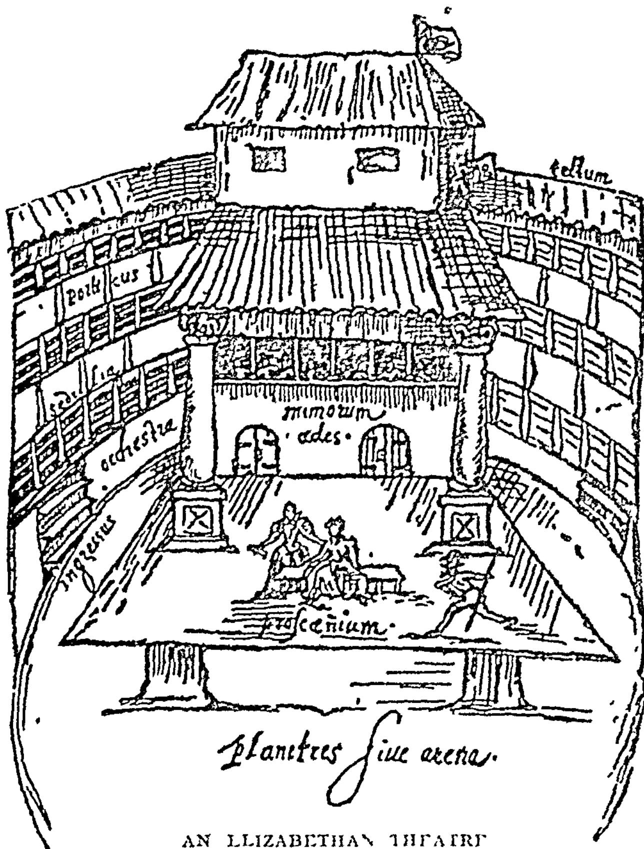
that faced Elizabeth on her accession that England found herself, and the new monarchy reached its height, so that the queen in her last speech to Parliament could, 'account the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves.' We can trace this above all in the struggle with Spain, dominant in Europe and the champion of the Counter-Reformation. Cut off from former territorial ambitions in Europe by the final loss of Calais, Elizabethan England now began to find its heritage on and over the surrounding seas Though colonization and empire were to come later, it was the voyages of Drake, Raleigh, Frobisher, and their kind that revealed the new destiny and the way to it The defeat of the great Armada of Spain (1588), though it began rather than ended the war, was both a victory for Protestantism in Europe, and a sign that the mastery of the seas was passing from the Mediterranean to the northern peoples Yet the spirit of the Elizabethan age is to be found not only in the daring exploits of its sea-dogs, or in the charm of the Elizabethan manor-houses whose appearance testified to the growth of wealth and comfort, but also in the music of the Elizabethan madrigal composers, and, above all, in Elizabethan poetry and prose



SHAKESPEARE

Elizabethan Literature. Much of the English literature loosely called Elizabethan, including the Authorized Version of the English Bible, and the greatest of Shakespeare's plays, appeared in the reign of Elizabeth's successor But the stimulus, the promise, and much of the fulfilment, came in the reign of the great queen, so that the title is not improper This literary outburst was, indeed, the English Renaissance, late in its tide, but full and overflowing in its strength and vitality, and intensely patriotic Its spirit manifested itself in the springing delight of its lyrics and love songs, from those of Surrey and Wyatt to those of Sidney and Spenser, in the prose of Ascham and Hooker, Raleigh and Bacon, in the fine translations of the classical or other writers, such as North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, in the historical works of Holinshed and Stow, Camden and Harrison, in Hakluyt's great collection of English Voyages; and, above all, in the English Bible, which even before the Authorized Version appeared (1611) was the most widely read book in English, and in the plays of Shakespeare English drama had evolved slowly from the Miracle and Morality plays of the later Middle Ages, through the work of such men as Greene and Marlowe, and it was to continue after this time

in the plays of Ben Jonson and others But it reached its height, as did the age it represented, in the genius of Shakespeare, wherein both humanity in general, and the patriotism of Elizabethan England, met and were fused into a common whole



AN ELIZABETHAN THEATRE

The Rise of Capitalism. Closely associated with the rise of the nation states in the sixteenth century was the economic development which we sum up as the rise of capitalism The new economic system implied in the first place the accumulation of wealth, the capital on which it was to be based; and this wealth must be easily available, implying coinage in considerable amounts, and a credit system for trading It implied also the existence of a class of men sufficiently powerful, educated, and skilful in direction, as well as a sufficient supply of labour It implied that the capitalist should be free from too much oppression, or disturbance from war within or without Usually it implied also cities of some size, as centres for operation It implied the existence of people able to purchase the manufactured product, established trading routes, sources of raw materials, and markets, ships, and sailors for overseas enterprise—in fact, it implied nearly everything which we know as characteristic of our economic system to-day, save the new power (whether steam or electricity) of the later Industrial Revolution, with the mass production and other features resulting therefrom

Banking and Modern Finance. It was naturally in Italy that banking took its rise From the profits of trading, goldsmiths and merchants began to loan money, at interest, to princes or merchants A Florentine

banking family, the Medici, became masters of Florence, and their coat of arms, three red balls on a gold background, became and remained the sign of the money-lenders. Venice and Genoa also had their bankers, some of whom financed the early voyages of discovery. The Italians also developed the use of a clearing house, by which bills of indebtedness, instead of being paid directly, could be 'cleared' by other



THE FUGGEREI, AUGSBURG

The houses for the poor, built by Jacob Fugger in 1519. The frescoes which can be seen illustrate the history of Augsburg

bills from another source, so saving the many risks of transporting gold, and greatly facilitating business between different countries. Genoa began the practice of issuing notes for gold. The art of book-keeping likewise developed in Italy, and it was in Venice that the first State Bank was established in 1587.

As the Italian cities lost their pre-eminence in trade in the sixteenth century the cities of Germany and Flanders came to take their place. They had long had their northern trade, which was undisturbed by the advance of the Turks, and now they began to share in the profits of the Portuguese and Spanish overseas empires, aided by the political connection established through Charles V. In Augsburg the Fugger family first made money by weaving, and then developed into the greatest banking house in Europe, financing the Pope and the Emperor, owning mines,

equipping fleets, with properties and investments all over the world They were ennobled by the Emperor, and we may still see in Augsburg their residence and the almshouses they built. They established a branch in Antwerp, which before the Spanish sack of 1576 was the greatest port in the world There, appropriately, the first stock and produce exchange was established in 1531, and there the insurance of ships and cargoes, another element in the capitalist system, first became firmly established This early private banking was very profitable, but was open to great risks and accompanied by financial crises, not merely from the encouragement to speculation, but also because the largest borrowers, kings and princes, were liable to go bankrupt or repudiate their debts, as happened in both France and Spain in the later sixteenth century

Capitalism in Trade. As trade created wealth, so did the accumulation of wealth render possible the great extension of trade which is one of the features of the sixteenth century Whilst the land routes of Europe were no less used, it was the new sea routes east and west which were the great carriers of trade. The great port of Antwerp, at the height of its power about 1560, is said to have had well over two thousand ships discharging or taking in cargo, and one day might see the arrival or departure of several hundred ships This growing trade demanded larger facilities than the medieval trade gilds could supply, and so there came into existence trading companies in which different individuals invested capital, the joint-stock companies Whilst trading companies were formed in Spain and Portugal, it was in England and Holland that the greatest companies of this kind took shape. The first of these 'chartered' companies was that of the English Merchant Adventurers (1553), which became known as the Muscovy or Russia Company, and it was followed by the Levant Company, trading to Syria, by the great East India Company (1600), which built up British power in India, and by the Virginia Company (1606), which began British settlement in America The Dutch likewise owed their empire in the east to their East India Company, founded in 1602 France had her companies also, but they were less permanent and powerful

Capitalism in Industry. As in trade, so in industry, the medieval framework of gilds gave way before the new system The craft gilds, long responsible for manufactures, were too limited and local to meet the demands of the new age, though some of them survived, in the hands of their richest members, as capitalistic enterprises But in the main they were now superseded by a larger and freer organization of industry, which drew its capital in the first place from the profits of the new commerce The capitalist bought the raw materials and supplied or 'put them out' to workers who toiled in their own homes. Hence the term, 'Domestic

System,' for this long pre-factory stage of capitalist manufacture The employer could buy materials on a larger scale, with greater knowledge of the market, and whilst he took the risks of a drop in prices or an overloaded market, he counted on his profits to compensate for such risks, and more The steady rise in prices during the second half of the sixteenth century (as a result primarily of the increase in Europe of the precious metals) stimulated this new organization of industry, which became the normal form Most of it was carried on in towns, though these were not yet factory towns, and so long as the tools, such as the new spinning wheels, were available in the country districts, industry could be carried on there as well The workers, men, women, and children, sprang partly from the emancipated serfs, but whether from them or from the earlier journeymen of the old gilds, they were coming to be more clearly separated from the employing class than under the early gild system, where the labourer had had a chance to become an employer himself

Capitalism and Agriculture Capitalism did not, at this stage, industrialize countries or societies as it came to do in the nineteenth century, the land still remained the main source from which the majority of the peoples of Europe drew their livelihood But it profoundly affected rural life, encouraging the change by which money succeeded labour as the basis of landholding It did not, of itself, free the serfs, who remained in their servile state in many countries of Europe for some centuries more. And while the new men of wealth bought up land from the nobility, or won it from the old Church as in Germany and England, improving cultivation and stock, the three-field system of agriculture still survived In Spain and England, however, the increased demand for wool for manufacture brought certain changes In Spain a great 'sheep-trust,' the Mesta, came to control large areas of land on which it pastured sheep In England there set in what became known as the enclosure movement, by which arable land, and some of the village 'commons,' came to be fenced in by wealthy landowners for the same purpose Although the total area so enclosed in the sixteenth century in England was not a large percentage of the whole, the process aroused much criticism from the peasantry who lost their work on the land, or their commons, and there were risings against such changes, as in earlier centuries, and equally unsuccessful

The Results of the Economic Changes. The most obvious result, perhaps, of these economic changes, was the large and steady increase of wealth which the new system proved capable of providing The appearance of a moneyed middle class, made up of traders, bankers, and manufacturers, closely connected with the class of professional men and officials, changed the older balance of society The third estate, from

which these men were drawn, had always been far the most numerous class Now a portion of it was also becoming more important through its wealth It was not yet dominant, but it naturally tended to increase in power and influence. Much of the political history of the next three centuries is made up of the attempts of this new middle class to gain control of affairs, for example, in England The energy, ambitions, and skill of this class found most scope and freedom in the northern European countries, and aided the change in the balance of wealth and power in Europe from south to north It helped to make Europe look outwards across the Atlantic rather than to the Mediterranean or Italy.

The Age of Mercantilism. In association with the new monarchies the capitalists assisted in the building of the new nation states Economic life had been organized largely on a local and civic basis, now it became organized on a more definitely national basis The theory and practice of what we call the Mercantilist Age were worked out It involved the regulation of trade and industry, including labour conditions and the poor, by the State This was in part necessitated, in Protestant countries like England, by the fact that the Church no longer performed some of its old functions The early mercantilists believed that as much gold and silver as possible should be kept within the country, and laws were made to this end They set up tariffs and passed laws called Navigation Acts, to protect national trade and shipping Since capital needed fields for foreign investment and profit, the new age fostered colonial enterprise and overseas trade Rivalry here brought wars with neighbouring states, though the older dynastic interest was often intermingled with this newer 'national' interest, made up of economic rivalry, political ambition, and, for a time, religious differences

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C. Day, *A History of Commerce*

C Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*

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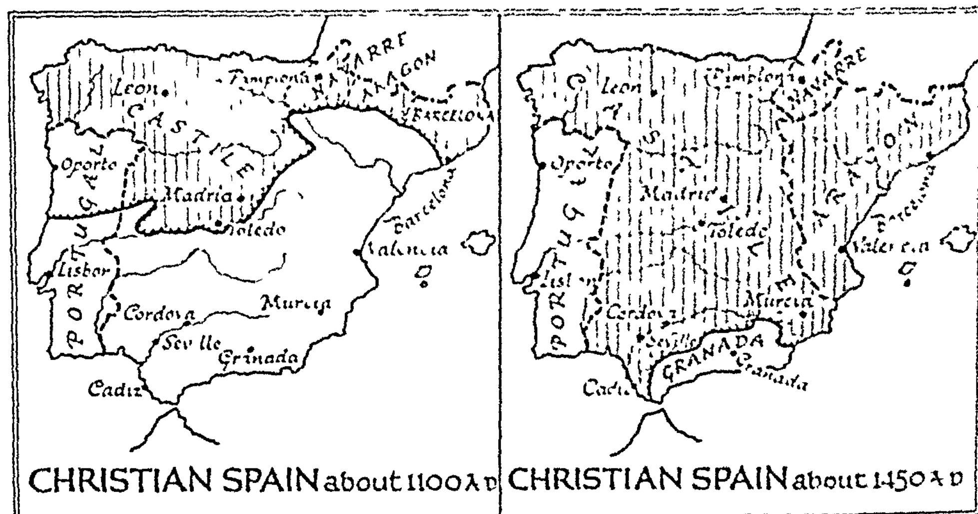
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CHAPTER V

THE SPANISH EMPIRE AND THE NEW WORLD OF AMERICA

The Rise of Christian Spain. The first wave of Arab conquest which had destroyed the Visigothic kingdom in Spain had been followed by other invasions of Berbers from North Africa, the latest of them in the middle of the twelfth century But before this there had begun the long crusade by which Christian rule was to be restored throughout the peninsula. South of the small Christian states of Leon, Navarre, Aragon,



and Barcelona, which were strung out along the northern border of the peninsula, new independent states appeared Portugal emerged to the west and Castile in the centre Portugal was long to remain separate, but Castile became permanently united with Leon, and Aragon with Barcelona (Catalonia). Navarre remained, 'the saddle-bag kingdom,' across the Pyrenees. Step by step, and not without setbacks, Portugal, Castile, and Aragon pushed southwards, until Moorish rule was confined to the narrow strip of the kingdom of Granada.

This long crusading effort gave special qualities to Spanish life and character. It gave great strength to the Church, as to the military and feudal traditions; the later overseas expansion was in a measure a continuation of the movement It also cut Spain off from much of the life of the rest of medieval Europe, although it was through Spain that cultural contacts developed with the Arab world And in their organization and growth the Christian states of Spain reflected many of the developments

seen elsewhere in western civilization. One of the most interesting of these was the appearance in both Castile and Aragon of Cortes, assemblies of nobles, clergy, and townsfolk, called together by the Crown even earlier than the corresponding assemblies in England or France.

Ferdinand and Isabella. Yet it was the kings of Castile and Aragon, rather than the Cortes, or legendary crusading heroes like the eleventh-century Cid, who built up Christian Spain. In the thirteenth century Aragon had the great king James I (1213–76), the Conqueror, 'the most handsome, wise, generous, and beloved king in all the world,' whilst Castile from 1252 to 1284 had Alfonso X, the Learned, who gave his people a code of laws. Now in the fifteenth century appeared two rulers of even greater significance for Spain, Isabella of Aragon and Ferdinand of Castile. Isabella was pious, impulsive, and courageous, Ferdinand political, cautious, and crafty. Their marriage in 1469 marked the beginning of the greatness of Spain, for although it was only a union of crowns, and the two rulers were so different, it led to final union, and the two rulers both complemented each other in character and worked together in policy. 'One is as good as the other,' was the motto they adopted. The conquest of Granada in 1492 ended Moslem rule in Spain, whilst Ferdinand later added Navarre to round out his kingdom to the north. Aragon had already overseas possessions in the Mediterranean, the Balearic Islands, Sicily, Sardinia, and Naples. Now she began to launch out into her great period of expansion. Campaigns in north Africa brought only limited success, but the gain of the Canary Islands (1479) opened the way to the west, by which Columbus and his successors were to build up the Spanish Empire in the New World.

Internally the rule of these 'Catholic Monarchs' followed the trend of the new monarchies elsewhere, raising the power of the Crown to unprecedented heights. They reduced the powers of the feudal nobility, as of the free cities, and made little use of the Cortes. They replaced the clergy and nobles in the royal councils with new men, lawyers dependent on themselves, and built up a bureaucracy of officials for local administration. They greatly extended the scope of the royal courts, increased the royal income, created a new royal army, encouraged manufacture, trade, and shipping. Serfdom, however, and even slavery, continued. They maintained close control over the Church, which Isabella strove to reform. The attempt to enforce religious uniformity led in 1492 to the cruel expulsion of some 200,000 Jews from the country, to increasing pressure on the Moors of Granada for conversion, despite the promise of toleration, and to the encouragement of the Inquisition.

Charles V. The death of Ferdinand in 1516 left the throne to a Habsburg grandson, a boy of sixteen, who knew neither Spain nor a word of

as they were the richest, provinces of his empire After his death they became a mere outlier of Philip's kingdom, never visited by their ruler, heavily taxed and governed by people they regarded as foreigners, who were supported by alien and arrogant troops Thus the revolt which broke out was in part a nationalist protest But it was the religious issue which gave intensity to the struggle, and made of it the most heroic episode of the whole Protestant Reformation Charles had punished heresy in the Netherlands with great severity, but it grew all the same, turning in time to the uncompromising creed of Calvin And with Philip's accession the little country came under the rule of the most intolerant champion of reviving Catholicism But nothing could justify the monstrous cruelty of Alva's Council of Blood, which executed between ten and twenty thousand people in the Netherlands, or the 'Spanish Fury' which sacked Antwerp in 1576 Their effect was to turn the local and limited rising begun in 1565 into a bitter struggle for independence on the part of the northern provinces, under the leadership of the great Prince William of Orange (1533–84) The Dutch 'Beggars' carried on the campaign by land and sea, preying on Spanish shipping, seizing the coast towns, opening the dykes to flood the country and sail inland to relieve Leyden (1574) from its long siege

That was the turning-point, and before the assassination of William of Orange ten years later the northern confederation had come into effective existence, though the war went on for some time before the Spaniards were driven out, and not until 1648 did Spain fully recognize Dutch independence Long before that, however, a free Holland had begun the remarkable development both within and without which was to place her, for a time, amongst the leading states of Europe

Spain and the New World An essential element in the rise of the Spanish Empire to predominance in Europe was the building up of a great empire in America Spain was the first transatlantic European power, to be followed in her expansion there by other European nations Yet whilst Europe was thus to impose its rule and culture over the American continents in the centuries following the discovery of Columbus, this New World was already inhabited by peoples who in culture and manner of life differed widely from their European conquerors Some of these people Columbus, thinking he had reached Asia, called Indians, and the name has come to be applied to all the early inhabitants of America

The Indians of America. Whilst we do not know exactly when or how the first human beings appeared on the American continents, it is agreed that in the post-glacial age, perhaps some twenty-five thousand years

ago, people of Mongoloid stock found their way across the narrow strait from Siberia to Alaska There seem to have been successive waves of such immigration, latest of them perhaps that of the Eskimos. These various peoples gradually spread south and east over the vast expanse of the two continents, increasing in numbers, and in many thousands of years adapted themselves to their new environments, so that there existed wide differences of speech, ways of life, and even physical appearance. Modern investigators have divided them culturally into fifteen large areas, ten in North and Central America, four in South America, with a separate area for the West Indian Islands Each of these areas contained many different tribes, beyond description or even enumeration here. In the northern continent, for example, the Eskimo peoples developed their own way of life along the Arctic coast, living on seals, building snow houses in winter, and with skin tents for summer The Plains Indians roamed the western prairies, hunting the bison The Iroquoian tribes of the Eastern Woodland Area both hunted and cultivated maize, whilst the Algonkians of the same area excelled in the making of birch-bark canoes The Pueblo Indians of the south-west dwelt in village communities, built in stone, did elaborate basket and pottery work, and wove cloth



Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology

A GROUP OF MOHAWK INDIANS

They are in front of a typical Iroquoian bark-covered house

The Mayas. Certain of these Indian peoples of America reached a cultural level far higher than the rest, above all those in Central America, where agriculture was most intensive and population greatest, and in Peru A people of northern Colombia, the Chibchas, also developed a more advanced political organization, and were marked by their lavish use of gold in decoration and ritual. It was here that the Spaniards sought for El Dorado (the golden man). Most advanced of all were the Mayas of Yucatan, whose civilization reached its height in the sixth century A D The remains of Mayan temples and palaces show not merely their architectural skill, but also their elaborate decorative work in stone and stucco, with the characteristic 'serpent motive.' But in addition they possessed considerable astronomical and mathematical knowledge, working out a

yearly calendar, using the zero for counting, and also inventing a kind of writing and paper

The Aztecs. Of the other more cultured peoples of Central America the Aztecs of Mexico were far the most outstanding They rose as the Mayas, from whom they borrowed much of their culture, declined, establishing their rule as the centre of a wide confederacy, with their capital where Mexico City now stands. They excelled in the art of war, and their warlike fierceness was reflected in their religion, with its many festivals at which human sacrifices were offered and the flesh sometimes eaten But the Aztecs were more than fighters, or cannibals They possessed a rigidly theocratic system of government, an established social order, and even schools They were excellent engineers, had an elaborate mythology, music, poetry, and a knowledge of astronomy, wrote by signs and pictures, carved elaborately in stone, and did metal, pottery, and feather work



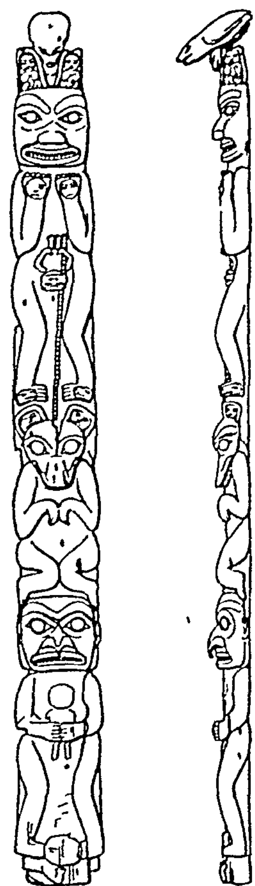
Courtesy of Mexican National Museum

THE CALENDAR STONE OF THE AZTECS

It represents the disk of the sun and the history of the world

The Incas of Peru. Separated from these Central American peoples, the Incas had built up an empire and culture along the Andes from Ecuador to Chile, with its capital at Cuzco Whilst the Incas had neither the astronomical knowledge nor the art of writing of the Aztecs, they were in some respects more remarkable Their divine ruler, the Inca, the Child of the Sun, lived in the greatest pomp and state, surrounded by his nobility To him belonged all the gold and silver of the realm, the llamas and their wool. Round him centred the elaborate

worship of his kinsman the Sun, the chief god, and he was the leader of the large Inca army, for which granaries existed throughout the empire. Social life, and the possession of property, were elaborately organized under this despotism. The Incas excelled in pottery making, spinning and weaving, they had discovered the art of making bronze, and despite the lack of modern tools or lifting machinery they cut and fitted exactly large blocks of stone to make their temples and palaces, such as the great Temple of the Sun, in Cuzco Their roads, like those of Rome, bound the empire together The Incas had made a beast of burden of the llama, and had an ingenious device of coloured and knotted strings, the *quipu*, for counting Their culture had reached, and perhaps passed, its height, not long before the Spaniards reached the New World Whether they could have developed much further we do not know. But the coming of the Spaniards was the ruin of their rule and culture, as it was of those of the Aztecs.



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INDIAN TOTEM POLE (*N British Columbia*)

Indians and Europeans. Different as these early American peoples were from each other, they differed still more from the Europeans, as also by this time from the Asiatics They had certain staple crops of their own, chief of them maize (corn), tobacco, and the potato, but they had no wheat They had bows, spears, and armour of a sort, but no guns or gunpowder; canoes and dug-outs, but no sailing ships to cross the ocean They had dogs (and in the south llamas) as beasts of burden, but no horses, oxen, or pigs They made baskets and pottery, spun thread, and wove cloth, but had no wheel for the cart, for spinning or pottery, and they had no plough for cultivation of the soil They had gold and silver, copper and tin, and worked most skilfully in these, but they had no iron, and could not properly smelt metals They could not print, and their writing was only partially developed Their social organization was based on the family and the tribe, although there were confederacies of tribes like that of the Iroquois, and more advanced political organizations in Central and South America. Their religious beliefs and practices varied greatly from tribe to tribe, but were everywhere intensely real, and

affected every side of their lives. Hence the importance of their chiefs, regarded as related to the gods, and of the shamans or medicine men. A few were cannibals, as the Caribs of the islands. Europe was to bring to them its religion, its writing, its beasts of burden, its material culture. The New World was to contribute its food and other staples, its gold and silver, and, largely, at the expense of its existing peoples, to supply room for a vast expansion of Europe, for new political and social experiments, and for the formation of new American societies and nations.

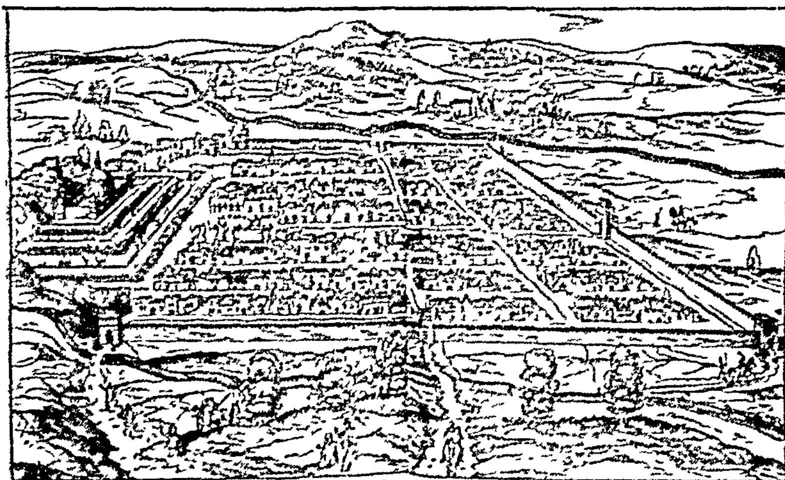


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CLAY FUNERARY VESSEL
(*Zapotec Culture, Mexico*)

The Coming of the Europeans. A Mexican tradition concerning an earlier ruler the great Quetzalcoatl, fair-skinned and bearded, foretold that he would one day return to his country. The coming of the Spaniards seemed, for a moment, to be the fulfilment of this prophecy. But only for a moment. For as the first discoveries of Columbus were followed by other explorations, that of Ojeda and Pinzon along the northern shores of South America, of Balboa inland towards the Pacific, of Ponce de Leon to Florida, it quickly became clear that these white-skinned intruders had other designs than the restoration of former Indian glories. They sought wealth, and as the passage to the real Indies eluded them, they proceeded to exploit the New World which lay at hand. They quickly conquered and settled on the islands of the Caribbean Sea, and from there the *conquistadores* turned to the bigger task of conquering and exploiting the mainland.

Cortez and the Conquest of Mexico. It was in the reign of Charles V that the great conquests of the mainland took place. First of these was that of Mexico by Hernando Cortez, first and greatest of the *conquistadores*. Cortez had shared in the winning of Cuba, but his ambitious spirit leapt at the chance of new and wider conquests. He had an amazing admixture of reckless daring and careful calculation, much skill in fighting, and great personal magnetism. Leaving Cuba, half in flight, early in 1519, Cortez sailed for the mainland, making his decisive landing at Vera Cruz, which he formally founded, and then, literally burning his boats behind him, set out to conquer an empire, or die in the attempt. After a hazardous journey, he won through to the tableland

and island capital of Mexico, seized the Aztec king, Montezuma, and ultimately, after great perils, established the great province of New Spain Nor was this all 'I gave you more provinces than your forbears left you cities,' Cortez once asserted to his emperor, and with a degree of truth From New Spain explorers pushed out north and south, Cortez overland to Honduras, Vaca and Coronado northward beyond the Colorado and Rio Grande rivers, whilst farther east de Soto explored the lower Mississippi A new province, 'New Galicia,' was established north of Mexico



CUZCO
(*From an old print*)

Pizarro and the Conquest of Peru. Rumours of the existence of a great and incredibly wealthy power down the Pacific coast of South America filtered through to the Spanish city of Panama, where the aged but bloodthirsty Davila ruled, and in 1524 he dispatched Pizarro and Almagro to investigate Pizarro had all the daring of Cortez, without his finer qualities, yet his achievement was sufficiently amazing with his far smaller resources It was seven years before he succeeded in reaching the Inca realm, and another five years before he reduced it and added the province of New Castile (with its capital at Lima) to Spain Even then civil war between the conquerors continued, in which both Almagro and Pizarro lost their lives Yet Pizarro had been justified in the indomitable courage and perseverance he had shown, so far as the search for wealth was concerned He had captured the Inca, Atahualpa, by a trick, and won a fortune for his ransom, though the unfortunate Inca was killed all the same. Cuzco likewise yielded enormous treasures

As in Mexico, the sight and rumour of such wealth in gold excited the Spaniards to fresh enterprises Pizarro's brother Gonzalo pushed across

the Andes from Quito to the 'Land of Cinnamon,' a terrific journey, and his lieutenant, Orellana, sailed down the Amazon (which he named) and round to the West Indies again Quesada made a great march from the coast of Venezuela (1536) into the country of the Chibchas, founding the city of Santa Fé de Bogotá and carving out the province of New Granada. Almagro had founded Guayaquil in Ecuador, and far to the south Valdivia conquered Chile, whilst across the southern Andes Pedro de Mendoza founded Buenos Aires on the wide estuary of the Rio de la Plata (River of Silver), and then moved up the river to found Asuncion, whence Vaca and Irala extended Spanish rule until it touched the eastern borders of Peru again.

The Organization and Rule of the Spanish Empire. Thus by about the middle of the sixteenth century Spain had established her power over most of South America, the West Indian Islands, and Central America, reaching into North America from Florida across to California. Increasing numbers of Spaniards crossed the ocean to settle in the New World, so that by 1600 there were over two hundred thousand there. Spain had as yet but one European rival there, Portugal, whose claim to Brazil was secured by the famous line of division drawn by the Pope (and modified by treaty in 1494) to run north and south three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands Portugal was too much interested in her eastern empire to pay a great deal of attention to Brazil, which developed slowly, coming under Spanish rule for a time after the union of the two countries in 1580 Save for the distant Philippines, however, all the Spanish overseas empire was in America, and the Spanish rulers took a direct and continuous interest in it The foundations of its organization and government were laid by Ferdinand at the beginning of Spanish expansion, and proceeded directly from the absolutist nature of the royal power in Spain The new conquests belonged to the Crown, from whom all explorers and conquerors had to get a licence If they failed, they bore the loss, if they succeeded, the king claimed both sovereignty over the new lands and a share of any wealth discovered.

The royal control came to be exercised in Spain itself by two bodies The Council of the Indies, organized by Charles V, drew up regulations for new territories, dealt with royal officials in the colonies, heard appeals, and supervised the treatment of the Indians and other matters. The Board of Trade (Casa de Contratacion) established by Ferdinand at Seville, supervised trade and travel to the Indies, a task made easier by the fact that all such trade passed through one Spanish port, first Cadiz and then Seville, as also by the system of trading only through two fleets each year. In the Indies there were also two predominant royal

authorities, the Audiencias, in the first place courts of law, which came to exercise wide general powers in the various provinces, and the Viceroys, the direct representatives of the Crown, at first appointed only in New Spain (Mexico) and New Castile (Peru), with Captains General in the lesser provinces Mendoza, the first viceroy in New Spain, set a fine example to his successors. More than two hundred towns were legally established by Spain in the New World with municipal machinery and rights, forming centres of Spanish influence

Another agency of such influence was the Church, whose missionaries had accompanied the explorers from the first Even *conquistadores* like Cortez felt the old crusading zeal of Spain, and burned to convert as well as to conquer The religious Orders found in the Indies a magnificent field for labour, and the Church grew rapidly in wealth, organization, and influence Bishoprics were established in the cities, monasteries sprang up, and missionaries to the Indians spread far and wide, not least those of the Order of Jesus Although rather intolerant and greedy of wealth, the Church did much to civilize the new subjects of Spain, and priests like Las Casas strove to lessen the hardships which the Indians suffered under their European masters.

The Conquest and the Indians. To the Indian peoples the Spanish conquest was for long mainly destructive The Spaniards had conquered largely by their superior weapons and other resources, such as the unknown and greatly feared horses They were seeking wealth, primarily gold, and were ruthless in their search for it They destroyed the Aztec and Inca cultures whose remains we now strive almost vainly to recover In the sugar plantations early established in the West Indian Islands the Indians were forced to labour virtually as slaves, and there and elsewhere millions of them perished The device of importing hardier negro slaves from Africa, which soon began, was of doubtful value The Crown, and some of the clergy, strove to protect the Indians from ill-treatment, but with only small success for a time; laws to this end were apt to be, as the phrase went, 'obeyed but not enforced' On the other hand the invaders brought with them not merely a higher religion, but also European material culture, iron implements, horses and cattle, European cereals, vegetables, and fruits The Spaniards were not, on the whole, markedly worse than other European masters of primitive or weaker peoples As time went on slavery diminished The Spaniards who were settled in America, the creoles, often intermarried with the Indians, creating the people of mixed stock, the mestizos

Spanish Wealth from the New World. Spain undoubtedly drew great wealth in the sixteenth century from the New World, which aided her supremacy in Europe In addition to the gold of Mexico and the



From 'Anthropology,' by A L Kroeber, by permission of Harcourt, Brace & Co

adjacent areas, there was the silver of the rich Potosi mines of Peru, and the sugar, dye-woods, and other products of the islands Yet great as the wealth was which flowed into the coffers of the kings of Spain, it was not so large as might have been expected, for a number of reasons Much of the profit from trade went into the hands of foreign financiers, who supplied the necessary credit. The lure of Spanish gold drew privateers, mainly French and English, who seized treasure ships, and even attacked and pillaged Spanish towns in the New World, as was seen in the exploits of Drake. Further, excessive royal control, and rigid regulation of trade, hindered colonial development, and limited commerce

The Decline of Spain in Europe. The same causes helped the decline of Spanish power in Europe, which set in before 1600 and continued steadily through the seventeenth century. The royal line declined in vigour, down to the unfortunate Charles II (*d.* 1700), who believed himself possessed of a devil Yet as the monarchy had drawn all power into its own hands, there was no alternative to royal and bureaucratic rule, which became increasingly inefficient and corrupt The wealth drawn from the New World diminished as some of the mines were exhausted, agriculture and industry in Spain had already declined, the cost of living had greatly risen, and the population of Spain decreased steadily The once wealthy and proud Spanish kings were reduced to putting begging boxes in the streets to collect revenue, competing with the other beggars who abounded in the general poverty The army and navy had likewise fallen into decay, by 1700 the remnant of the Spanish fleet was rotting at anchor The expulsion of some 400,000 Moriscos in 1609 testified to the survival of religious and racial intolerance, and likewise furthered economic decay

The fact was that too much of the vitality of the nation had gone into the army and military enterprise in Europe, fruit largely of the Habsburg connection. In the Thirty Years' War, although Spain was not laid waste like Germany, her armies fought for the Habsburgs all over Europe And at the end the Habsburgs made their own peace and left a weakened Spain to continue the struggle with France another eleven years By the Treaty of the Pyrenees which ended this conflict (1659) Spain gave up Roussillon and territory in Flanders to France, who was now taking her place in Europe. Spain had also lost Jamaica to England, the Dutch had destroyed her naval power, and Portugal had recovered its independence. By the close of the century Europe was at war for the succession to the former proud and independent heritage of Spain

Spanish Culture in the Great Age. This decline of Spain should not blind us to the fact that 'to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries belong the majority of the best writers, artists, and men of science whom

Spain has produced to the present day' The medieval connection with Arab art and thought was supplemented by the new connection with Italy and the Netherlands Apart from the foundation of universities, chief of them Alcalá, in the reign of Ferdinand, and the appearance of philosophers like Vives (1492–1540), it was in literature and painting that the greatness of the age best expressed itself In literature, amongst many novels, romances, and plays, such as those of Lope de Vega, and the later Calderon, it produced the great romance of Cervantes (1547–1616), *Don Quixote*, with its mingling of absurdity and sentiment, its romance and satire, its skill in both narrative and portraiture In painting, the work of El Greco (1545–1614), a pupil of Titian but possessed of all the fervour of medieval Spain, led to the Spanish school of the seventeenth century ,with Velazquez (1599–1660) as its outstanding representative, and Murillo, Ribera, and others as members Yet the end of the seventeenth century likewise saw a decline in the vigour both of art and literature, and a revival in the following century could not re-create these glories of the past, any more than it could reinvigorate political or economic life

FOR FURTHER READING

H. G BOURNE, *Spain in America*

C. HAYES, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*

C. W MEAD, *Old Civilizations of Inca Land*

H. J SPINDEN, *Ancient Civilizations of Mexico*

C. WISSLER, *The American Indian*

PART VIII

THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

INTRODUCTION

THE seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are apt to be looked on as an interlude between the great movements of the Renaissance and the Reformation, and the revolutions which marked the latter part of the eighteenth century Yet as soon as we begin to look into their history we find that they witnessed developments of the greatest importance, significant in themselves, essential to the understanding of the revolutionary movements both in the Americas and Europe, and necessary to the comprehension of outstanding features in the civilization of our own day

The ascendancy of Spain in Europe was succeeded by that of France, fruit of the work of Henry IV and Richelieu, and including besides its political and military supremacy the cultural predominance of the great age of Louis XIV (Chapter I). Meanwhile, in contrast with the absolutism established in France, England was engaged in the great struggle of the Crown with the Puritan Parliament, which cost Charles I his life, saw the emergence of Cromwell, and only closed with the triumph of Parliament in 1688 From this developed both the rule of political parties and Cabinet or Responsible Government (Chapter II) At the same time Holland, France, and England were engaged in the building-up of empires overseas, both in America and the East Holland led the way, but was then succeeded by her larger and stronger rivals, who in the long series of wars ending in 1763 struggled for mastery both in North America and India, with victory falling to Britain (Chapter III) In central and eastern Europe after the Thirty Years' War modern Europe was taking shape, with the decline of Sweden, Poland, and Turkey, and the rise of Prussia and Russia The eighteenth century saw the attempt to establish a balance of power in international affairs, and the appearance of the enlightened despots, Frederick the Great of Prussia, Joseph II of Austria, and Catherine II of Russia (Chapter IV) No less important were the developments in ideas and cultural life The seventeenth century was

an age of scientific and philosophical advance, when Descartes, Newton, and others found a rational, mathematical explanation of the universe In the succeeding Age of Enlightenment the French *philosophes*, such as Voltaire, strove to apply the teachings of reason to political and social life, with important results Finally, the seventeenth century was the great age of painting in the Netherlands, whilst the following century saw the marked development of music in Germany, from Bach to Beethoven (Chapter V)

CHAPTER I

THE PREDOMINANCE OF FRANCE

The Consolidation of Royal Power : Sully. A new period of French history opens with the triumph of Henry IV, the peace with Spain, and the Edict of Nantes (1598) That was the work of Henry IV. to close the era of the wars of religion in France, and to inaugurate religious toleration these services far outweigh the weaknesses of his character. But he did more than that. together with Sully, his great minister, he founded the all-powerful Bourbon monarchy, which was to reach its height under his grandson, Louis XIV. The work of Sully was mainly economic He saved France from the bankruptcy which threatened, by increasing taxation, introducing order into the revenue system, and exercising rigid control over expenditure, even against the king. He was above all a man of system, and in his long retirement after Henry's death he worked out a scheme for bringing order into yet another sphere, that of international politics. His Grand Design, for the regulation of the affairs of Europe by a series of councils, was the first forecast of the Covenant of the League of Nations

Cardinal Richelieu. After Henry IV had been murdered by a madman in 1610, leaving a child of ten as heir, the appearance of Richelieu both saved a return to the former confusion and built up the monarchy as neither Henry nor Sully could have done. Armand de Richelieu (1585-1642), bishop and then cardinal, first won the favour of the queen regent, and then became the adviser and master of the weak King Louis XIII, retaining that position against all opposition until his death. He was extremely able and of great ambition, both for himself and for France, iron-willed, tenacious, ruthless to his enemies, lacking in scruples as in human sympathy or religious prejudices For economics and finance he cared not, save to ensure that the royal treasury was well-filled, and he was only moderately interested in colonies

His Work in France. Within France he sought to destroy all obstacles to the unfettered authority of the crown, i e to himself Chief of these obstacles was the power of the nobility, who made several attempts to overthrow him These attempts he defeated, punishing their leaders with ruthless vigour He demolished castles, forbade the noble privilege



CARDINAL RICHELIEU AT LA ROCHELLE
(Henri Motte)

of duelling, and largely got rid of the noble governors of the provinces, replacing them by royal officials called intendants, directly responsible to himself. The powers of these new and characteristic officials were gradually extended until they became supreme in every department of local administration Richelieu cut off the pretensions of the Parlement of Paris to interfere in political affairs, reduced its judicial functions, and attacked the rights of the few provinces which still possessed local assemblies (the Pays d'États) The Estates General he never called The Huguenots he attacked not from religious zeal, but because they were a dividing force in the realm After defeating them, and capturing their stronghold of La Rochelle by a siege of over a year, he left them freedom of worship by the Peace of Alais (1629), but took away their rights of

assembly The Catholic Church itself he kept well in hand, choosing its bishops with care, checking the activities of the Jesuits, and preventing interference from Rome He showed the modernity of his mind by the use he made for propaganda purposes of pamphlets and newspapers, now coming into use. His organization of the French Academy in 1635 likewise illustrates his desire to regiment every side of national life.

Richelieu, Mazarin, and Europe. Abroad he took up the old struggle of France with the Habsburgs, wherein, as Henry IV put it, 'the greatness of the one was the ruin of the other.' The civil war raging in Germany, the Thirty Years' War, gave him the opportunity to attack them, at first by allying with Protestant leaders like Gustavus Adolphus, then by formally declaring war on Spain (1635), and beginning the expansion of French power eastwards towards the Rhine. Before his death, in 1642, Alsace was in French hands, and the French armies, under Turenne and Condé, had succeeded those of Spain as the largest and finest in Europe. Mazarin (1602–61), chosen by Richelieu as his successor, continued his policy abroad during the regency of the young king, Louis XIV, aged but five on the death of his father By the treaties of Westphalia, 1648, which ended the Thirty Years' War, France secured Alsace (save Strasbourg), with the episcopal territories of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and the close of the war with Spain eleven years later brought a strip of the Spanish Netherlands, and the border province of Roussillon This Treaty of the Pyrenees was sealed by the marriage of the young Louis XIV to the daughter of the King of Spain, and marked, for all Europe to see, the supersession of Spain as the leading power of Europe by her northern neighbour.

Louis XIV (1643-1715). Although Mazarin, a Neapolitan, and, like Richelieu, a cardinal, was more cunning and compromising, more avaricious for wealth, than Richelieu, he followed the same aims. His rule was threatened by a last uprising against the overweening power of the Crown when first the Parlement of Paris, and then the nobility, rose against the hated foreign agent of despotism But the wily cardinal defeated his enemies, and the Fronde (from *frondeurs*=slingers) weakened both the nobility and the Parlement of Paris still further. Thus when on the death of Mazarin in 1661 Louis XIV took the reins of government into his own hands, he was supreme as no king of France had been before him Opinions are still divided as to how far Louis himself contributed to the greatness of France in his age Obviously he owed much to men and circumstances already mentioned Yet to suggest that Louis was a mere puppet on his golden throne would be obviously false Egotist as he was, moderate as were his abilities in many directions, he nevertheless not merely represented, but also embodied, the greatness of the French monarchy, from his crown and wig to the high red heels he

wore to make himself look taller If not a great man or statesman, he was certainly a great king, both in appearance and conduct, and only Napoleon, of all the rulers of France, rivalled him in power and prestige, whether in France or Europe We cannot think of the age without the man; indeed, ever since Voltaire wrote of him, if not before, the long period of his rule has been called the Age of Louis XIV

The Rule of Louis XIV. Louis ruled as well as reigned, practising the trade of a king with a diligence and attention to detail which remind us of Philip II of Spain He governed through the Council of State, and other councils, but relied for the working out of policy on the Secretaries of State, of whom Colbert and Louvois were the greatest They, with their sons and nephews, were the executive agents of the Crown, the ministers of finance, foreign affairs, war, marine, sometimes combining several offices in one hand, but never to the extent of making a single all-powerful ministry like that of Richelieu In the provinces, the intendants continued to exercise the royal authority. All these officials, national and local, were drawn from the ranks of the *bourgeoisie*, neither the nobility nor the Church was allowed any share in government The nobility became an aristocracy, reduced to acting as satellites round the royal throne They crowded the royal palace which Louis erected at Versailles, filling the offices of the court, putting on the royal shirt in the morning and the royal night-cap at night, but excluded from offices of state withdrawn from the soil to which they belonged, and so losing their roots as they lost their power Neither the Estates General, the local estates, nor the Parlement of Paris could interfere with the king's exercise of absolute power

Colbert (1619–83). In finance and economics it was Colbert, the son of a draper, who exercised most influence Colbert had industry, devotion, and an able and resourceful mind He was a disciple of Sully rather than of Richelieu and Mazarin, seeking to increase revenue and diminish expenditure, to balance the budget, to make taxation more equitable, to lessen waste and corruption, and to reduce the burden of the debt. He did much for the encouragement of agriculture, and, above all, of manufactures Colbert was a good mercantilist, a believer in regulation, monopolies, and protection, convinced that by such means he could stimulate French industry so that her goods would fill the land and flow out in exports, bringing a corresponding stream of bullion back in return So he fostered new industries, such as glass and porcelain making and the famous tapestries of Gobelin, he subsidized shipbuilding, and forbade the export of raw materials like wool and flax, he set standards of manufacture for cloth, raised tariffs against foreign goods, though seeking trade treaties with England to secure markets for French wines and silk He forbade the emigration of skilled workmen, organized companies for

foreign and colonial trade, granting them monopolies, but hedging them round with regulations which hampered their freedom He improved roads, built bridges, and by the Rhône-Garonne Canal joined the Mediterranean to the Atlantic After 1673, however, Colbert's influence was succeeded by that of the war minister, Louvois, and much of his work was destroyed Sound finance was neglected for war, abuses revived, trade and manufactures declined again



PASCAL

Religion. One of the most immediate and obvious causes of this decline was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 While the political rights enjoyed by the Huguenots under the Edict of 1598 had been destroyed by Richelieu, under Louis the religious freedom which remained to them had been gradually restricted in all sorts of ways until in 1685 it was swept away The result was that, despite the prohibition of emigration, thousands of Huguenots, the most industrious and skilful workmen in France, left the country to find asylum in England, Holland, Switzerland, and Prussia. It was a blow from which French industry did not recover in Louis's time, a blunder as well as a crime, which strengthened the economic resources of his enemies as much as it weakened his own Richelieu would not have made such a mistake It was due primarily to the growing influence which the Church and religion came to exercise over Louis in his later years through the pious Madame de Maintenon, the latest of Louis's mistresses, whom he married secretly after the death of his queen Further, universal orthodoxy consorted better with royal absolutism

Jesuits and Jansenists : Gallicanism. The revival of religious controversy was not confined to the efforts against the Huguenots There was also a bitter struggle within the Catholic Church itself A Dutch theological professor at the university of Louvain, named Jansen, a devout Catholic, had set himself to expound the doctrines of the great father of the Church, St Augustine, and his writings profoundly affected a pious group established in and about a convent set up at Port-Royal, near Paris But a controversy shortly broke out between the Port-Royalists and the

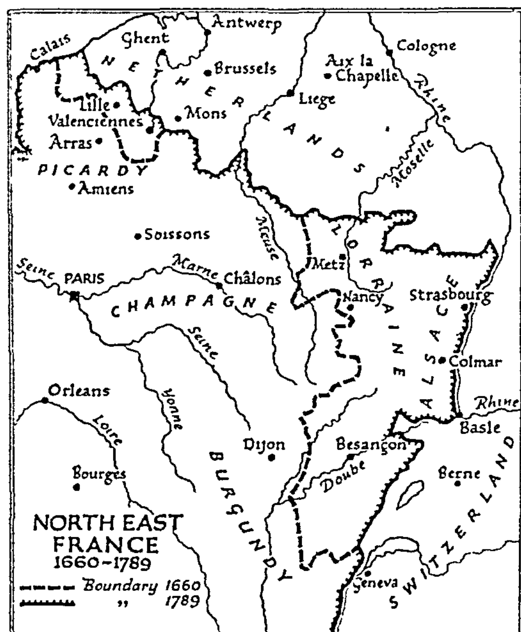
Jesuits Despite the defence of the Jansenists by Pascal, a brilliant mathematician and physicist, in his famous *Provincial Letters*, Louis turned more and more against Jansenism, and after its condemnation by the Papal Bull of 1713, *Unigenitus*, it ceased to be a force in France Yet the Jesuits were not long to enjoy their victory, for the feeling aroused against them helped to bring about their expulsion from France in 1762

This Jansenist controversy was complicated by an issue between the French Church and the Papacy. Louis followed Richelieu in his determination to repudiate papal control over the French Church, and in this was backed by a large body of French opinion Out of a dispute with the Papacy came the famous definition of the liberties of the Gallican Church, drawn up by a general assembly of the French clergy in 1682

Louis XIV and Europe. Although the Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius, (1583–1645), had published his great work *On the Law of War and Peace*, in 1625, urging the application of the law of nature on which nations were built to international relations, Louis XIV was more conscious of the grandeur and might of his own realm than of any abstract theories which should govern his relations to other nations No soldier himself, though he loved the panoply of war, he was well served by the greatest generals of the day, Condé and Turenne He had Vauban to build the greatest fortifications of the time, and possessed in Louvois a great war minister, who substituted bayonet and flintlock musket for the earlier pike and matchlock. Thanks to the population and wealth of France Louis could raise an army larger than any seen in Europe since the fall of Rome, and buy allies like Charles II of England Thus he was able to continue the work of vanquishing the Habsburgs and adding to French territory in a long series of wars. At first he was extremely successful, but his successes threatened to overthrow the state system of Europe, and the idea of a 'balance of power,' already manifest, grew stronger as the states of Europe became more conscious of their own identity and individuality They leagued together against the common threat, and in the end defeated the ambitious king of France When Louis died in 1715 he had added materially to his territory on the eastern frontier, and had placed a grandson on the throne of Spain, but the power of France, political, and military, was on the decline

The Wars of Louis XIV. The primary objective of France in Louis's four wars was to extend her northern and eastern borders, which were uncomfortably near to Paris, towards the Netherlands and the Rhine, and so to break the chain of Habsburg lands which ringed her in on that side Thus, it began to be argued, would France attain her 'natural boundaries,' the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the ocean, a view which emerges again and again, and which in its entirety had no real

basis save ambition It was against the Spanish Netherlands that Louis made his first attack, claiming them as legally falling to his Spanish queen. In two successful wars he won a considerable slice of the Spanish Netherlands, and Franche-Comté The Peace of Nymegen (1678) which closed the second war marked the height of Louis's successes But with the opening of Louis's third war (1689–97) the fortunes of the great king began to decline, for the Revolution of 1688 had placed on the English throne the able and implacable William of Holland, and although William was no winner of battles, he was a fine strategist, as well as a far abler statesman than the French king The armies of Louis might devastate the German Palatinate, or win battles in the Low Countries, but at sea and overseas things went the other way, and the growing weight of the forces allied against Louis made him agree in 1697 to a peace which recorded the turn of his fortunes For by the Peace of Ryswick he gave up certain of his earlier conquests, and recognized his enemy William as King of England



The Spanish Succession. The pathetic, feeble-minded King of Spain, Charles II, was expected to die at any moment, but persisted in reigning for thirty-five years (1665–1700) As he neared his end, there were a number of attempts to arrange for the partition of his realms, but Charles tried hard to maintain the unity of the great Catholic Empire, finally willing all his dominions to the grandson of Louis XIV, with the proviso that they should never be joined to the kingdom of France Louis promptly threw over a partition treaty he had signed with William III, in favour of the new will, and the Spanish ambassador at Versailles could declare that the Pyrenees had melted away But the prospect of Louis XIV in control of most of western Europe, and the New World in addition, was too much for his neighbours, and the Emperor, England and, Holland allied against him

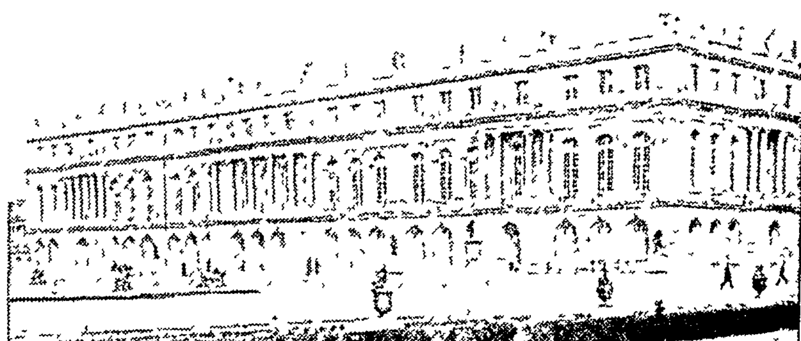
The war of the Spanish Succession (1702–13) was the greatest contest which had so far taken place in Europe, and its results were correspond-

ingly important The fighting took place in the Low Countries, in Germany, in Italy, in Spain, at sea, and overseas in North and South America Whereas, earlier, France had possessed in Turenne and Condé the two greatest generals of the time, now the allies had a similar advantage in the persons of Marlborough and Prince Eugene The latter drove the French out of Italy, whilst Marlborough by his victory at Blenheim drove them out of southern Germany and conquered Louis's one ally, Bavaria, and by similar victories at Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet cleared them from the Low Countries, opening the way to the invasion of France itself But the allies were divided amongst themselves, and put their demands too high Their invasion of Spain roused the feeling of the people there against them, and France responded to the threat of invasion with fresh efforts So the war dragged on past the point where the allies might have made the most of their successes, until it was finally closed by the treaties signed at Utrecht in 1713, and by others signed shortly afterwards

The Peace of Utrecht, 1713. By this settlement, which compares in importance with that made at Vienna a century later and that of Versailles after still another hundred years, the Spanish Empire was finally broken up Louis's grandson, Philip, kept Spain and the Indies, but the Italian and Netherland possessions of Spain went to the Austrian Habsburgs The crowns of Spain and France were never to be joined France retained Alsace and part of her earlier gains from the former Spanish Netherlands, but ceded Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, Acadia, and the island of St Kitts to Britain, which power also secured Gibraltar (taken in 1704) and Minorca from Spain, with the unhallowed monopoly of the profitable slave supply for the Spanish Empire in America Holland secured the right to garrison certain towns in the Austrian Netherlands against France, together with the closing of the river Scheldt to prevent Antwerp rivalling Amsterdam Two minor princes who had entered the fray secured titles which were later to be of importance the Elector of Brandenburg was recognized as King of Prussia, and the Duke of Savoy likewise became a king Thus was the state system of Europe ordered for the eighteenth century, with small regard, however, for the wishes of many of the peoples involved. For France the settlement brought both gain and loss A French Bourbon was to rule over Spain, and the French eastern frontier retained the shape which Louis had given it, on the other hand France had suffered serious losses in North America, as on the seas, and French devastations in Germany were long to be remembered More serious in the immediate future was the exhaustion which Louis's unquenchable love of glory had brought upon France The days of sound finance and balanced budgets were gone, not to return in the ancien

régime, and the price of the glory of the monarch was the misery of the people

The Age of Louis XIV. The true and more permanent greatness of the age of Louis XIV, however, lay elsewhere than in military conquests The spectacle of the Sun King in the great palace he built at Versailles, with its elaborate gardens and waterworks, its satellite châteaux, its crowd of courtiers, and where the elaborate court life revolved with the regularity of the planetary system, all this was singularly impressive.



D McLeish

VERSAILLES

It had its influence on European court life elsewhere. In Louis's day and after, French manners and taste were acknowledged to be supreme, the French language was the language both of diplomacy and of polite society, French fashions in dress, as in the use of the wig, were widely followed, the French court minuet in dancing, the ballets in which Louis XIV himself took part, Lully's operas, set the standard in those arts 'Colbertism,' in matters of trade and industry had a great effect on other countries, the French army was the model for Europe, Paris became the capital of Europe.

Yet the contribution of France in this golden age went deeper than this It was a truly cultural ascendancy, based primarily on the development of thought and letters. The Frenchman Descartes provided a philosophy based on reason and science, which, as we shall see elsewhere, had more influence on European development than the achievements of Richelieu And Pascal, of Port-Royal, not merely combined outstanding mathematical ability with deep religious feeling, but wedded these to supreme literary art

The foundation of the French Academy (which produced its famous

Dictionary in 1694) by Richelieu was followed by the formation of other learned societies under the aegis of Colbert The nobility, debarred from politics, found a substitute in the discussion of letters and art in the *salons* set up in Paris, wherein for the first time, women took a prominent part. Royal patronage gave encouragement to men of letters The canons of style, formulated by Boileau, were put into practice by the other writers of this classic age. Of these Corneille (1606–84) was the first, giving to French drama in his tragedies its rhetorical and classical form Racine (1639–99) followed, giving final perfection and polish The incomparable Molière (1622–73) made comedy a work of art, and broadened the appeal of drama by writing more for the middle class, whereas Racine wrote more for the court La Fontaine showed that simple fables might combine perfection of form with satire on society. Thus this age, which was also the age of French explorers like La Salle and Marquette, gave to French culture a stamp and an influence which were to survive the loss of France's political supremacy and her overseas empire, and even the downfall of the monarchy itself To Voltaire the age of Louis XIV was 'the most enlightened age the world has ever seen '

For Further Reading

K Federn, *Richelieu*
L B Packard, *The Age of Louis XIV*
C Seignobos, *A History of the French People*
H O Wakeman, *The Ascendancy of France.*

CHAPTER II

THE PURITAN REVOLUTION AND THE EVOLUTION OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND

The Tudor Heritage. Despite the splendour surrounding the later years of Elizabeth's reign, there were clouds in the Elizabethan sunset The religious settlement, compromise though it was, was not accepted by large numbers of people, Catholics at one extreme, Puritans at the other Parliament, strengthened by the growing wealth of the middle class represented therein, was beginning to assert itself again in a way bound to create difficulty The Tudors had left a war with Spain, and had created rather than solved an Irish problem Both these enterprises had been expensive, and the royal revenues were embarrassed thereby

Further, the steady rise in prices following the influx of gold from America had diminished the value of the royal income Yet the king was still expected to live and govern, 'of his own,' as the phrase went, and men grumbled at being called upon to grant or pay taxes for national purposes And although the landowners were prosperous and the new capitalist class flourished, the same rise in prices had also hit the poor and wage-earning class Nor were Elizabethan attempts to remedy this by legislation wholly successful.

The Early Stuart Kings. Yet it must be admitted that the first two Stuart kings helped to increase the difficulty of the problems they inherited James I (1603–25), son of the ill-fated Queen Mary of Scotland, had much learning, but little knowledge of England, and less of men. Worse still, he felt no need for such knowledge, being as obstinate as he was boorish And though his successor Charles I (1625–49) was more kingly, he was even more unchangeable in his views than his father, being fortified by religion rather than learning There was nothing new in the doctrine of Divine Right which James expounded and for which Charles lost his head It had the sanction of history, as we have seen, both in England and elsewhere But whilst the Tudor rulers practised it, James, in his pompous way proceeded to define it 'Kings are justly called gods, for they exercise a manner of resemblance of Divine power upon earth, accountable to none but God' 'As it is blasphemy to dispute what God may do, so is it sedition in a subject to dispute what a king can do.' So James asserted, so he and his son believed, and on this belief they acted But other and opposing conceptions of government existed or were appearing at this time. The lawyers contended that the royal prerogative went only so far as the ancient Common Law of the country allowed 'Magna Carta is such a fellow that he will have no sovereign,' declared crusty Judge Coke. It was, however, the growth of Puritanism and the claims of Parliament which were to precipitate civil war and revolution.

The Growth of Puritanism. Puritanism arose as a later product of the Reformation in England, amongst those who felt that the Elizabethan settlement had not gone far enough, and who feared the survival and revival of Romanism These fears were stimulated by the Catholic 'Gunpowder Plot,' of 1604, and by the High Church views and policy of men like Archbishop Laud. Largely Calvinist in origin, Puritanism included many within the Anglican Church, and others outside holding a variety of views as to doctrine and church organization The Presbyterians disliked ritual and bishops, advocating church government by lay elders, on a national basis, others stood for the independence of the separate congregations With these Independents may be grouped the

Baptists, Quakers, and many other smaller sects which arose about this time. For Puritanism was profoundly individualistic, finding grace and the way to salvation in the individual reading of the Bible, in prayer, self-examination, and rigid discipline of soul and body

Math.15.13. *Every plant which mine heavenly Father hath not planted should be rooted up.*



A PURITAN CARICATURE OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD

The figure on the left is a Puritan holding a Bible The two other figures are of Archbishop Laud with his service books

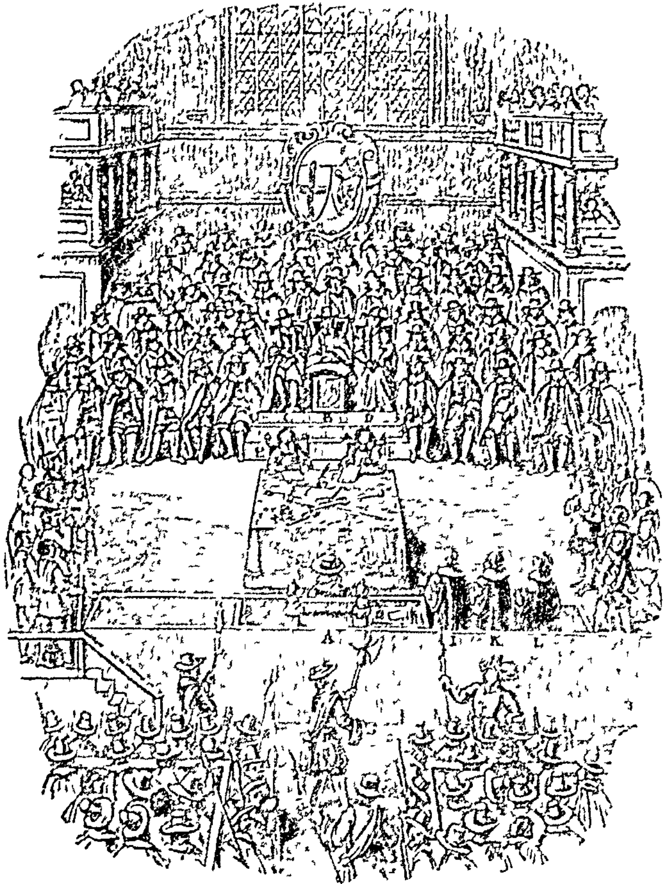
Bunyan and Milton. The humble tinker, John Bunyan (1628–88), after twelve years in prison as a dissenting preacher, put into words his vision of the Pilgrim's Progress, the journey of Christian from the City of Destruction, through the Slough of Despond and over the Hill of Difficulty, his escape from Giant Despair and the City of Vanity until he reached the Heavenly City across the River of Death That was the life of the Puritan, a continual struggle with evil and temptation, only to be overcome by prayer and the Word of God And it was to this life that many in England were now turning As Bunyan was the allegorist of Puritanism, Milton (1608–74) was its poet, though as travelled scholar

and musician he belonged, like another well-known Puritan, Colonel Hutchinson, to the higher ranks of the movement His Puritan zeal drew him into service in the party cause, but the Restoration left him free again, though blind, to write in sublime verse his great Biblical epics of the fall of man and his redemption.

Its Effects. Puritanism was an intensely strong faith, and its effects on the people of England in the seventeenth century, as on the Puritan colonists in America, can hardly be over-estimated It found its adherents in the south-east of England, in the new trading and manufacturing class of London, and in the cloth-making towns of the north and the south-west Its political leaders were county gentry like Eliot, Hampden, and Pym These were the men who led the attack on the Divine Right of the Stuarts, overthrowing both the doctrine and its holders; some of the Puritans developed in the course of the struggle far more extreme views of government and the social order. Further, Puritanism, with its emphasis on individualism, on hard work, prudence, and thrift, was to provide a great incentive to economic progress and the accumulation of wealth, under the new capitalist system Again, it was Puritanism which substituted the rigidly kept 'Sabbath,' for the earlier Sunday of both work and play. Amusements of almost any kind it condemned, whether the theatre, or the games which Elizabethan England had enjoyed It attacked drinking and oaths, placed the beauty of holiness far above that of mere art or literature, was careful of its speech, grey and sober in its dress No side of English life was untouched by the movement, and its influence far outlasted the seventeenth century. There will always be a difference of opinion as to the merits and defects of the Puritan ideal and achievement. The history of Puritanism in England, Ireland, and the American colonies showed that it could be cruel, as well as narrow and intolerant. But so could other creeds be Since it made such extreme demands, it was bound to fall short at times, for Puritans were but human beings. At least it had a vision, without which no people can live And despite its faults, it made a contribution of vast importance to English and American history, not merely in religion, but in the development of parliament and democracy.

Parliament. It was in the English Parliament that lawyers and Puritans together contested the claims of Divine Right. During the Tudor period Parliament had been active enough in legislation, yet dependent to a great extent on the Crown The power of the great lords had been destroyed, and the House of Commons was not ready to act for itself. But in the later years of Elizabeth there were abundant signs that the lower House, with its some five hundred elected members, was becoming more independent. This was largely due to the increased wealth

and importance of the country gentry and the richer merchant class, whom we may call together the middle class These were also, as we have seen, the leaders of the Puritan movement Elizabeth had on occasion imprisoned some of these unruly members, and refused to accept their bills But the claims of the House of Commons to discuss the nation's business increased each time Parliament met, and hence a struggle was inevitable between rulers holding the views of the Stuarts, and a Parliament bent on asserting rights which, they claimed, were equally well founded on precedent, history, and logic Actually, both sides had right on their side, and both made excessive claims



THE TRIAL OF CHARLES I
(*From a contemporary print*)

A	The King
B	Lord President Bradshaw
C & D	Bradshaw's Assistants
E & F	Clerks of the Court
G	Cromwell
I K L	Counsellors for the Commonwealth

The Struggle between King and Parliament, 1603–40. The conflict between King and Parliament began with the first Parliament of James I, in 1604, and continued with growing intensity. James began by defining his position, in words already quoted, the Parliament, or rather the House of Commons, replied by asserting that they were free to discuss everything which concerned the State or its subjects. The main issues were two, religion and finance, though the royal dependence on

favourites like Somerset and Buckingham, and the conduct of foreign affairs, likewise caused friction. There was no rule yet that Parliament must meet every year, or be re-elected at regular intervals, so when James and Charles found it impossible to get on with their Parliaments, they did without, until financial necessities drove them to call a fresh one Save for the first Parliament of James I all the Parliaments called in this period were short-lived, because they quickly fell out with the king The four Parliaments of James's reign saw the issues defined clearly enough, but did nothing to settle them, it was in the reign of his son that they became so sharpened and intensified that only the sword could decide between the rival claims

At the beginning of Charles's reign Parliament won a notable victory, securing acceptance of the famous Petition of Right (1628), by which taxation without Parliamentary consent, and imprisonment without reason given, were declared illegal But the immediate result was that Charles did without Parliament for eleven years (1629–40), during which the king and his Puritan subjects moved steadily further apart For it was in these years that Archbishop Laud, with the full approval of the king, strove with more zeal than wisdom to enforce his High Anglican views on church and people, causing many Puritans to emigrate to America King and archbishop also set themselves to undo half a century of Scottish history, and reimpose episcopacy, ritual, and the prayer book in Scotland, which led to the drawing up of the Scottish National Covenant, and the armed revolt of the Covenanters In Ireland Wentworth (Earl of Strafford) by his policy of 'Thorough' benefited the country, but alienated both the Catholics and the Puritan colonists recently planted in Ulster And meanwhile, in England, financial necessity had driven Charles to adopt all sorts of expedients to raise money, provoking resistance such as that of John Hampden to ship-money Finally by 1640 the king was driven to call a Parliament for money to wage war against the Scots There met first a 'Short' Parliament of a few weeks, and then a 'Long' Parliament which was to outlast Charles

The Long Parliament. The Long Parliament was one of the most important Parliaments in English history, and under the leadership of Pym, Hampden, and later Cromwell, it accomplished some notable things It abolished the special courts (e g Star Chamber and High Commission) which Tudor and Stuart rulers had used as agencies of royal power It brought to account, and to the block, first Strafford and then Laud, the outstanding supporters of royal prerogative in State and Church It secured an Act by which Parliament was to be called at least every three years, it declared illegal the means Charles had employed to raise money without Parliamentary consent, and then, so strengthened, it proceeded,

in a Grand Remonstrance (1641), to demand that the king's ministers should henceforth be responsible to Parliament, and that the Church should be reformed in accord with Puritan views. Shortly afterwards it demanded control of the army and navy. But this was going too fast and too far A strong opposition had arisen in Parliament, Charles made a belated attempt to reassert his authority by seizing the Puritan leaders of the House of Commons, and when that failed abandoned his capital Argument had failed to settle the issues, and both sides prepared to settle them by force



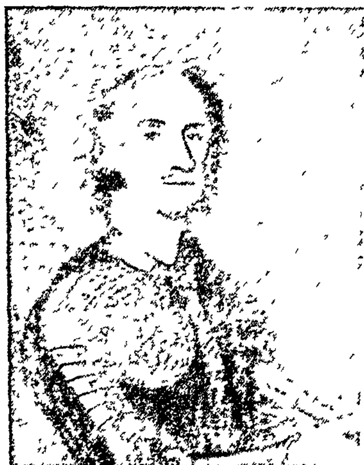
The Civil War (1642–9). The war which ensued in England was infinitely less devastating to the country than the Thirty Years' War just coming to a close in Germany No foreigner intervened, though there was rebellion in Ireland, and Scotland played a material part in it Nor was all England concerned in the conflict Puritan England, mainly the south-east with London as its headquarters, fought out its issue with the king, who had on his side more of the great landlords, and the gentry and country-folk in north and west Great though that issue was, the major part of the nation did not take up arms, but abided by the result, being, indeed, less extreme in opinion than either of the contesting parties The Parliamentary side had the capital, the ports, the shipping and the navy, and, in general, greater resources, and they likewise produced in Cromwell a greater soldier than Prince Rupert or any other of the Royalist leaders Similarly, though at first the Royalist forces were better trained and disciplined, here, too, the advantage later passed to the New Model army of the Roundheads created by Cromwell Marston Moor and Naseby, both Parliamentary victories, were the two

most decisive battles By 1646 the verdict of war had decided in favour of the Roundheads, though Ireland and Scotland were still to be dealt with It remained to find a settlement with Charles, and divisions between Presbyterian Parliament and Independent Army greatly complicated the issue Finally the army took matters into its own hands, purged the Parliament, and tried and executed '*the man of blood*, Charles Stuart' (1649), largely because they did not know what else to do with him. It was a poor solution, indeed no solution at all

Cromwell and the Puritan Republic. The execution of King Charles, Charles the Martyr as he became to many, left a great gap in the English constitution How was it to be filled? At first the surviving 'Rump' of the Long Parliament tried to govern, abolishing monarchy and the House of Lords Yet, although for the moment England accepted the verdict of 1649, the differences between Parliament and the Army continued in the army men called Levellers, led by 'Freeborn' John Lilburne, demanded a completely democratic government, both Scotland and Ireland were hostile to the new regime, and the new state was scarcely recognized on the continent of Europe Only the army and its leader, Cromwell, could deal with these problems So, after putting down the Levellers, Cromwell crossed to Ireland and reconquered it, wreaking a terrible vengeance for the losses of the Irish rebellion of 1641, and following this up by the expropriation of Irish Catholic landlords Though he thus removed all danger from Ireland, his methods form the worst blot on his career, leaving ill effects lasting almost to our own day In Scotland, where the future Charles II had landed, and invasion of England threatened, Cromwell won his greatest victory at Dunbar, and then, in his 'crowning mercy' of Worcester, caught and defeated the invading Scots Henceforth Scotland was for the first time completely united with England, until the Restoration, and even Ireland had complete freedom of trade with England

Cromwell as Protector (1653–8) The removal of the external danger brought to a head the struggle for power which inevitably follows a revolution when the constituted authority has been removed It was equally inevitable that Cromwell and the army, the preservers of the Commonwealth, should defeat the efforts of the Rump to retain control In the end Cromwell ejected its members from their Parliament House, a fateful step He might now have made himself king, but instead, accepted a new constitution, the Instrument of Government, which made him the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland Cromwell was by this constitution to be assisted by a Parliament, but he found it scarcely easier than Charles I to get on with his Parliaments, and on occasion acted as unconstitutionally as that monarch

had done. Yet Cromwell honestly believed that, as he put it, 'the foundation of supremacy is in the people,' and made valiant attempts to work with his zealous but unreasonable Puritan assemblies before he fell back on what was, in fact, military dictatorship. But great soldier though he was, Cromwell was no militarist. He was above all a Puritan, ever wrestling with his soul, but forced into leadership in a great crisis, and distinguished from his fellow Puritans by a capacity for understanding the realities of the situation, and by a breadth of toleration foreign to their minds.



CROMWELL

This latter quality he showed above all in religion, the touchstone of the age. To him the Puritan church should include not merely Presbyterians, but also Independents and Baptists, with freedom of worship even for the Quakers, who were now emerging as a separate body thanks to the preaching of George Fox. He would have allowed the Jews to settle and worship freely in England, and, Ireland apart, was more tolerant than most Puritans towards both Anglicans and Catholics. Although religious toleration was not to come in his day, Cromwell contributed notably to its growth. A plea for toleration of another kind, for the freedom of the press which was coming for the first time in history to play a part in politics, had already been made by the great Puritan poet Milton, in a famous pamphlet, *Areopagitica*.

Cromwell and Europe. It was his political enemy, Clarendon, who later wrote of Cromwell that 'his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad.' Cromwell was a great patriot, an imperialist indeed, who strove valiantly and successfully for the revival and enlargement of England's position among the nations of Europe. The Rump Parliament had begun the first of the wars with Holland, and Cromwell, though he disliked war with so good a Protestant neighbour, nevertheless carried it to a successful conclusion, aided by Blake and the navy. So too, with greater heart, he warred with the older enemy Spain, to win Jamaica and the mastery of the West Indian seas. Though a soldier, he saw clearly the importance to England of sea power in securing and extending the new English colonies in America. He took a particular interest in the northern colonies, as zealous as himself for the Puritan cause. Though he failed to realize his aim of an alliance of the Protestant powers in Europe, he greatly raised the prestige of Protestantism on the

political parties as we know it to-day. Though the names of Whig and Tory were first given in derision, Whig from the rebellious Scottish covenanters, Tory from the Irish Catholic outlaws, they quickly came to cover the two opposing views of government and religion at the time, and were to be the parents of the later Liberal and Conservative. The Tories, owing most to Clarendon, were the successors of the Cavaliers, the party of Crown and established Anglican church, defenders of Divine Right. The Whigs, first organized by Shaftesbury, stood for the rights of Parliament and the Common Law as asserted by the Roundheads, and though they did not oppose either monarchy or the established church, they believed more in toleration for dissenting Protestants. Both sides had their theorists, Hobbes and Filmer for the Tories, Locke for the Whigs.



SAMUEL PEPYS

The famous diary of Pepys gives a good picture of life in England at the time of the Restoration

The Revolution of 1689. Charles II, although he fell out with Parliament, ended his days in his bed in England. But his brother James II, though more honest, an avowed Catholic where Charles was a secret one, by his obstinacy and stupidity speedily alienated not merely the more extreme Protestants, but also Anglicans and Parliamentarians of every shade, so that within three years of his accession he was driven out of the country to end his days in exile. William of Holland, husband of James's daughter Mary, succeeded to the throne on terms which ended the long struggle, in favour of Parliament and the lawyers. The Bill of Rights (1689) was a very incomplete document, but it made that much clear. And it was supplemented by other laws and arrangements in both government and religion which both enlarged the settlement, and made it permanent. The king must be a Protestant, a member of the established church. Henceforth Parliament met every year, and exercised far more direct and complete control over finance and taxation. no longer could the king hope to raise an army without its consent

trading interest, and the Dissenters Some seventy families of landed aristocrats mainly ruled the party, and so the country, filling the House of Lords, and by their control of the Parliamentary boroughs controlling the House of Commons as well They were naturally conservative, yet they were never a caste; they stood by the settlement of 1688, they were allied with the mercantile interests, and Walpole's twenty years of rule (1721–42) were marked by great stability, material prosperity, and more freedom than anywhere else in Europe But their regime bred political corruption, and as time went on their opposition to change made them incapable of dealing with the problems of a new age



WALPOLE

The Evolution of Cabinet Government It was under this Whig party rule that there grew up the system of a 'Cabinet' of ministers headed by a 'Prime' Minister, all of the same party, who sat in Parliament, and were 'responsible' to the votes of the majority in the House of Commons The system depended upon no statute, and evolved slowly over a long period, but its essential features were clear by the time of Walpole, who has been called the first Prime Minister Its evolution was aided by the fact that George I knew no English, and so was content to let his ministers meet without him Later on, George III, disliking party rule, tried to make his ministers more responsible to himself than to Parliament, but the catastrophe of the American revolution defeated his attempts, and the Cabinet system became firmly established in the day of the younger Pitt By it Parliament, the legislative body, is closely united with the executive, the executive is responsible to the legislature, and must resign when it is defeated on a major issue by a majority vote in the elected Chamber Not until after the reform of Parliament in the nineteenth century was the further element in modern responsible government, the responsibility of Parliament to the people, fully worked out and accepted And the application of the principle of responsible government to parts of the British Empire was likewise a development of far later date, though it proceeded from the same source Thus did the Puritan revolution, in the end, devise a means by which the demands of the framers of the Grand Remonstrance could be fulfilled, and in so doing opened the way

for western civilization to a solution of the problem of how people should govern themselves

For Further Reading

J Buchan, *Cromwell.*

J Morley, *Walpole.*

R Muir, *A Short History of the British Commonwealth*

W M Thackeray, *Henry Esmond.*

E Wingfield-Stratford, *The History of British Civilization*

CHAPTER III

THE EXPANSION AND RIVALRY OVERSEAS OF HOLLAND, FRANCE, AND BRITAIN, 1600-1763

The Rise of the Northern Nations. By 1600 the northern nations of Europe were beginning to assert their claims to share in the world which the Pope had once divided between the Iberian nations Their populations and wealth were increasing, and they had an active trading class Their religious wars were practically over They had both knowledge and experience of navigation and of the lands and seas of the world, and the Flemish geographer, Mercator, had made the famous projection of the earth (1569) which we still use They had developed ship-building, and the fight with the Armada had proved the superiority of English ships and gunnery over Spanish Their ships had sailed the seven seas, Drake and Cavendish had circumnavigated the globe, and in privateering against Spain, in the discovery of the St Lawrence, in the search for the North-west Passage, in abortive efforts at colonization, in the foundation of trading companies, these northern peoples by 1600 had shown their steadily increasing interest in the world outside Europe

The Great Age of Holland. It was the Dutch who led the way in the expansion of the seventeenth century. The struggle with Spain, not yet concluded when the new century opened, had evoked an extraordinary outburst of energy in this little people of two and a half millions. And in the succeeding age, despite the conflict with Spain, and the struggle of the various provinces with the House of Orange, Holland attained the highest point in its history For a time the Dutch seemed almost to monopolize the genius of Europe, whether in the learning which flourished

in their universities, chief of them Leyden, or in art Thus, in painting Franz Hals was followed by Rembrandt Similarly in learning, Grotius, the founder of international law, Spinoza, the philosopher, Huyghens, the astronomer, Leeuwenhoek, the microscopist, were all Hollanders of this great period, and it was in Holland that Descartes settled and lived for twenty years In addition to all this Dutch traders and sailors pushed out east and west across the oceans to build up an empire

Dutch Expansion to the East. With so small a population the Dutch were rather traders than settlers overseas, and their main desire was to establish themselves in the Portuguese East Indies To this end they formed the Dutch East India Company (1602) and after winning the mastery of the seas, they proceeded to supplant the Portuguese, establishing factories, making treaties with local rulers, until they had won control of Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and the Spice Islands Coen, the great organizer of Dutch power in the East, founded Batavia as the capital of its eastern empire, whence Dutch ships pushed on to Formosa and Japan Their English pilot, Will Adams, became the founder of the Japanese navy, and a sacred and legendary figure to the Japanese The Dutch navigator, Tasman, sailed round Australia (1642–3) and discovered New Zealand, as well as the island bearing his name The threat of English rivalry in these eastern islands they met by the Massacre of Amboyna (1623), by which they destroyed the English post there They had long ago begun slave trading from the Guinea coast on their way eastwards, and they took possession of St Helena, and established a permanent colony at the Cape of Good Hope, after a shipwrecked crew had managed to survive there (1648)

Dutch Expansion Westwards To the west, following in the wake of the English sea-dogs, the Dutch raided and smuggled in the Spanish and Portuguese empires in America Then in 1621 they organized their West India Company, and began the planting of colonies in what was to become Dutch Guiana, and along the Amazon They captured Pernambuco, threatening the Portuguese hold in Brazil Their great admiral, Van Tromp, destroyed a great Spanish armada off the English coast in 1639, thus putting an end to Spanish sea power, as they had already ended that of Portugal For a time they were almost as supreme in the West Indies as in the East Indies And meanwhile they had displayed equal energy in establishing themselves on the North American continent An English navigator in their service, Henry Hudson, had in 1609 discovered and explored the river called after him, and trading posts were established at its mouth, and as far up as Fort Orange (Albany) Trade led to settlement From the centre of New Amsterdam, with its magnificent situation, the colony of New Netherlands began to

spread outwards, and in due course took in the adjacent colony of New Sweden on the Delaware (1655) and pushed up the Hudson to the Iroquois country which divided the Dutch from the French on the St Lawrence

The Height and the Decline. Thus by the middle of the seventeenth century the little state of Holland had built up an empire many times its own size, the profits from which poured into the pockets of the wealthy merchants of Amsterdam and other Dutch cities It was an astonishing achievement, but the very magnitude of this empire made it vulnerable to attack when Holland was so small a nation The Portuguese, now separated from Spain again, made resolute efforts to drive the Dutch from Brazil, and after a long struggle succeeded (1654). This expulsion, which marked the turn of the tide against the Dutch, was due in part to the fact that Holland was engaged in the first of her three wars with England, and these wars were to prove the downfall of Dutch power on and over the seas They were preceded by the first English Navigation Act (1651), restricting English shipping to English ships, a blow at the Dutch The first war (1652–4), in which Blake and Monk were pitted against Van Tromp and Ruyter, saw no decisive result, but the second (1665–7) brought the loss of New Netherlands, and the third (1672–4), despite Holland's stiff resistance to Louis XIV, left her too closely threatened at home to recover strength abroad Her eastern empire she retained, and Dutch Guiana, but her day of supremacy on the seas was over The gage had passed to her larger neighbours.

The Beginnings of French Colonization. Between Cartier's exploration of the St Lawrence and Champlain's foundation of Quebec the French made a number of attempts at colony planting in the New World In 1555 Villegagnon essayed to found a colony at Rio de Janeiro, and a few years later first Ribaut and then Laudonnière made similar attempts in Florida, all three being the result of Huguenot enterprise under the protection of the powerful Admiral Coligny But the Portuguese destroyed the first attempt, and the Spaniards those in Florida Yet despite these failures and the absorption of France in her religious wars, Frenchmen, and notably Huguenots, were continuously active in trade, in privateering against Spain, and in trying to establish trading factories down the African coast And year by year Norman and Breton fishermen found their way to the mouth of the great Gulf of St Lawrence to fish, as also to trade with the Indians for furs It was natural, therefore, that when the wars of religion were over, this familiar region, remote from the Spanish Indies, and a possible gateway to the Orient, should attract French colonizing effort The first attempts at settlement, apart from a futile one at Tadoussac, were made in the region which became known as Acadia, where in 1604 Port Royal was established on the

Annapolis Basin, but failed to flourish Yet the French long managed to maintain a hold on Acadia, despite a threat which shortly came from the English to the south

The Foundation of New France. Amongst those who had assisted in the foundation of Port Royal, and made explorations southwards along the coast, was Samuel de Champlain (1567–1635) an ex-soldier who had already visited the Spanish Indies, and who had a rare combination of qualities as governor, soldier, explorer, geographer, and chronicler In 1608 he founded Quebec, and so, New France This settlement on the St Lawrence long remained a small and weak affair, failing to reveal any treasure of precious metals or the way to China, and drawing hardly any settlers from France Richelieu's reorganization of the Company of New France, and his exclusion of Huguenots, brought it little advantage Yet the colony survived, it established contacts with the Indians, both the friendly Montagnais and Huron and the hostile Iroquois, it acted as a base for the fur-trade, as for missionary enterprise and exploration Champlain ascended the Ottawa and reached Lake Huron, Nicolet reached Lake Michigan Jesuit zeal won the crown of martyrdom, as when the Iroquois overwhelmed the Hurons in 1649 And with Colbert's accession to power came more solid support for the colony Company rule was replaced in 1663 by direct crown control, exercised through a governor, an intendant, and a Sovereign Council Colonists were sent out, with soldiers to deal with the Indian menace, and under Talon as intendant, Frontenac as governor, and Laval as bishop, New France began to make real progress Settlement spread along the great river from Quebec to Montreal, under a semi-feudal system of land-holding, wherein the seigneurs had certain rights over the habitant farmers


CHAMPLAIN'S HABITATION AT QUEBEC

The Way to the West Yet expansion, rather than settled farming, was to be the outstanding characteristic of New France Under the threefold stimulus of the fur-trade, missionary zeal, and exploration, the French followed the waterways leading up to and through the Great Lakes, marking their progress by the establishment of forts, trading and mission stations, from Fort Frontenac at the east end of Lake Ontario

to Michillimackinac and Sault Ste Marie far to the west. From there they pushed on across the portages to the Mississippi valley, and first Joliet and Marquette in 1673 journeyed part way down the great river, and then nine years later La Salle descended it to its mouth, taking possession of this new empire of the Mississippi, which he called Louisiana after the king Although La Salle's efforts to colonize this vast empire failed, and he himself met death there in 1687, exploration continued, and a thin line of posts arose connecting Louisiana with the Great Lakes and the St Lawrence By 1700 the vast sweep of French empire in North America ran in a great curve from Acadia and the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico To the north it had flung out an arm towards Hudson Bay, fruit of the journeys of fur-traders like Radisson and missionaries like Albanel, whilst to the south the curve was continued into the Caribbean islands There the French had meanwhile established themselves in a number of the lesser islands, such as Guadeloupe and Martinique, building up prosperous communities of sugar-cane planters



Canadian Archives

LA SALLE

The English in North America: Virginia. Yet there was to be another rival The English, too, had begun with tentative and unsuccessful efforts at colonization in the sixteenth century, such as the ill-fated attempts of Sir Walter Raleigh to settle in the area north of Florida, which he called Virginia after Queen Elizabeth England, too, sent yearly fleets to fish off Newfoundland, and raided and smuggled in the Spanish Indies, searched for the North-west Passage, and founded companies for trade expansion

It was a London chartered company which in 1606 sent out three ships to found a colony in America, and thereby set up the first permanent English colony, at Jamestown in Virginia. This little colony owed its survival through the hard initial stages to the courage and resource of John Smith, its real founder Yet survive it did, luckily escaping extinction at the hands of Spain or the Indians, and finding a livelihood, and then wealth, in the tobacco which shortly became the staple product of its plantations The government of the colony, at first under the

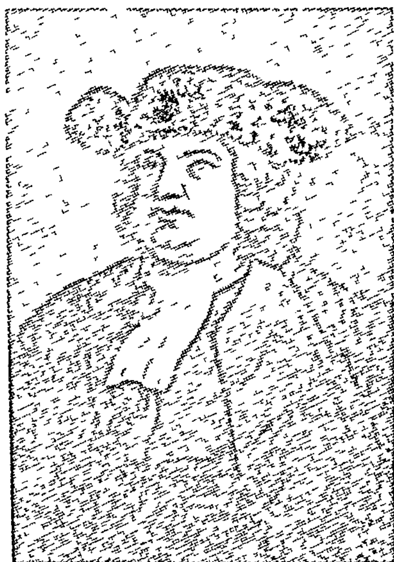
control of the London company, passed in 1624 to the Crown, and so remained. Virginia acted as a nucleus for further colonizing effort along that portion of the coast. Immediately to the north Lord Baltimore, a Catholic, in 1634 established the colony of Maryland, whilst to the south the Carolinas came into existence after the Restoration. The latest of these southern coastal colonies, Georgia, was a philanthropic and strategic enterprise founded by James Oglethorpe in 1733.

The Puritan Colonies. In the same year in which Jamestown was founded a vain attempt was made to found a colony farther north, beyond Cape Cod. But in 1620 there landed from the little *Mayflower* colonists of a new type, the Pilgrim Fathers. They were English Puritans, who had been so harried for their uncompromising views that they had fled to Holland, and there conceived the idea of emigrating to the New World to find freedom to worship God as they wished. Their little settlement of New Plymouth was shortly to be followed by others, chief of them that begun in 1629 by the Massachusetts Bay Company, into which New Plymouth was later to be absorbed. The growth of Puritan New England was stimulated by new persecutions at home, so that by the time the Civil War opened there were sixteen thousand Puritan immigrants in America, and settlement had spread along the coast to form the beginnings of both Connecticut and Rhode Island. The beginnings of Maine and New Hampshire go back to private grants, as distinguished from company charters, made shortly after the Plymouth landing. The early colonies had much ado to maintain their rights against such private grants from the Crown. Thus a Scot, Sir William Alexander, claimed half Maine, Nova Scotia, and Long Island, though he founded no colony. But despite such obstacles, or the struggle with nature and the Indians, as well as their own religious squabbles, the Puritan colonies took strong root and grew sturdily in the many little towns which they established round their meeting-houses, the centres of their community life.

The Middle Colonies. Between Virginia and New England lay the territories first colonized by two of England's neighbours, New Sweden across the Delaware, and New Netherlands on the Hudson. But first Sweden's colony was swallowed by the Dutch, and then in 1664 England gained the whole territory from Holland. By this England secured an incomparable harbour, with a way into the interior up the Hudson, and she acquired sovereignty over the whole coast line from Florida to Acadia. In addition to New York, the colonies of New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania were to be carved out of this new domain. The last of these was founded by the Quaker, William Penn, in 1681, and from its capital, Philadelphia, this colony spread inland, rapidly becoming one

of the most prosperous of all the colonies Thus, save for later Georgia, the tale of the coastal American colonies of England was completed, and the history of colonial America fairly begun

Problems of Development That history was to be one of continuous and steady growth in population and strength The colonies differed in origin, as in climate, economic life, and social structure Founded during a century of great political and religious disturbance in England, their early history reflected that unrest They had no sense of unity, and their relations with the mother country varied. Yet during the second half of the seventeenth century a system of administration for the colonies was being worked out in England Trade, the chief interest, was organized under mercantilist principles by Navigation and other Acts of Parliament The colonies had their governors, their councils, and sooner or later, in contrast with the colonies of France and Spain, their local representative assemblies with certain rights over finance They all strove to push out west or north-west towards the Appalachian barrier, and by so doing intensified the conflict with the Indians, from the Iroquois of the north to the Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickasaws of the south This expansion also brought them into conflict with the colonies of France and Spain, and so precipitated the great struggle for North America



WILLIAM PENN

The West Indies and Hudson Bay. Closely connected with the foundation of the colonies on the mainland was the settling of English colonies on the adjacent islands Bermuda was first settled, and was for a time joined to Virginia, as were the Bahamas later to Carolina In the Antilles, Barbados was occupied in 1624, and quickly became important both as a port of call and for its sugar plantations From it was founded British Guiana, England's colony in South America The addition of Jamaica by Cromwell helped to give to the West Indian possessions the great importance they retained through the eighteenth century, by reason of their wealth as well as for strategic reasons For long they were more highly valued than many of the mainland colonies Properly to round off Britain's expansion in North America we must also recall that she had claims both to Acadia and to Newfoundland,

and that, following her search for a North-west Passage, she developed an interest in Hudson Bay, which led in 1670 to the foundation of the Company of Adventurers trading to Hudson Bay, with Prince Rupert at its head This was a fur-trading and not a colonizing company, its settlements confined to factories on the bay, like those set up in India This venture, like the claims to Acadia and the expansion westwards of the Atlantic coastal colonies, also brought the English into definite conflict with the French

The Struggle between France and Britain for North America. The rival ambitions and claims of France and Britain thus led to a great struggle between these two states for the possession of North America, a struggle forming part of a wider conflict between the two powers in Europe and also in the East But whereas the general conflict went on in a series of wars until the downfall of Napoleon, the issue in both America and India was settled by 1763 Of the two powers, France was far the larger in population and resources when the struggle opened, her army the finest in the world, her despotic monarchy firmly established Yet time was to show that England's limited monarchy was more soundly based, her economic and financial organization stronger She was more cut off from the continent of Europe, and the struggle was to depend less on great armies than on sea power, in which Britain could compete with, and even surpass, her larger rival And her colonies in America, if divided and less easily controlled, were far wealthier and more populous than the French, in 1689, when the struggle opened, they had a population of nearly 300,000, against some 20,000 for the French colonies



The First Stages of the Conflict, 1689–1713 The long conflict was divided into two main periods of war, with a more peaceful interval between The first period of warfare began with William III leading the opposition to Louis XIV in Europe, but it was of decisive importance for colonial issues that Britain early secured the superiority at sea In America the war saw the French raiding from Quebec along the New England border, the way marked by the savagery of their Indian allies,

The English replied by attempting to raise the Iroquois against their foes, and by using their superiority at sea to attack both Acadia and Quebec By the Peace of Utrecht which closed this first period of conflict in 1713, Acadia, with Newfoundland, passed permanently into the hands of Britain Further, on Hudson Bay, which likewise shared in this far-flung conflict, the British secured undisputed possession of the fur factories and trade.

The Interval of Peace. During the generation of peace in Europe after the death of Louis XIV, when Walpole ruled England and the peace-loving Fleury controlled, for a time, the France of the Regency, both countries displayed considerable activity in America The French built the great fortress of Louisburg (1720) to guard the entrance to the St Lawrence In the west La Vérendrye pushed past the Great Lakes into the heart of the continent, seeking to find for France the legendary river flowing westwards to the Pacific, and to tap the fur-trade which flowed north to the English on Hudson Bay The province of Louisiana began to stir with new life under a new Company of the West (1717), and its line of connections with the St Lawrence was strengthened until some sixty posts connected Crown Point on Lake Champlain with the newly founded city of New Orleans on the Gulf of Mexico Meanwhile the English colonies were pushing ever farther westward into the Appalachians, settling the Shenandoah valley, moving up the Mohawk river towards Lake Ontario, and into the Ohio country.

The Second Stage of the Conflict, 1739–63. It was out of a war with Spain that the final struggle between France and England in North America emerged For war with Spain brought conflict with France, first in the so-called war of the Austrian Succession (1740–8), then after a truce of eight years, during which the conflict continued in America, in the decisive Seven Years' War (1756–63). The first war was marked by the usual border conflict on the frontiers of Florida and New England, as well as by the capture of the great French fortress of Louisburg, which was temporarily returned in exchange for Madras In the interior of the continent, however, the Seven Years' War opened with the French possessing the advantage in the struggle for the Ohio valley The year 1758 saw a change of fortune, however, largely due to the increased vigour which William Pitt, now in charge of the war in England, managed to infuse into the efforts of his countrymen Acadia had already been overrun, and its unhappy inhabitants deported, and now Louisburg was again captured. Control of the Great Lakes was won, Fort Duquesne on the Ohio was taken, and renamed Pittsburg, and the last of these outworks of New France, the great fortress of Ticonderoga, similarly fell into British hands The way was clear for the attack on

with the various Indian rulers who had risen to independence as Mogul rule decayed, organizing and arming Indian troops to fight with his own The French captured Madras, and although this was restored to Britain by the peace of 1748, it seemed for a time as if Dupleix would succeed in making the French supreme on the eastern coast But the appearance of Clive, an ex-clerk of the English Company turned soldier, saved the situation, for Clive proceeded with great skill to regain control of the whole region Dupleix was recalled to France, and the turn of the tide was decisive From the Carnatic Clive advanced against the Nawab of Bengal, and avenged the horrors of the Black Hole of Calcutta by defeating him and his French allies at Plassey (1757) against enormous odds. The Nawab lost his throne, the French their post of Chandernagore, and the British became supreme in Bengal, the richest part of all India The victory of Eyre Coote over Count Lally at Wandiwash (1760), and the final capture of Pondicherry in the following year, completed the victory of the British over their rivals in India. Although by the peace of 1763 the French recovered their factories in India, these no longer possessed any military or political importance Henceforth the British were free from European rivalry in India.



CLIVE

The First British Empire at its Height. Thus by the close of the Seven Years' War, Britain was supreme in both North America and India, mistress of the seas, with posts in Africa, and islands in the West Indies The building up of this enormous empire, shortly to be enlarged by further additions from the Dutch, and by Cook's explorations in the Pacific, was an amazing achievement for a nation of a few millions But its acquisition brought new and serious problems of rule, complicated by the fact that the two main parts of the empire, India and North America, were widely different, almost contradictory in character India was tropical and thickly inhabited by Asiatic peoples accustomed only to absolutist government, while America was thinly peopled by Europeans of varied origin and traditions, and the original British colonies had now developed a high degree of independence In India the expansion had been carried out by a trading company, and the period after 1763 was to show that such a company required regulation by the State to

prevent the peoples of India from being exploited. The India Acts of 1773 and 1784, the efforts of Burke, and the long trial of Warren Hastings, all helped to develop in Britain a feeling of greater responsibility for her power in India, and so led to the remarkable development of British rule in India In America, however, the problem of government proved insoluble in the existing conditions, and the American colonists, freed from the menace of France, proceeded to free themselves from the control of Britain Just twenty years after the first British Empire had reached its height, it lost its most important overseas colonies

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CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA

The Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia, 1648 The background to much of the political history of modern Europe was provided by the Thirty Years' War For although the war began as a struggle between Catholics and Protestants for predominance in Germany, and was fought out on German soil, it developed into a general European conflict. The alliance of the Catholic Richelieu with the Lutheran king, Gustavus Adolphus, shows how religious affiliations came to be superseded by purely political aims By the close of the war Germany had been so overrun and devastated from end to end that it took generations to recover The religious divisions of Germany remained pretty much as before, though the Calvinists now secured the same rights which the Lutherans enjoyed, and the rights of the Protestants of Bohemia, lost by the defeat of the White Mountain (1620), were not restored Politically the treaties of Westphalia confirmed both the independence of the princes of Germany and the weakness of the imperial authority The imperial Diet still met at Regensburg (Ratisbon), but it exercised no control, and Germany became the 'organized anarchy' it was to remain for two

centuries. its Austrian emperors became more and more concerned with their hereditary dominions on the Danube The treaties marked the close of the religious wars in Europe, and the settlement, which it took four years to reach and which was the work of the first general European peace congress, was long regarded as permanent Of the territorial



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GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AND HIS MEN PRAYING BEFORE THE BATTLE OF LÜTZEN
(*Louis Braun*)

changes the loss of parts of the Empire to France and Sweden marked the rise of those two states, whilst within Germany the treaty showed the increased importance of Brandenburg

The Greatness and Decline of Sweden. The sudden rise of Sweden was due mainly to the appearance of a great king, Gustavus Adolphus (ruler 1611–32), one of the great soldiers of history, and a great man and ruler as well Gustavus Adolphus was most interested in securing the mastery of the Baltic He defeated Denmark, secured Esthonia from Russia, and Livonia from Poland. Inevitably, he was drawn into the war raging in Germany, becoming the champion of Protestantism, and revealing himself as the greatest strategist and soldier of his age, superior

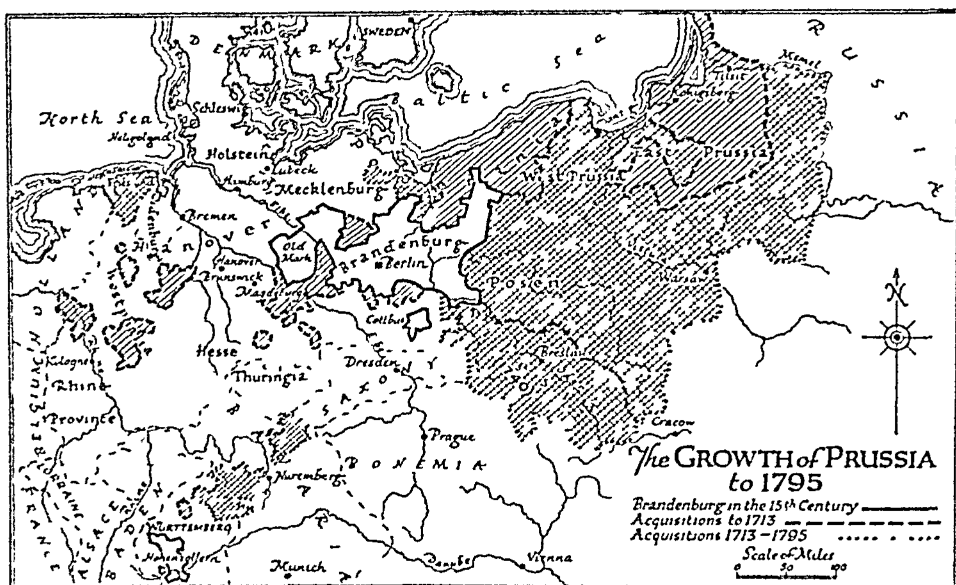
even to his great opponent, the Austrian soldier of fortune, Wallenstein Although Gustavus was killed in the day of Swedish victory at Lutzen, and the leadership against the Catholic Habsburgs passed to France, yet at the Peace of Westphalia Sweden reached the height of her greatness, becoming supreme in the Baltic, and a power in Germany and Europe

Yet she had greatly strained her resources to attain that position, and could not long maintain it. The reign of the amazing Charles XII (1697-1718), 'the madman of the north,' who from boyhood was as completely absorbed in warfare as he was blind to the welfare of his people, witnessed the steady and permanent decline of Sweden's power Her enemies round the Baltic leagued against her, and the long series of wars which filled most of Charles's reign (the Northern War, 1699-1721) left her in the end a ruined and exhausted country Her gains in Germany and her supremacy in the Baltic were gone, and her once proud Vasa monarchy was left a prey to the fights of factions, while the greater states of Prussia and Russia rose to power in her place

The Origin of Brandenburg-Prussia. The state which was to unite Germany in the nineteenth century, and give it much of its own character, was late in coming into existence Like Austria, Brandenburg was in origin a frontier unit, a Mark established by Henry the Fowler to guard the line of the Elbe against the Wends, in the belt of forest and marshy plain which stretched unbroken across to Russia From the Elbe the Mark had been extended eastwards in the later Middle Ages to and across the Oder, its progress aided by the advent of German colonists from the west It had carried with it Christianity, and a feudal organization of German lords over Wendish serfs, which was long to characterize it In due course the Margrave of Brandenburg became an Elector in the Empire, and in 1415 the Mark passed into the hands of the Hohenzollerns, a Swabian family like the Hohenstaufens and Habsburgs After a time the Hohenzollern interests in Swabia and Brandenburg were separated, and the Hohenzollerns of north Germany could give their attention to building up their electorate. That was no easy task, with a poor and barren country, surrounded by rival states, but their rule was steadily consolidated, and the electoral authority increased With the Reformation the country became Lutheran, though the Elector later adopted the Calvinist creed Like other German Protestant princes, the Elector gained in wealth from the secularization of clerical property at this time

The Gain of Prussia and the Rhineland A new era opened in the history of Brandenburg with the addition of Prussia to the east, and lands on the Rhine to the west, in the seventeenth century The land of Prussia, lying round the south-east corner of the Baltic, had been the

scene of the labours of the crusading Teutonic Order, which had conquered and Christianized the fierce pagan Prussians, but had then declined before the advancing power of Poland It was from the Teutonic Order that in 1618 the Elector of Brandenburg secured title to East Prussia and by long and hard fighting established his hold on the duchy, which was still a fief of Poland To the west the future Prussian Rhineland formed part of a large territory to which there were several claimants,



and only after much controversy did the Electors gain assured possession of a portion of it in 1666 The heritage was small, but of great economic and strategic importance With its acquisition, the Hohenzollern domains henceforth stretched brokenly across northern Germany from the Niemen to the Rhine, in three main divisions It was the task of the next two hundred years, completed by Bismarck, to add the intervening territories

The Great Elector, Frederick William, 1640–88. The first steps in the process were made by that Frederick William who won the title of the Great Elector He did more than any other single ruler to give to the Prussian monarchy its specific form and character He it was who built up the two mainstays of the monarchy, the standing army and the efficient, centralized administrative system He also paid much attention to economic conditions, improving communications, fostering industry and trade, building ships of war, and even sending out a colony to South America In all this he was aided by the inflow of settlers, above all

the Huguenots from France For though a Calvinist, he was tolerant in religion, and so drew settlers from other less tolerant countries He became Elector while Germany was in the last stages of the Thirty Years' War, during which Brandenburg had been invaded and laid waste by Swedish and Austrian armies alike It says much for the skill of the new ruler that he was able at the Peace of Westphalia to secure part of Pomerania, and to round out Brandenburg to the south-west across the Elbe With Sweden controlling the Baltic, and Louis XIV dominating western Europe, further expansion was difficult Yet out of Swedish conflicts with Poland the Elector managed to secure the independence of East Prussia from Polish suzerainty And as his internal reforms bore fruit, and his army grew stronger, while the power of Sweden declined, he was able to face the invincible Swedish army, and even defeat it in battle at Fehrbellin, 1675 Before he died Prussia, as we may now call it, was the leading state in North Germany, the chief Protestant state in the Empire, and was coming to be recognized as of some importance in Europe as well

The Founding of the Prussian Monarchy It was a natural result of the work of the Great Elector that his son Frederick I should aim to raise his state to the dignity of a monarchy The opportunity was provided by the European wars which filled the whole of his reign (1688–1713) and in which he took sides against France, with the title of king as the price of his aid to the allies The Treaty of Utrecht recognized that a new monarchy had come into existence in Europe, the creation of the firm ambition and armed strength of the Hohenzollern rulers His son, Frederick William I, is better known for his extraordinary character than for any additions of territory or qualities of statesmanship The Prussian army completely absorbed his thoughts and energies He more than doubled its size, sought all over Europe for men of tall stature for his Potsdam Grenadiers, and governed his family and his kingdom with the same rod that he applied to the backs of his soldiers He bullied his son, the future Frederick the Great, nearly to death Yet rough, brutal, and narrow as he was, he built up the material resources of his country, its treasury and its agriculture It remained for Frederick the Great both to build on his work, and to show another side of the Prussian monarchy

The Decline of Poland. The loosely joined commonwealth of Poland, which sprawled over the map of eastern Europe from the Baltic nearly to the Black Sea, reached its height under Jagellon kings in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and began to decline with the accession of the Vasa line in 1587 If ever a state needed a strong monarchy to keep it together, it was Poland, 'the land of the plain', whereas, in fact, the

monarchy became openly elective and was often sold to the highest bidder, the nobility became an all-powerful caste, a single member of the Diet could veto legislation, and there was no middle class Further, whilst the Poles were now strongly Catholic, their White Russian and Ruthenian serfs were Greek Orthodox or 'Uniate' (i e Greek Orthodox but acknowledging the Pope) in religion, an additional cause of dissension Built up by successive conquests, and surrounded as Poland was by enemies, her ill-defined frontiers, coupled with her internal weakness, rather invited than repelled invasion The most immediate enemy in the seventeenth century was Sweden More serious still was the rise of Russia, with her ambitions of western expansion Poland became involved in a series of wars, the last of which, the Polish Succession War (1733–8), made it clear that Poland was at the mercy of her neighbours, and prepared the way for the later absorption of the defenceless state


JOHN III, SOBIESKI

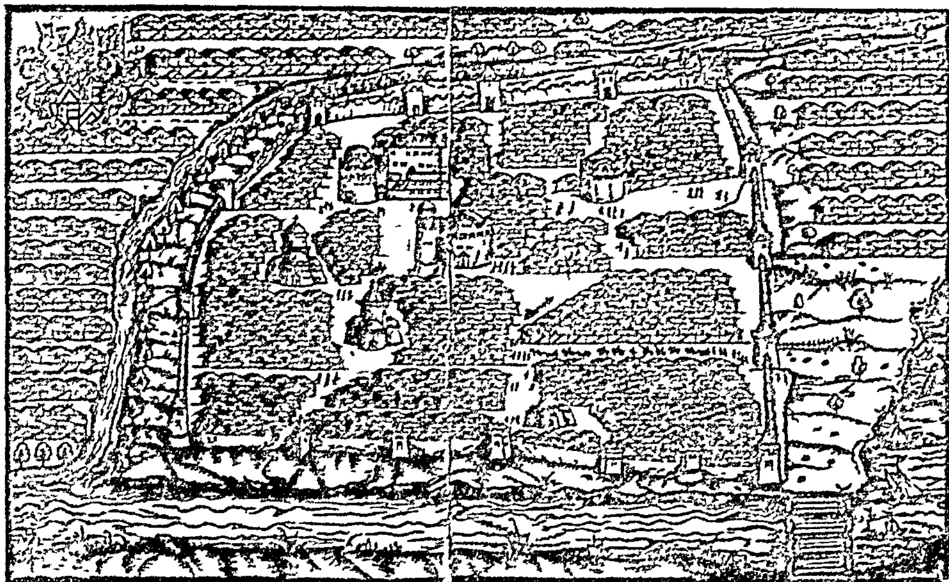
The Last Advance and the Retreat of the Turks. Looking back over the long history of the Ottoman invasion of Europe, we can see that its menace was diminishing slowly but surely from the time of the naval defeat of Lepanto (1571) The vigour of her rulers steadily decayed, and Turkey became involved in wars with her eastern neighbour, Persia Whilst Venice, her former foe, had declined, and the Greeks and Slavs of the Balkan peninsula were unable alone to free themselves from their Moslem masters, her advance up the Danube brought Turkey into conflict with stronger states actively engaged in advancing their own boundaries Habsburg and Turk long disputed the ownership of Transylvania and Hungary, and it was in a final burst of energy that in 1683 the Turks pushed forward so far as to besiege Vienna The Habsburg capital was, however, saved by the skill and heroism of the Polish king, John Sobieski, and the check was decisive In the following years the Turks were driven slowly back, until the long wars were closed by the treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 by which they lost Hungary and other territory But while this treaty thus marked the first stage

in the long process by which the Turks were to be driven back to the very edge of Europe, it also marked the beginning of the equally long controversy as to who was to succeed them in the lands regained from the Crescent for the Cross This was the problem which became known as the Eastern Question, and it was to involve the whole of Europe

The Rise of Russia. Chief amongst the would-be heirs of the Ottomans in Europe was the rising power, Russia. When the seventeenth century opened Russia could still hardly be counted amongst the states of Europe at all Her religion, though Christian, differed from those of western Europe She had easier and more continuous contact with Asia than with Europe, her peoples were still partly under the influence of the long rule of the Mongol Horde, they were backward and uneducated, and still partly nomadic Although she had earlier felt the influence of Byzantium, she had experienced neither the tides of the Renaissance and the Reformation, nor the scientific development of the age and the rise of a middle class to influence and wealth The oriental despotism of Moscow after the death of Ivan the Terrible in 1584 fell into the anarchy of 'the time of troubles,' becoming a prey to the rivalries of the boyars and to Polish invasion But a new era opened with the election as Tsar in 1613 of Michael Romanov, whose line was to last as long as the Tsardom itself Michael followed the path of peace within and without, leaving it to his successor Alexis to take advantage of Poland's decline to win part of the Ukraine But nothing accomplished by the first two Romanovs could have forecast the astonishing achievements of the third, Peter the Great, the maker of modern Russia

Peter the Great (1689–1725). For a parallel to the amazing character and career of Peter we have to go back to the Emperors of Rome, or perhaps better to the rulers of Asia An epileptic, scarcely sane at times, incredibly cruel, vicious, and ruthless, and ruler in a land where there was no effective check on royal power, he was at the same time extraordinarily intelligent, active, shrewd, far-seeing, and devoted to what he conceived to be the good of Russia His conception as to what was good for Russia was drawn, apart from natural tendencies, from his years of education in western Europe. Like any other traveller, he visited Germany, Holland, and England, but he differed from most other travellers in that he not merely observed with interest, but also taught himself many of the western arts, from dentistry to ship-building, the making of wool, and the training of soldiers As boy and youth he had shown quite unusual technical gifts, especially in the building of ships Called back to Russia by the news of an uprising against him, a motley of discontent from many sources, he first slaughtered his enemies, executing many with his own hand, and then turned to his programme of reforms

The Reforms of Peter. We are apt to think of the reforms of Peter the Great as primarily aimed at the westernization of Russia, for which purpose he sent Russians to western Europe, and invited foreign craftsmen, engineers, doctors, and teachers to Russia In addition, he decreed the shaving of Russian beards and the adoption of western dress, made smoking compulsory, and gave more liberty to women He tried to create the middle class that Russia lacked, by encouraging



MOSCOW IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

trade, establishing industries, and organizing municipal life The building of his new capital on the Neva facing the west, named after him St Petersburg, summed up many of such aspirations Much of his work in this direction had, however, little effect on the mass of the Russian people, it remained for a later government, that of the Bolshevists of to-day, to take up this work, with an energy and ruthlessness which Peter might well have admired

The more general changes introduced by Peter were concerned with making the Tsar's government more powerful, better organized, stronger financially and more ready for war He followed the Prussian example in building up a new and far more powerful army, using foreign officers to train it He reorganized the administration of the country, dividing the land into 'governments' and provinces He laid new taxes on an endless variety of things, including baths and beards, and punished

corruption ruthlessly. Getting rid of the Duma or Assembly of Nobles, he created a small body directly responsible to himself. The nobles were brought far more closely under the Tsar so that nobility came to mean state service, either in the army or in the administration As for the peasantry, their condition was made more uniform, since serfdom was made almost universal The Church was likewise brought completely under imperial control The powers of the Patriarch of Moscow were taken over by a new body, the Holy Synod, headed by a layman chosen by the Tsar The revenues of the Church were partly absorbed, and the government took upon itself the enforcement of orthodoxy, though foreigners were allowed toleration, save for Jesuits, and the Jews Thus did Peter refashion Russia after his own masterly and ruthless will, with results visible from that day to this

Russian Expansion. Nor was Peter content to abide within the existing bounds of Russia Expansion was in fact an outstanding characteristic of Russian history In the sixteenth century under the leadership of the famous Yermak, a band of Cossacks of the Don had pushed over the Urals into Siberia, and by the middle of the seventeenth century Russian explorers and colonists had reached the Sea of Okhotsk, north of Japan, and from there proceeded to explore the northern Pacific coast, and to open a long chapter in diplomacy by the Treaty of Nerchinsk with China (1689) Peter's main concern was to give to Russia direct outlets, 'windows,' to western Europe, both on the Baltic and the Black seas He could only achieve this at the expense of his neighbours, primarily Sweden, Poland, and Turkey. To the south he won Azov from the Turk, only to lose it again To the north, however, he fared better, though only after a long struggle with Charles XII of Sweden By the Peace of Nystadt (1721) Russia secured the strip of eastern Baltic coast-land including Esthonia and Livonia, that Peter coveted for his 'window' Exhausted Sweden was no longer a barrier to the west, and Poland was likewise in decline, so that the way to further westward expansion was open That was to come with Catherine II

The Eighteenth Century: The Balance of Power. With Peter the Great and Frederick I of Prussia we are in the eighteenth century In international affairs this has been called the age of the Balance of Power, though the idea antedated and outlasted the age We have seen how the predominance of Charles V in the sixteenth century aroused the fears and hostility of France, bringing wars and a long rivalry between Habsburg and Bourbon. Yet neither side could win anything like complete supremacy in Europe The rapid ascendancy of France under Louis XIV drew other states to league against her, and by the peace settlement of 1713 the 'balance' was again restored This Balance of Power was

not a very satisfactory principle on which to build European peace, for as a modern writer puts it, 'the balance of power really means an over-balance in one's own favour.' It did not provide for changes in the body politic of Europe, so that the eighteenth century was full of wars, with seizures of territory such as Frederick the Great's seizure of Silesia, and partitions such as that of Poland Yet there was no other principle, and no existing machinery, for the maintenance of peace, and this concept was better than nothing The idea survived into the nineteenth century, indeed Metternich referred to it as a 'cosmic principle' It was the principle behind the system of alliances which held Europe in chains before the war of 1914, and despite the growth of a different principle exemplified in the League of Nations, it has not yet entirely disappeared, as the naval 'balance,' established for a time by the Washington Conference of 1921, shows

Enlightened Despotism. More fruitful than the Balance of Power in Europe was the change which came over monarchy during this century, in large measure a product of the changes in outlook referred to in the next chapter The monarchs of Europe tended to become more 'enlightened,' or even 'benevolent,' more concerned for the welfare of their subjects, although they were no less despotic than before 'Everything for the people, nothing by the people,' was the way Frederick the Great put it Some of the best examples of this were provided by lesser princes of Europe, like Leopold of Tuscany and Charles of Naples But the outstanding examples were provided by Frederick of Prussia and Joseph II of Austria, though even Catherine II of Russia felt the influence of the new ideas In France, the minister Turgot, rather than any monarch, best represented the same trend

Frederick II, the Great (1740–86). This greatest king of Prussia was a complex character, arousing both our admiration and our dislike In his unhappy youth, he was all for winning fame as a musician or poet, to the intense disgust of his father. As king he continued his interest in French culture, since German culture he despised as he despised women, building his garden palace of Sans-Souci at Potsdam, inviting foreigners like Voltaire to stay with him, writing poems and talking incessantly on everything under the sun But that was only one side of his character Frederick the ruler of Prussia was almost another person A complete despot, holding fast to the social order of Prussia, with its rigid class divisions, he nevertheless laboured ceaselessly at the task of improving his kingdom, supervising everything himself and demanding slavish obedience to his orders. Prussia was a poor country, and wars were expensive, so that Frederick taxed heavily, yet he took some account of capacity to pay. He reformed the judicial system, to make justice

speedier and easier, he ensured complete religious toleration; he introduced and subsidized new manufactures, tried new crops, drained marshes and reclaimed waste lands; he improved Prussia's ports and encouraged settlers from abroad.

Frederick's Wars. Much of Frederick's 'enlightened despotism' was due to his desire to augment his kingdom. He had hated his father's regime, but once king, he donned the stiff Prussian uniform, and as head of the Prussian army increased it greatly in size, stiffened its training and discipline, and learnt, at great cost in human life, how to lead it to victory. Ambitious, and quite devoid of scruple, in the very year of his accession he took advantage of the death of the Habsburg emperor to seize the province of Silesia from the young Maria Theresa. Despite the war which ensued, he managed to hold on to it, making a peace with Austria regardless of his allies. By his success here he both inaugurated the struggle for supremacy in Germany between Habsburg and Hohenzollern which ended in 1866, and greatly upset the existing balance in Europe. The result was that France and Austria, forgetting their old rivalry, united against the upstart Prussia. They were joined by Russia, while Frederick found an ally in Britain, at war with France overseas. In the Seven Years' War which followed (1756–63) Frederick bled Prussia white, suffered numerous defeats, but won extraordinary victories, so that in the end he emerged as the greatest general in Europe, with his country intact if nearly ruined. He had twenty-three years to restore her, and he did this, and more, adding greatly to his kingdom from Poland. He left a Prussia nearly doubled in size, far stronger economically than at his accession, and accepted as one of the great powers of Europe.



FREDERICK THE GREAT

Joseph II of Austria. In character as in fortune, the Emperor Joseph II provides a striking contrast with the great Frederick. His empire was far larger and wealthier than the kingdom of Prussia, and far more firmly established as a great power. On the other hand it was far less homogeneous. For the Austrian dominions by this time included not merely

Austria itself and the adjacent hereditary dominions (roughly the Austria of to-day), but also the two kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, inhabited by Slavs and Magyars, with territory in Italy and the Netherlands acquired by the Peace of Utrecht Joseph's mother, the Empress Maria Theresa, despite the loss of Silesia, had done something to draw her dominions closer together and to reform their administration, and she had deservedly won the affection of her many peoples Joseph II, after a long tutelage under her, had ten years (1780–90) of independent rule, in which to put his ideas into effect He had far more zeal than his mother, and far more real benevolence than Frederick, but he lacked the good sense and charm of the one, as well as the shrewdness and prescience of the other

'I have made Philosophy the law-maker of my empire Her logical principles shall transform Austria,' Joseph once declared, and he proceeded to apply these principles to his polyglot empire. He aimed to make the administration of his various dominions uniform, despite their wide differences, to centralize control in Vienna, and to govern through a bureaucracy responsible to himself. As a child of the Enlightenment he established religious toleration, and attacked the privileged position of the Catholic Church, reducing the number of monks, suppressing the Jesuits, and even regulating the order of the Church services. He revised the criminal code, tried to improve the position of the peasantry, and elaborated schemes for State control of education He laboured incessantly to bring order into the chaotic finances of the empire, and strove to encourage trade Although many of his reforms were sound, they aroused much opposition, and the major part of them scarcely outlived him His efforts were weakened by his failure in his policy abroad, where he tried to gain Bavaria, but was foiled by Frederick; he also suffered defeat in war against the Turks He ended his days in gloom, pronouncing too harsh an epitaph on himself 'Here lies a prince who, with the best of intentions, failed in all he attempted'

Catherine II of Russia (1762–96) The third of this triumvirate of enlightened monarchs, Catherine II of Russia, was in some ways even more extraordinary than the other two The daughter of a Prussian general, she came to power by getting rid of her drunken and incapable husband, Peter III, after Russia had suffered from a succession of inadequate rulers following the death of the great Peter She proved to be a remarkably able ruler, despite her vagaries and lack of morals She, too, had sipped at the fount of French enlightenment, was tolerant in religion, interested in letters and arts, and had a genuine desire to be a reformer, though, as she said herself, she was better at beginning than completing her measures Thus she drew up a lengthy and enlightened programme of Instructions after two years' labour, and called together a large represen-

tative Commission to discuss it. But further than discussion the Commission was never to go. Catherine herself undertook certain changes in government, organizing Russia into fifty provinces, and these again into districts, with wide responsibilities and powers, and she founded hospitals and schools But she fatally damaged her reputation for enlightenment by completing the process by which Peter's nobility of service was freed from its duties, whilst at the same time it extended its privileges and powers, above all over the peasantry, who lost the remains of their freedom, and became mere chattels of their lords, driven to futile and cruelly punished revolts.



Hachette

CATHERINE II

Catherine's Gains from Turkey and Poland. Catherine II was more successful than Peter in her extensions of Russian territory Whereas Peter had lost Azov again, Catherine in two wars with the Turks won it back, together with the Crimean peninsula, and the coveted coast-line of the Black Sea, where henceforth Russian warships could sail She was no less successful to the west, for she was partly responsible for the partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793, and 1795, and Russia secured far the largest share of that unfortunate kingdom Russian influence was already dominant in distracted Poland, where Catherine had managed to place her Polish favourite, Poniatowski, on the throne, and she had no scruples in agreeing with a proposal for partition made by Frederick of Prussia, who wished to join East Prussia to the rest of his dominions By it he gained West Prussia, Maria Theresa, with misgivings, took Galicia, and Catherine secured a strip along her western border Once begun, the process was continued by the second partition shared in by Prussia and Russia, and when that raised a last revolt led by Kosciusko the extinction of Poland was completed by the third and final partition. Thus Poland disappeared from the map of Europe for many a year But the partition showed all too plainly the limitations of the monarchical enlightenment Before it was complete, the French Revolution had already broken out, threatening monarchy all over Europe, and the

history of the next century was to show that although Poland might be partitioned, she could not be successfully absorbed or her nationality permanently extinguished

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CHAPTER V

THE GROWTH OF MODERN SCIENCE AND THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

Changes in Manners. The peoples of Europe were not wholly engaged during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in domestic strife, wars, and overseas rivalries They were growing and changing in numberless ways, becoming more like ourselves from generation to generation. In their wars they discarded heavy armour, and used the musket and pistol, forerunners of the rifle and revolver, Gustavus Adolphus developed mobile field artillery In costume, cloaks and doublets gave way to coats and waistcoats, hose became stockings, buckled shoes superseded long boots, the Elizabethan ruff came and went, wigs replaced beards The wig was typical of the age of Louis XIV, powder it, or replace it by the queue or pigtail, and you are in the eighteenth century Forks came in to help table manners, umbrellas were beginning to supersede swords Tea and coffee came into use, the latter to make the coffee houses of Queen Anne's day, out of which were to develop the English clubs Together with the wider use of wines came in England a taste for stronger liquors, whisky from Scotland, rum from the West Indies, gin from Holland Smoking was increasingly common, though it had a rival in the use of snuff, which Frederick the Great, for example, took incessantly In England again hawking was giving way to fox-hunting, and horse-racing became fashionable with Charles II, sea bathing came in with George III's day Travel and communication were still extremely slow by the standards of to-day, but they were quickening up as roads slowly improved, stage coaches had come into common use, though a great traveller like John Wesley still rode on horseback

The Growth of Science. In addition to these changes in manners came also deeper changes in thought. So marked was the development of scientific knowledge in the seventeenth century that it has been called the century of genius. The men of the Renaissance had been very curious about nature as well as about man, and had added greatly to knowledge. But it remained for a Frenchman of this new century, René Descartes (1596–1650), both to appreciate the general significance of this development of science, and to formulate a method for further progress. Descartes was interested in every branch of science, but was above all a mathematician, finding in mathematics that demonstrable and universal certainty which was to him the hall-mark of the only true knowledge. He both added to that knowledge, notably in analytical geometry, and did much to give the science of that day the emphasis on mathematics and physics characteristic of it. From this emphasis came a mechanical conception of the universe, which saw in nature no more than a machine, subject to exact, discoverable, and measurable laws, vastly different from the compound of ignorance and fantastic speculation largely accepted up to that day.

Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727). A simple example of the change is provided by the view of comets. They had so far been regarded as portents of unknown origin, but the English astronomer, Halley (1656–1742), found order in their movements, planned their courses, and correctly predicted the return many years after his death of the great comet of 1682, later called after him. Halley was the friend of Newton, greatest of all scientists of the century, and Newton did for the universe what Halley had done for comets. Newton was to have been a farmer, but as boy and youth showed an extraordinary interest in science. At the early age of twenty-seven he became professor of mathematics at Cambridge, where his scientific work was mainly done. His great scientific discoveries were made early in life. In mathematics, where, in addition to the work of Descartes, logarithms had been invented by Napier, the slide-rule made, and decimals introduced, Newton invented the infinitesimal calculus, to deal with the relations between varying quantities, as well as the binomial theorem. In optics, which Descartes had likewise developed, he made the very important discovery that light refracted through a prism is broken up into primary colours, the discovery of the spectrum. He likewise constructed the first reflecting telescope, the prototype of nearly all large telescopes to-day.

All this work, or nearly all, had some connection with astronomy, and it was fitting that Newton's greatest discovery should be made in the field in which he had been interested from early days. Copernicus and Galileo proved that the planets go round the sun, and Kepler showed

their course was elliptical But what keeps them tied to their eternal course? Why does the apple fall downwards to the earth, and not upwards to the sky? Galileo and others had discussed gravitation, but it was Newton who found, proved, and measured mathematically, that gravitation pulled the apple to the ground, held the moon to her course round the earth, and the earth and the other planets to their courses round the sun It was in his great book on *The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* (1687) that Newton thus, as he claimed, 'subjected the phenomena of nature to the laws of mathematics,' to give 'a clear and positive meaning' to the universal order of the heavens



NEWTON'S BIRTHPLACE, WOOLSTHORPE, LINCS

Besides Newton and Halley, there were other famous astronomers in England who took advantage of the foundation of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich by Charles II, in whose reign the appearance of the Royal Society likewise testified to the growing interest in science In the eighteenth century Herschel (1738–1822), a Hanoverian oboist settled in England, became the greatest astronomer of his day, improving the telescope, discovering the planet Uranus, the motion of the sun, and much else, so that his epitaph could rightly claim that 'he broke through the barrier of the skies' And associated with these developments in astronomy were the invention of the barometer by Torricelli (1643), of a satisfactory scale for the thermometer by Fahrenheit (*c* 1714), and the beginnings of the study of electricity through the identification of positive and negative currents, the invention of the Leyden jar (1746) to store and discharge electricity, Benjamin Franklin's lightning rod, and Volta's battery

Other Sciences. After the great development of astronomy, mathematics, and physics, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the record of the other sciences appears far less striking Yet their progress was considerable, if less revolutionary Chemistry was now subjected to more rigid methods of exact experiment and deduction, first of all by Robert Boyle (1627–91), who, in addition to enunciating the 'law' as to the pressure of gases named after him, experimented on every side of chemistry In the second half of the eighteenth century the French

tax-farmer, Lavoisier (1743–94), co-ordinated the work of men like Black, Cavendish, and Priestley, to explode completely the older theory of matter. Lavoisier separated air into its component parts as Newton had done with light, and showed that they could be combined again, laying the foundations on which the great development of chemistry in the nineteenth century was erected. In biology and medicine the discovery by the Englishman Harvey (1578–1657) of the circulation of the blood, a discovery completed by the Italian Malpighi, led to a more intensive study of both animal and plant life, a study greatly aided by the development of the microscope. Here the Dutchman Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723) stands out, as the discoverer of bacteria and many other wonders. A countryman of his, Swammerdam, studied the changes in the lives of insects. In geology the Scotsman, Hutton, before the end of the eighteenth century worked out a theory of the evolution of the earth's crust in which he anticipated later views. In botany, Ray a century earlier had begun the systematic classification of plants, and Linnaeus (1707–78) followed with a volume entitled the *System of Nature*, whose classifications were to be long accepted as valid. In zoology, Buffon, the greatest naturalist of the eighteenth century, both made the royal gardens in Paris the greatest museum of natural history, and published an encyclopaedic *Natural History*.

Procès verbal d'exécution de mort.



L'an second de la République Française, le ... floréal à la requête du citoyen Accusateur public près le Tribunal Révolutionnaire, établi au Palais, à Paris, par la loi du 10 Mars 1793, sans aucun recours au Tribunal de cassation, lequel fait élection au Greffe dudit Tribunal seant au Palais, je me suis ——— Huissier-audiancier audit Tribunal, soussigné, transporté en la maison de Justice dudit Tribunal, pour l'exécution du Jugement rendu par le Tribunal ... contre ... qui ... condamne à la peine de mort, pour les causes énoncées audit jugement, et de suite je l'ai remis à l'exécuteur des jugemens criminels, et à la Gendarmerie qui l'ont conduit sur la place de ... ou, sur un échaffaud dressé sur ladite place, ... a, en notre présence, subi la peine de mort, et de tout ce que dessus ... le présent procès verbal, pour servir et valoir ... dont acte

Enregistré gratis, à Paris, le ... floréal l'an deuxième de la République, une et indivisible.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENT OF LAVOISIER'S EXECUTION

When Lavoisier was sentenced to the guillotine in the French Revolution the Vice-President uttered the words, 'The Republic does not need men of science.'

The New Philosophy: Descartes. The new science needed a new philosophy. With the exception of the physician John Locke, all the

philosophers of the period were mathematicians, and science and philosophy meant to them much the same thing, an attempt to explain the universe First the humanism of the Renaissance, then the Reformation, and now the scientific revolution, had undermined the basis of the medieval scholastic philosophy. Bacon had pointed out a new way to the understanding of the natural world, and Bruno had perished at the stake in 1600 for his attacks on the orthodox view of the universe But it was Descartes who first deliberately cut himself free in thought from the methods and traditions of the past. Descartes was for a time a soldier, but later settled down in Holland, where he wrote his famous *Discourse on Method* (1637). In it he explained how he had resolved to accept only what reasoning allowed to be true He began by questioning and analysing everything, making his new starting-point his own mind: 'I think, therefore I exist' From that he deduced the existence of God, and of the external world of matter. Mind and matter made up his universe. Analysis, reasoning, deduction, made up the New Method, for philosophy as for science We cannot work out his views thus briefly defined, or follow their development in later times, especially since they led in two different directions, one laying emphasis on reason, the other on experience. The 'Cartesians,' as the followers of the former view came to be called, led to the Deists of the eighteenth century, and indeed to the Materialists and Atheists of later days

Other Philosophers. The influence of Descartes is visible in the writings of all the other great thinkers of the period Spinoza (1632–77), a Portuguese Jew in Amsterdam, who ground lenses for a living, was interested primarily in the attempt to apply the new reasoning and the new mathematics to the problem of man's relation to God The title of his greatest work is indicative: it was called *Ethics demonstrated in the Geometric Manner*. But Spinoza reaped much contumely for his attempt to reinterpret the nature of God and man The Hanoverian librarian and scholar, Leibniz (1646–1716), was a singularly all-round genius, who contributed to the advancement of physical science, but was also concerned with the great problem of the relation of the new science to revealed religion In England both Hobbes and Locke showed the influence of the new science, though both, characteristically, applied their thinking to the great political issues of their day and nation Hobbes (1588–1679) is best known for his treatise on the supreme powers of rulers over the state, *Leviathan* He was more dogmatic than Descartes, and more purely materialistic, regarding mankind as moved almost entirely by self-interest His successor, Locke (1632–1704), set out to discover the origin of ideas in the human mind, finding their source in experience rather than in reasoning In the realm of political thought, although

he believed like Hobbes that society had been established by a 'social contract,' he deduced therefrom not absolute monarchy, but a justification for the English revolution of 1688 Philosophy, especially metaphysics, developed meanwhile along its various channels, until there appeared the great figure of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) who in his quiet isolation at Konigsberg worked through once more the ultimate problems of human knowledge

The Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century. In applying philosophy and science to politics, Hobbes and Locke in England were the forerunners of a movement which reached its height in France in the eighteenth century, and to which the name of the Enlightenment has been given The movement was made possible by the spread of education and culture amongst the growing middle class. the new ideas did not as yet touch the masses of the people. The scientists having made the natural world rational and subject to all-embracing laws, why should not society be equally rational, equally governed by natural laws? Where religious beliefs, the organization of government or the laws, education, or economic conditions, did not conform to the dictates of reason they must be altered So the men of the Enlightenment argued, and from these beliefs there emerged proposals for change and reform which were to play no small part in bringing on the French Revolution For these men believed profoundly in progress And they were unhampered by strong national feeling, the Enlightenment was cosmopolitan in its views, as universal as science itself, though it was naturally in France, the leader of European culture, that men first drew such conclusions

Voltaire (1694–1778). The great apostle of the Enlightenment was François Arouet, the son of a Parisian attorney, whom we know by his pen-name of Voltaire He was leader of the French *philosophes*, who were not precisely philosophers, but who philosophized about everything in the light of reason Voltaire was a most versatile genius, with a most brilliant and facile pen, and in a long life wrote plays, poems, romances, histories, and pamphlets, as well as letters by the thousand As a young man his caustic wit brought him a beating and imprisonment in the Bastille, whence he crossed to England and discovered both Newtonian science and an enviable political and social liberty. Later he spent some time at Potsdam with Frederick the Great, but fell out with him, and returned to establish himself at Ferney on the Franco-Swiss border, in which asylum he acted as the apostle of the new ideas to France and Europe Voltaire was not a noble character, and he shared the limitations of his age, its over-optimism and cock-sureness, its lack of historical perspective, and its excessive belief in reason But he attacked abuses where he saw them, he sought to emancipate men's

minds, and he contributed to the progress of freer and juster views of men's relations to each other. He was not a revolutionary, being ready to accept a strong monarchy provided it was truly enlightened, yet it was fitting enough that when the Revolution came his ashes should be placed in the Pantheon as one who 'prepared Frenchmen to be free'

Deism: The Encyclopaedia

Voltaire, like others of the *philosophes*, was a Deist, believing in God, but rejecting as contrary to reason such irrational things as miracles 'Worship God and be a good man,' was his summary of religion The Church in France he regarded as the head and centre of opposition to enlightenment, and he lost no opportunity of attacking its intolerance and abuses, fighting a famous case on behalf of a persecuted Protestant An exiled Frenchman, Bayle, had helped to spread both Deism and the Enlightenment generally by his famous *Dictionary* (1697). Even more famous was the great *Encyclopaedia*, the first volume of which appeared in 1751 This was a co-operative work, designed to provide a complete survey of human knowledge. Its editor, Diderot, was one of the ablest of the *philosophes*, and he was aided by most of the leaders of the new thought, including d'Alembert on the scientific side To escape the censorship, its articles on religious matters were quite orthodox, but by its general tone, and by its greater attention to secular subjects, it showed plainly enough the tendencies of the age While its appeal was limited to the educated, it acted as a powerful agent in provoking discussion of existing conditions.



VOLTAIRE WALKING WITH FREDERICK IN THE GROUNDS OF THE PALACE AT POTSDAM

Political and Social Reformers. The outstanding figure amongst those concerned more specifically with the reform of government and law was that of the Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), who in 1748 published a

physician to Louis XV, was the leader of the Physiocrats, and Turgot, the minister of Louis XVI, the main exponent of their views. Partly indebted to them for his ideas, though taking a broader survey of the subject, so much so that he may be termed the founder of modern Political Economy, was the Scottish professor Adam Smith, whose *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* appeared in 1776, and was in due course to exercise a profound influence on English economic policy.

Rousseau (1712–78). There was one man to whom the reasoned enlightenment of the age was dry and unsatisfying. Jean Jacques Rousseau, the son of a Genevan watchmaker, began his adult career as a teacher of music, and ended it as a poverty-stricken copyist of musical scores. In between lay years of restless and distracted activity, in which Rousseau wore out his health and the patience of his friends in a fruitless endeavour to solve his own problems and those of the world as he saw them. He wrote essays, novels, plays, and an autobiography, his most important works being *The Social Contract*, and *Émile*, a tractate on education, both appearing in 1762. Reacting from the optimism of the men of reason, Rousseau poured scorn on their so-called progress, and found the ideal for mankind in the return to nature, with its supposed freedom and equality. On this basis he built up, on paper, a new society in which all men were to be equal, the people were to be sovereign, and property was to be more evenly divided. Rousseau made up for the evident lack of reality in his scheme by the passionate sincerity and vigour of his writing. His appeal was far wider, more human, and more romantic than that of the *philosophes*. He was a lover of nature, he was sentimental, he appealed to women, and to the common mass of men. With Rousseau, indeed, we pass beyond the relative calm of the Enlightenment into the stormier waters of Revolution, whether of the political and social upheaval which opened in France in 1789, or of the revolution in literature and art which we call the Romantic Movement.

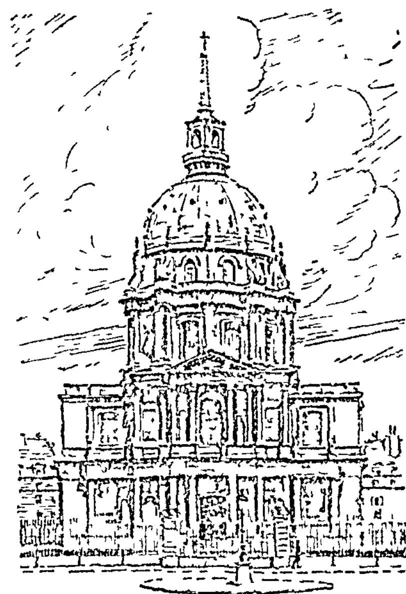
The Appearance of the Newspaper. The *philosophes* were men of letters, some of them the ablest writers of their day, and their influence was a tribute to the growing influence of the pen. Together with the growth of national literature from Milton to Johnson, Molière to Voltaire, came the appearance of periodicals of all kinds, and, no less important, of the newspaper. This naturally developed first in the countries in which discussion of public affairs was most active, in Holland and above all England. There it owed its origin in the reign of Charles I both to the growing interest in continental affairs during the Thirty Years' War, which brought pamphlets and 'corantos' of foreign news, and also to

the rise of party strife which, especially after 1640, brought a crop of 'diurnals' or newsbooks of domestic interest Despite government censorship the number of such papers increased steadily both during Cromwell's day and after the Restoration An official *London Gazette*, begun in 1665, by no means satisfied the growing demand for news, and after the revolution of 1689, which ended the Licensing Act, Anne's day saw the appearance both of weekly papers such as Defoe's *Review*, Steele and Addison's *Spectator*, and Swift's *Examiner*, as well as the first London daily paper, the *Daily Courant* (1703). The imposition of a tax on newspapers in 1712 failed to check the rising flood as party interests grew, and the irrepressible John Wilkes became a national hero in the cause of the freedom of this new agency in the early years of George III The *Morning Post* and the London *Times* of to-day both appeared before the century was out. Thus the press established itself as a 'fourth estate,' to play an increasing part in the expression and formation of public opinion from that day to this, becoming an integral part of modern civilization

The Novel. Another form of literature characteristic of the modern age also appeared during the eighteenth century For the origins of the novel we must go back to Boccaccio, to the French romances of chivalry, to Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, and to a number of seventeenth-century French writers Defoe's story of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) brings us nearer the modern novel, which, however, really appeared with Richardson's *Pamela* in 1740, and with Marivaux's *Marianne* in France Richardson developed the moral and sentimental novel, whilst Fielding and Smollett were more concerned, partly by reaction, to depict society as they saw it in their day By the time Goldsmith had written his *Vicar of Wakefield* (1761) the English novel had become an established form of literature, to be developed in the next generation, by Jane Austen and Sir Walter Scott, into the accepted forms of nineteenth-century fiction

Architecture: Baroque and Rococo. The Reformation had scarcely encouraged either art or architecture, but the Counter-Reformation exerted a direct effect on church architecture in Italy, through the Jesuits The versatile Bernini, whose greatest work was accomplished for St. Peter's, was their architect and sculptor In their churches, as for example in the great Jesuit church in Rome, appeared many of the characteristic features of what has come to be called Baroque, meaning originally irregular, bizarre The basis was Classical and Renaissance, but this was overlaid with elaborate decoration, with the use of painted stucco ceilings, with ornament and gilt from altar to baptismal font, the whole giving an impression of colour, pomp, and splendour, rather than of the perfect proportions sought by Renaissance architects.

Parallel tendencies were seen in secular architecture great and small, e g in the elaborate staircases which now appeared in palaces, in the construction of fountains and formal gardens, in the turning of city gates into triumphal arches This grandiose style suited the age of monarchical greatness, and fittingly reached its height in France in the age of Louis XIV The Louvre was enlarged, the Invalides erected, and above all the great palace of Versailles, capable of housing ten thousand persons, with its enormous front, courtyards, gallery of mirrors, great formal gardens and fountains, arose to reflect the glory of the Sun King Germany and Austria also had their Baroque buildings, as Munich and Vienna show, but England maintained more of the stricter Renaissance spirit in the work of Wren, or followed her own traditions in domestic architecture.



LES INVALIDES, PARIS

Rococo. There is no hard and fast line between Baroque and Rococo, which latter word signified in the first place the rock decoration of a grotto, but came to be applied to the architecture and decoration of the eighteenth century, above all those of France in the days of the Regency and Louis XV, the spirit of which it fittingly represented It sought less the splendour and magnificence of great palaces than the more intimate charm of smaller buildings such as the Petit Trianon at Versailles, or Sans-Souci at Potsdam It took delight in gay interior decoration, in silks and perfumes, in the art and lacquer of China, in the porcelain now for the first time being manufactured in Europe, at Meissen in Saxony and at Sèvres It had its painter in Watteau.

Painting: The Flemish School. But before French painting entered upon a new era with Watteau, the Netherlands had enjoyed their great age of painting in the seventeenth century. The art of Italy was in decline, and although Spain had her painters, as Velazquez, the leadership in painting in Europe was taken by the Netherlands There the separation of Holland from the southern Netherlands was reflected in the rise of two separate schools of painting, the Flemish school centring in Rubens, and the Dutch school, of which Rembrandt was the outstanding figure In both cases the development was in direct continuation of earlier Netherland painting Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) was an

extraordinary figure, courier, traveller, and diplomat, as well as painter, learning much from the Venetian colourists and from Michelangelo, but adding to this his own Flemish genius The result was seen in the vast array of canvases bearing his name, from portraiture and landscape to the enormous religious, historical, and mythological pictures characteristic of him, with their amazing skill in design, vitality, creative power, and superb colouring, together with the exuberance and almost animal coarseness which sometimes repel us Of his many followers and pupils Van Dyck was the greatest, very different from his master, a portrait painter who did much of his best work in England, painting with the finished perfection seen in the portraits of Charles I



Antwerp Cathedral, Van Overloop

THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS
(*Rubens*)

The Dutch School. Meanwhile in Holland, with no royal court, and no Counter-Reformation, painting was going its separate way Franz Hals (1584–1666) was above all the painter of the civic defenders of Dutch independence, full of life and jollity, a jollity in which Hals himself shared His greater successor, Rembrandt (1606–69), had a less fortunate life, its close filled with sadness and loneliness. As with Rubens, it is impossible in a few sentences to do anything like justice to the greatness of Rembrandt, who was not merely one of the greatest of painters, but an unsurpassed etcher He represented the Protestant spirit of Holland as Rubens did the Catholic Revival, yet as painter he expressed above all his own genius, with his 'luminous darkness,' his rich golden-brown colouring, his combination of detail and depth, in portraiture, Biblical subjects, and landscape. The genius of Dutch painting was

far from exhausted when Rembrandt died Indeed there was an amazing succession of 'Little Masters' in Holland during the second half of the seventeenth century. Some of these, for example Ruisdael and Hobbema, used the flat countryside of Holland to develop the first great school of landscape painters, whilst others, such as Vermeer of Delft and de



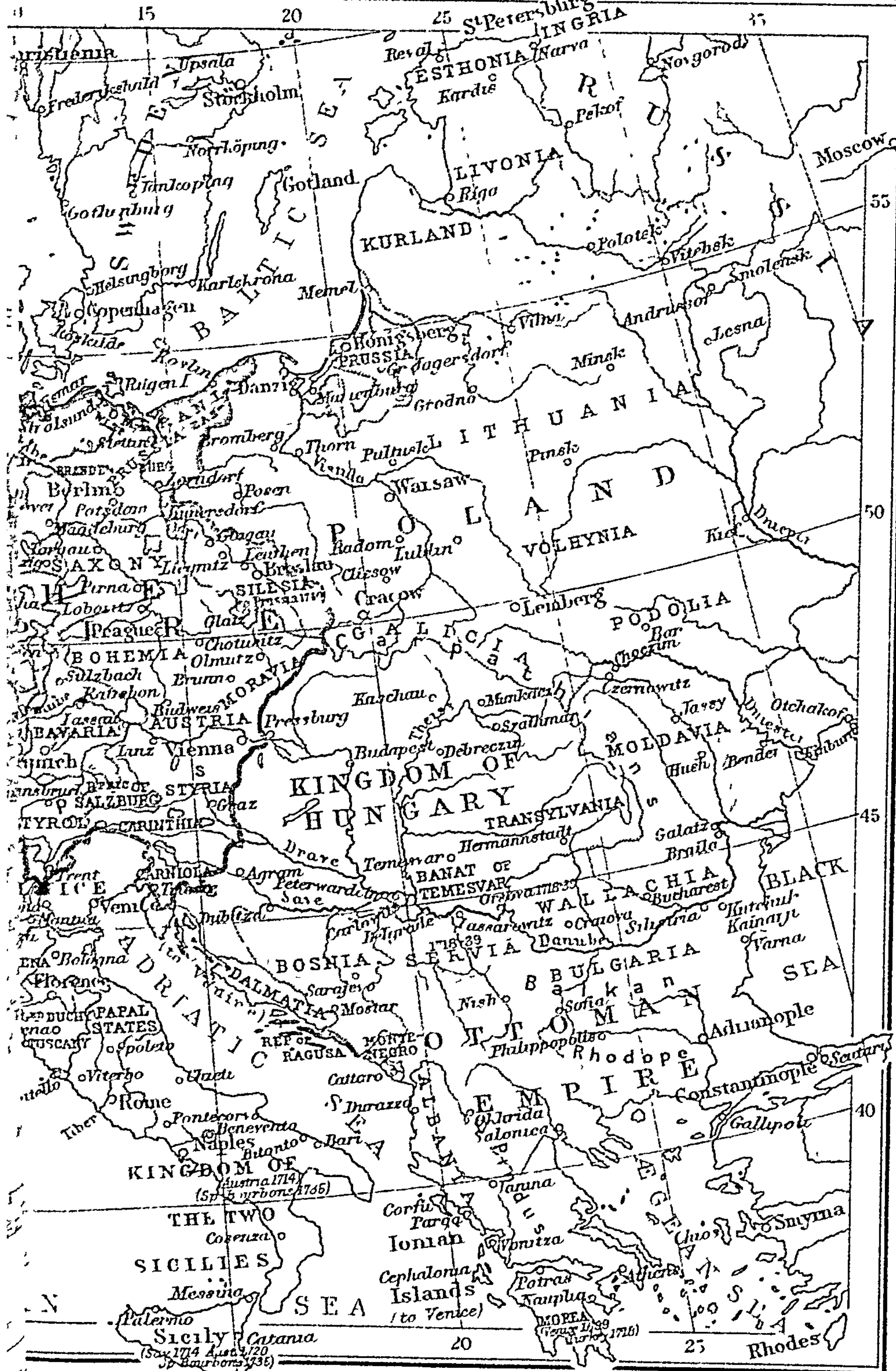
Zettels and Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

THE SYNDICS
(*Rembrandt*)

Hooch, became the incomparable painters of sunlight and Dutch domestic life Yet as the greatness of the Dutch Republic declined, so did Dutch art suffer a like decay

France and England. The absolutism of Louis XIV could not create genius in painting, and France's two leading painters of the seventeenth century, Poussin and Claude Lorraine, made their contribution to landscape painting mainly in Italy Not until the frigidity of the later years of Louis XIV had passed into the freer, brighter air of the Regency and Louis XV did France begin to display that excellence in painting which was henceforth to be increasingly characteristic of her Watteau (1684–1721), no aristocrat but the son of a poor carpenter, led the way, showing a delicate certainty of touch in depicting the courtly elegance and gaiety of the France of the ancien régime, a role in which he was followed by Boucher and Fragonard But the new ideas which were to overthrow that care-free and irresponsible regime were also finding


EUROPE
IN 1740
English Miles
Boundary of the Empire
Dominions of the House of Bourbon
Austrian Dominions
Brandenburg Prussia
Church Lands
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
NORTH
SEA
SCOTLAND
Aberdeen
Perth
Edinburgh
Newcastle
IRELAND
Dublin
Limerick
Cork
Wexford
WALES
Derby
Hull
York
London
Bristol
Plymouth
Taunton
Portsmouth
Amsterdam
The Hague
Stavanger
Rouen
Paris
Orleans
Tours
Brest
Rennes
Quiberon
Belle Isle
Channel Is.
Rochefort
Bordeaux
FRANCE
Lyons
Dijon
Besançon
Nevers
Limoges
Toulouse
Nimes
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulon
Perpignan
Bayonne
SAVOY
Nice
Genoa
Gerona
CATALONIA
Lerida
Barcelona
Tortosa
SPAIN
Madrid
Toledo
Aranjuez
Valencia
Almanza
Murcia
Cartagena
Granada
Seville
Cadiz
Guadalquivir
Badajoz
Guadiana
Tagus
Alcantara
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Pombal
Oporto
Braganza
Valladolid
Burgos
Leon
Santiago
Pamplona
Ebro
Saragossa
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Port Mahon
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KINGDOM
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MEDITERRAN
Lagos
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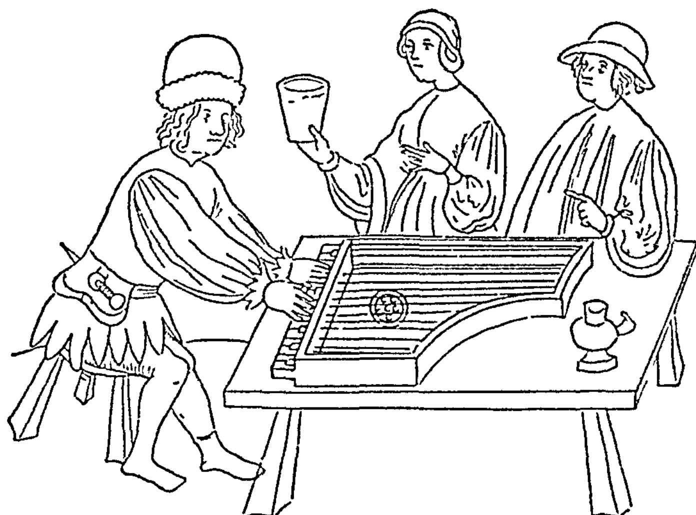
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Radom
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VOLHYNIA
Pirna
SILESIA
Cracow
Lemberg
PODOLIA
Prague
Glatz
GALICIA
Bar
BOHEMIA
Chotusitz
Olmutz
Brunn
MORAVIA
Czernowitz
Sulzbach
Kaschau
Munkacs
Jassy
Otchakof
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
Pressburg
MOLDAVIA
Linz
Vienna
Budapest
Debreczin
Bender
SALZBURG
STYRIA
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
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TYROL
CARINTHIA
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Braila
Trent
CARNIOLA
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BANAT OF TEMESVAR
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WALLACHIA
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Mantua
Carlowitz
Belgrade
Passarowitz
Craiova
Danube
Silistria
Kutchuk Kainarji
Varna
Bologna
ADRIATIC
SERVIA
BULGARIA
Florence
BOSNIA
DALMATIA
Sarajevo
Balkan
Mostar
Nish
Sofia
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
PAPAL STATES
TUSCANY
REP. OF RAGUSA
MONTENEGRO
Adrianople
Philippopolis
Rhodope
Spoleto
Scutari
Viterbo
Cattaro
Constantinople
Rome
Durazzo
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Tiber
Ochrida
Salonica
Gallipoli
Benevento
Naples
Bari
KINGDOM OF
Janina
THE TWO SICILIES
Corfu
Parga
Smyrna
Cosenza
Ionian Islands
(to Venice)
Chios
Cephalonia
Patras
Nauplia
Athens
Messina
SEA
Palermo
MOREA
Sicily
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representation in art Chardin painted not the life of the court but simpler scenes from the life of the common people of France, whilst Greuze, humbly born like Watteau and Chardin, expressed in his pictures of girlhood the sentimentality of the age of Rousseau In England, earlier dependent on inspiration from the Netherlands, the eighteenth century saw the development of more native talent Hogarth (1697–1764) in his inimitable way depicted the life of the day, high and low, as realist, satirist, and moralist. English landscape painting was begun by Wilson, and the aristocratic rule of the period found representation in the work of the portrait painters of the second half of the century, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney, and Raeburn The founding of the British Royal Academy and the establishment of the Paris Salon in the same century showed the place painting had begun to take in these two countries

The Evolution of Modern Music. Together with the development of modern science, philosophy, and painting, came the appearance of modern music, going its own way as did the other arts, but like them plainly reflecting the wide and deep changes in European civilization Thus the Renaissance brought more interest in music, and not least the growth of more secular music Already, outside the Church where Gregorian plain-chant reigned, the troubadours and the minnesingers had set their words to music, and now the madrigal, developed in the Netherlands, became in sixteenth-century Italy and England the expression of the new spirit of the time The Reformation in Germany saw the appearance of Luther's hymns, a powerful agent in the spread of his views, and the Counter-Reformation found fitting expression in Palestrina's settings for the Mass The development of harmony and of instrumental music in the seventeenth century was connected with the growth of science and invention in this period, as the appearance of opera and oratorio was related to the development of the Baroque style in architecture and art generally. Indeed, music has been called the art of the Baroque period *par excellence* Finally, no picture of the Enlightenment would be complete without some reference to the succession of great musicians, from Bach to Mozart and Beethoven, who have caused the century to be called the Century of Music

The Growth of Harmony and Instrumental Music. In medieval times musical instruments were intended and used to accompany the human voice. But with the growth of scientific knowledge in and after the sixteenth century, the laws of musical harmony were gradually discovered, changing the forms of music, and leading to a great development and improvement of musical instruments The earlier stringed rebec and viol of the sixteenth century were developed by Amati and his gifted pupil Stradivari (1644–1737) of Cremona into the

violin, practically unchanged since their day The late medieval clavichord was enlarged and improved into the spinet or harpsichord, from which Cristoforo, likewise an Italian, developed the instrument of strong and weak tones, i e the pianoforte The organ, going back in origin far into the ancient world, and improved during the Middle Ages, was further enlarged and developed, to become the instrument of the great Bach. Similarly the wind instruments of the orchestra took on



A PRIMITIVE SPINET OF ABOUT 1400
(*From the Weimar 'Wunderbuch'*)

more modern forms Chamber and orchestral music for these modern instruments began to be composed and played, the sonata, the instrumental form of music, appeared as a rival of the cantata or vocal form, to be gradually built up until it reached its perfection in the compositions of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven

Oratorio and Opera. Meanwhile combinations of vocal and instrumental music had appeared in Italy, both the Biblical story or oratorio (so called because first performed in the Oratory church in Rome), and the secular drama set to music, the opera In opera the Baroque found ample scope for expression, from the first master of this new form, Monteverdi of Venice (1568–1643), to Scarlatti of Naples (1659–1725), who wrote over a hundred operas for the opera houses which had sprung up all over Italy From Italy the new art spread to France, where Lully composed operas for the court of Louis XIV, to Germany, and to England. The German, Gluck, rescued opera from the decline which threatened it early in the eighteenth century, and gave it a more classical simplicity, combined with greater lyrical beauty and art

The German Composers of the Eighteenth Century. Although Gluck

received his warmest support in Paris, already Germany and Austria had begun to show the pre-eminence in music which was to be so marked throughout the eighteenth century At first, in Bach and Handel, both of Saxon ancestry, northern Germany led the way. J. S Bach (1685–1750), Protestant organist and choir-master, living a quiet life but musically active, was the author of an immense number of musical compositions, mainly for church use The full significance of his work was only to be appreciated long after his day Better known at the time was his contemporary Handel, who travelled all over Europe before he settled in England. He was less an instrumental composer than Bach, and wrote oratorios as well as operas

With Haydn and Mozart German music found a new centre in Vienna Haydn (1732–1809), in his long and increasingly fortunate career, did more than any composer to crystallize instrumental form in his string quartets and symphonies, though his great oratorio, the *Creation*, showed his interest in other forms of music Mozart (1756–91), his younger contemporary, lived less than half as long, but long enough to produce an amazing amount of music, all marked by the genius which made him the greatest of musical composers in his day, whether in opera, symphony, chamber or religious music In Mozart, music had come fully into the Enlightenment of the century When he died the new age of Revolution had already opened in France, and was shortly to spread to Germany as well Beethoven (1770–1827) was to live through this age, and to link up the classical music of the eighteenth century, which he crowned, with that of the later romantic age Both the pianoforte and the instrumental form of the sonata had just reached the stage of development requisite for the work of this great master, who, despite his growing deafness, poured out from Vienna a stream of symphonies, sonatas for the piano, string quartets, expressive of the whole range of human emotion, and unequalled in depth and force

For Further Reading

R Aldington, *Voltaire*
P Bekker, *The Story of Music*
G Bruun, *The Age of the Enlightened Despots*
I B Hart, *Makers of Science*
H Macpherson, *Makers of Astronomy*
L de Rochemont, *The Evolution of Art*
P Smith, *A History of Modern Culture*
G L Strachey, *Landmarks of French Literature*

tion, leading to the intervention of the state, the organization of labour in trade unions, and the appearance and development of modern socialism (Chapter IV)

CHAPTER I

THE REVOLUTIONS IN NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA, 1776–1826

I. The North American Revolution

The British Colonies about 1700 We have seen how during the seventeenth century British colonies had been established along the Atlantic seaboard of North America, and had begun to reach back towards the Appalachian range There was great variety in colonial life and development The southern colonies, with their staple crops of tobacco, rice, and indigo, developed a more rural society, with large estates, a landed class of gentry, and increasing numbers of slaves to work the plantations The middle colonies were more mixed in character as well as in origin, with growing cities like New York and Philadelphia, and more intensive farming, as well as large estates The northern Puritan colonies, colder and lacking in fertile land, developed town life, and turned to lumbering, shipbuilding, and trade The colonies were quite separate from each other, though organized in much the same way, with royal governors, councils, and elected assemblies They were now administered by the Board of Trade set up in 1696, although with the victory of Parliament in 1688 in England that body acquired more control over colonial affairs Colonial trade, which was the predominant interest in England, was regulated by the Navigation and other Acts of Parliament after the prevailing views of the Mercantile System By this system the colonies sent their raw products to England in English or colonial ships, where a tariff gave them a virtual monopoly England supplied the colonies with manufactured articles, and protected them in the frequent wars of the period. Both sides suffered certain restraints under the system, but on the whole both benefited from it for the time.

Colonial Development to 1763. The fifty years and more which closed with the Seven Years' War saw the steady and continuous growth of the North American colonies, despite the wars Population increased and by 1760 had reached 1,650,000 Much of this increase was caused by German and Scotch-Irish immigration, which added to the non-English elements there The growth of population caused the colonists to push westwards where land was cheaper, and life freer, a movement which

encouraged the qualities of resourcefulness, self-reliance, and self-sufficiency With increased population came increase of trade and wealth The scale of colonial life, especially in growing coastal cities like Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, grew larger and more ambitious, with a general increase of comfort, education, and culture, though the differences between rich and poor likewise became more marked The landed interests of the south and centre, and the trading interests of New England, felt themselves to be stronger and less dependent on the mother country. A more independent spirit became manifest in the attitude of the colonial assemblies to the royal governors, and there was growing objection to the control of trade by the agents of the Crown, or by a Parliament in which the colonies had no direct representation The New England merchants wished to trade directly with the West Indies and with foreign countries, and did so despite the laws, even trading with France when Britain, and hence they themselves, were at war with that country. The fact was that the colonies, very remote from England in those days of slow sailing ships, were developing a life and interests of their own, apart from those of the mother country Yet they flourished under the rule of Walpole and the Whigs, and there was no demand, as yet, for separation

Under that same rule Britain, now united with Scotland, was slowly becoming more conscious of the Empire, not merely as a source for raw materials, but also as a market for English manufactures. After the revolution of 1688 she was plunged into that long struggle with France which we have described elsewhere The pressure of these long wars, the problems of defence for colonies and trade, the cost of maintaining armies and ships all over the world, all called for more attention to the problem of governing and regulating her overseas possessions Yet until the close of the Seven Years' War colonial affairs, now under the direction of one of the two Secretaries of State responsible for foreign affairs, were dealt with in rather haphazard fashion. For long they came under the Walpolian policy of letting sleeping dogs lie.

Colonial Problems after 1763. With the removal of the French menace in North America, and the gain of Canada, Florida, and the vast area between the colonies and the Mississippi, colonial problems took on a new importance There was the problem of the defence of this greatly enlarged empire, and related thereto the question as to what share the colonies were to take in that defence There was the serious financial problem created by the fact that the British debt had nearly doubled, and the annual cost of administration in America had risen to unheard-of heights There was the problem of assimilating into the empire large numbers of Catholic French Canadians. Finally there was the compli-

cated problem of the recently acquired west How was it to be defended, how was its fur trade to be regulated, what was to be done about the Indians, now in rebellion under Pontiac, how were the rival claims of the colonies there to be adjusted? The whole colonial situation was further complicated by the fact that the English throne was now occupied by a young and untried ruler, George III, who knew very little of these colonial problems, but had very definite ideas as to his own elevated position, and had no intention of being run by the Whigs, or of making concessions to colonial pretensions



GEORGE III

The Coming of the Revolution. The series of events leading up to the Declaration of American Independence need not be retailed at length They open with the Proclamation of 1763 which, to aid peace with the Indians, for the time forbade settlement west of the Alleghanies Since expansion westwards was part of the very essence of colonial life the prohibition naturally aroused opposition in America, and the later Quebec Act (1774) extending the boundaries of Quebec to the Ohio country likewise caused resentment for the same reason Taxation provided an even sharper issue Although the British Parliament had legislated for and imposed indirect taxes on the colonies without opposition, Grenville's effort to induce the colonies to contribute to their own defence by the direct tax of the Stamp Act (1765) roused a great storm The old cry of no taxation without representation was heard, and men like Patrick Henry in Virginia and Samuel Adams in Massachusetts, aided by societies of 'Sons of Liberty,' thundered against tyranny and oppression The hated tax was repealed, and similarly another attempt by Townshend to tax the colonists was abandoned, save for a single import duty, that on tea The attempt, after a few quieter years, to force tea from the East India Company on the colonists brought as reply the famous Tea Party (1773) when men of Boston threw overboard a cargo of the hated commodity. There followed the retaliatory measures closing the port of Boston, the surge of popular feeling towards revolution, and the first overt act of armed rebellion at Lexington in April 1775 The American revolution had begun

The main responsibility for British policy in these years must be placed upon the king himself, who had now found in Lord North a

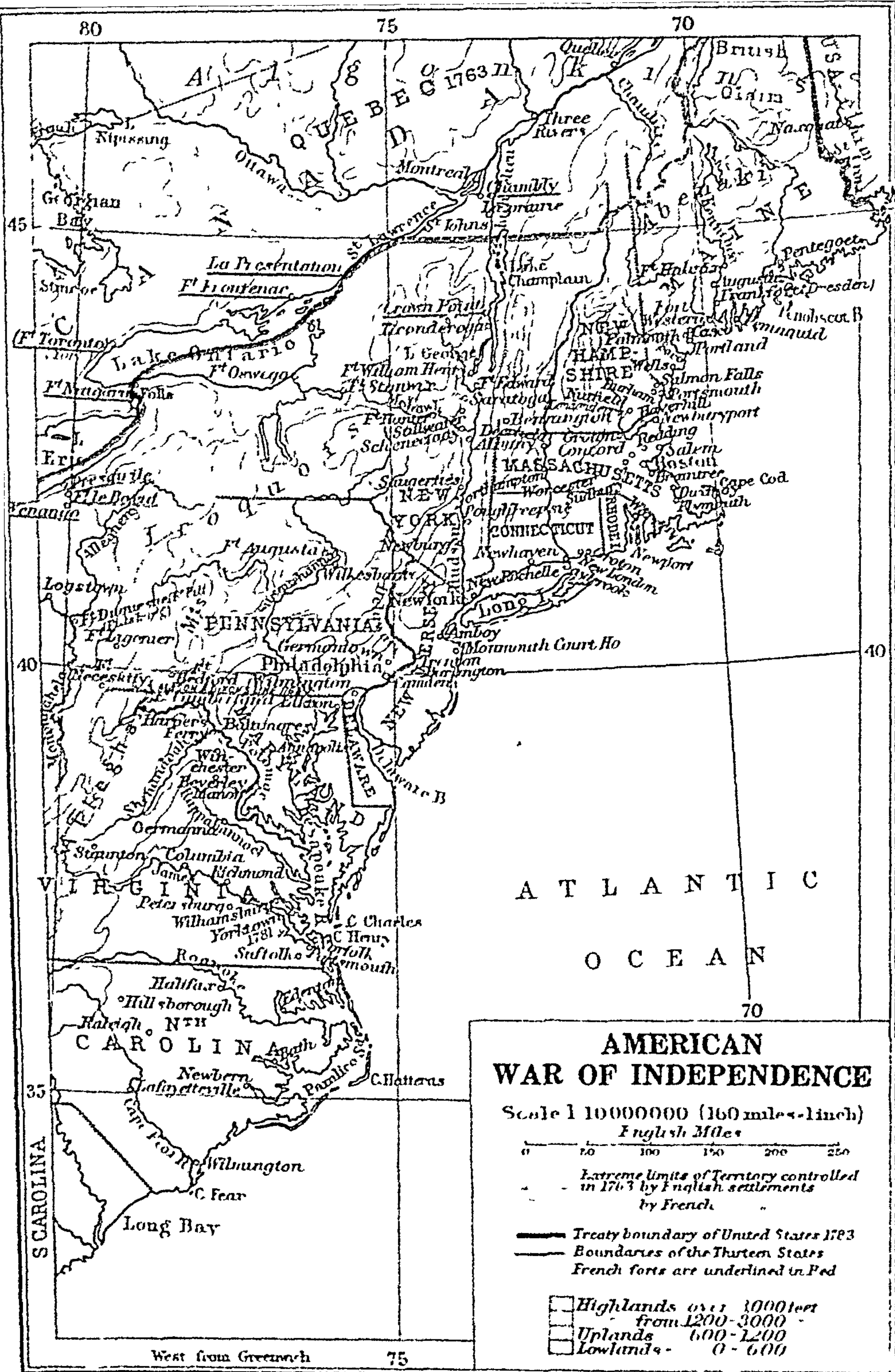
minister amenable to himself, and was determined to punish the resistance of his disloyal subjects Against the blunders of his various ministers from Grenville to Lord North must be set the growing spirit of independence in the colonies, encouraged by the support of Whigs like Pitt and Burke in England Yet while the colonists were increasingly conscious of the divergence of their interests from those of the mother country, opinion in America was greatly divided The majority of the



THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
(J Trumbull)

more prosperous were still attached to the British connection when the revolution broke out The separatists were partly composed of discontented agrarian and labour elements hoping to gain economically from the severance, though the leaders were in general drawn from the middle class The separation may have been inevitable, but it was a tragedy that it came through a war which lasted almost as long as the Seven Years' War itself

The American Revolutionary War (1776–83). It was the divisions on both sides which so prolonged the war A great many of the colonists, the Loyalists, fought on the British side and later paid for their opinions and action by confiscation of property and by exile There was, too, the inevitable colonial lack of unity, and the 'want of public spirit,' of



AMERICAN
WAR OF INDEPENDENCE
Scale 1 10000000 (160 miles=1inch)
English Miles
0 50 100 150 200 250
Extreme limits of Territory controlled in 1763 by English settlements
by French
Treaty boundary of United States 1783
Boundaries of the Thirteen States
French forts are underlined in Red
Highlands over 3000 feet
from 1200-3000
Uplands 600-1200
Lowlands 0-600
West from Greenwich
80
75
70
45
40
35
QUEBEC 1763
Three Rivers
Montreal
St Johns
Chambly
Lake Champlain
Lake Ontario
Ft Toronto
Ft Niagara
Ft Oswego
Ft Frontenac
La Presentation
Crown Point
Ticonderoga
L George
Ft William Henry
Ft Stanwix
Ft Edward
Saratoga
Bennington
Schenectady
Albany
NEW YORK
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
CONNECTICUT
RHODE I
Portland
Salmon Falls
Portsmouth
Haverhill
Newburyport
Concord
Salem
Boston
Cape Cod
Plymouth
Worcester
Newhaven
New London
Newport
New Rochelle
Long I
New York
Amboy
Monmouth Court Ho
Trenton
Philadelphia
Wilmington
PENNSYLVANIA
Ft Augusta
Wilkesbarre
Logstown
Ft Ligonier
Harper's Ferry
Baltimore
Annapolis
Winchester
DELAWARE
Delaware B
Staunton
Columbia
Richmond
VIRGINIA
Petersburg
Williamsburg
Yorktown 1781
C Charles
C Henry
Norfolk
Suffolk
Portsmouth
Halifax
Hillsborough
Raleigh
NTH CAROLINA
Bath
Newbern
Pamlico Sd
C Hatteras
Wilmington
C Fear
Long Bay
S CAROLINA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Georgian Bay
L Nipissing
L Erie
Presquile
Ottawa
St Lawrence
Pentegoet
Augusta
Dresden
Falmouth

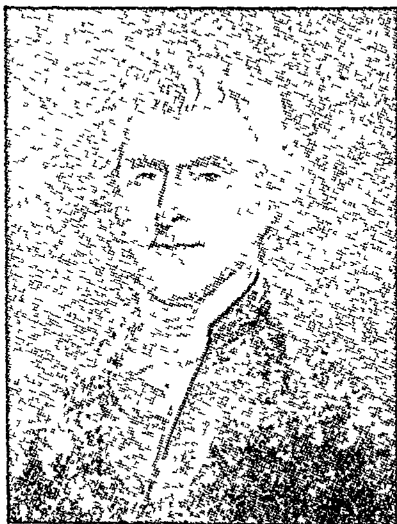
which Washington bitterly complained. On the British side the Whig opposition in Parliament, led by Burke and Fox, openly proclaimed its sympathy with the rebels. Tom Paine in his pamphlet *Common Sense* urged the colonists to throw off the yoke of 'the Royal Brute of Great Britain.' There was also a lack of unity in command in America, and much bungling in the British conduct of the war. The Americans failed to conquer Canada, but captured Burgoyne at Saratoga instead. The British held New York throughout, and Philadelphia for a time, but were forced to capitulate at Yorktown (1781) in the decisive defeat of the war. This was brought about, however, by the French alliance with the colonists, and by French sea power. Yet the outstanding leader in the war, to whom with France was due the American victory, was Washington, a country squire of Virginia, who showed himself an excellent soldier, and was above all a resolute and steadfast leader of men. By the Peace of Versailles which closed the conflict in 1783 Britain recognized the independence of the American colonies, and their ownership of the hinterland between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. The settlement of the north-eastern and north-western boundaries of the new state was more difficult, and provided matter for long dispute. The new republic refused to compensate the Loyalists for their losses, this remained for the British government to do. The restoration of Florida to Spain made that power the neighbour of the new state on the south, as she was on the west across the Mississippi.

The Task of Organizing the United States. The former American colonies had won their independence; now they had to organize themselves as a state. The war had of necessity brought far more co-operation than before, and two 'Continental Congresses' in succession had gathered at Philadelphia. The second of these had organized the American forces and generally acted as a national government. It was this Congress which in 1776 passed the famous Declaration of Independence drawn up by Jefferson, with its sweeping indictment of George III, and its magniloquent definition of the principles for which the colonists stood.

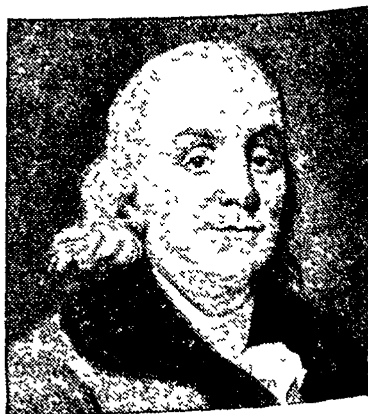
> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

But although the Congress had provided for a union, to be called the United States of America, it lacked effective powers of government, as events immediately following the war clearly showed. The states of the union had already adopted new written constitutions, acknowledging popular sovereignty but reserving control to the propertied classes; the new nation must likewise build itself a 'new roof,' indeed a new house,

if the fruits of victory were to be safely garnered It was to this end that a national convention met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, under the presidency of Washington


THOMAS JEFFERSON

The Federal Constitution. The Federal Convention contained most of the ablest leaders of the nation, but since radicals like Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry were not members, the more conservative elements of the revolution predominated There were the sage and experienced Franklin, Madison, the future President, and the youthful and brilliant Alexander Hamilton. The chief and central problem was to create an effective form of government for all the states together and yet to preserve the rights of the individual states This implied the making of a new form of government, a federal one as opposed to the unitary systems so far in use, and the fears and jealousies of the states made the task exceedingly difficult The Convention, however, succeeded in setting up the frame of a federal government, and in giving to it certain specified powers, all other functions of government were to remain with the separate states The new federal authority was thus given power over foreign relations, war and peace, the army and navy, the administration of western territories and Indian affairs, fairly wide powers of taxation, the regulation of inter-state and foreign trade, coinage, posts, etc This was a good deal, but not too much Indeed, as time has passed, although the separate states have retained their theoretical sovereignty, the scope and powers of the federal authority have been steadily broadened, not least in our own day


BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

The organization of the federal government was based very largely on that of the separate states, and so, like them, was British in origin In some particulars, however, it departed from the British model Thus it separated the executive, legislative, and judicial powers. It rested upon a written constitu-

tion, which could only be changed by the consent of three-quarters of the states. At the head of the executive was to be a President, elected by special state electoral colleges for a term of four years Neither he nor the members of his cabinet were to be members of the legislature, with which he communicated by Messages, and he could not dissolve that body. Thus the executive was not 'responsible' to the legislature, as in the British system, and could not be overthrown by its vote Later developments were to take the election of the President out of the hands of the electoral colleges and give it more directly to the people through the political parties The federal legislature was made up of two houses, a Senate composed of two members from each state, which came to be one of the most powerful second chambers in the world, and a House of Representatives elected on the basis of population Finally a federal judiciary, with a Supreme Court, was likewise established, and came to exercise a decisive influence, by its power to interpret the constitution



GEORGE WASHINGTON

The ratification of this constitution was only accomplished with difficulty, and the issues then raised, above all that between the Federalists led by Hamilton, the champions of a powerful central authority, and the Anti-federalists or champions of state rights, led by Jefferson, inaugurated the division of political parties in the new state But with the ratification, the United States, under Washington as first President, could set about the business of establishing its government and taking its place among the nations of the world

The Significance of the American Revolution. The American revolution did more than create a new state, important as that achievement was to be in the history of the world It was no small matter to set up a democratic republic in a world of monarchies far from democratic, and the effects were seen at once. In the very year in which the new constitution came into existence, another revolution was to open in France, to some extent influenced by the events which the French had helped to bring about in America. In Britain the defeat brought the end of George III's attempt to restore the power of the Crown, and under the younger Pitt, Parliament continued its evolution towards responsible government, though the French revolutionary wars long delayed the needed reform of Parliament. In Ireland the efforts of the American colonists aroused

a demand for legislative independence, and the glowing passion of Grattan secured that right in 1782, the prelude, Grattan hoped, to the establishment of an Irish nation So far as Britain overseas was concerned, the revolution dealt a mortal blow to the old empire by cutting off its chief overseas settlement, and it showed the weakness of the Mercantile System on which that first empire had been built In due course a new empire was to arise, and a way was to be found of reconciling just claims for freedom on the part of overseas colonies (or Dominions) with adhesion to a common Crown. On Canada the revolution had immediate effects of the greatest importance, for the Loyalist exiles created both a new province in the east, New Brunswick, and also the province of Ontario up the St Lawrence The effects were not confined to the British settlements, or to the northern continent of America. Within a generation after the formation of the United States, the colonies of Spain in the new world were likewise in revolt, creating in South America a series of independent republics akin to the new erection in North America To that process we must now turn

II. The Revolutions in Hispanic America

The Spanish and Portuguese Colonies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. It is remarkable that the year which saw the British Empire shorn of its largest overseas provinces saw the expansion of the empire of Spain in America to its largest extent. For Spain had been given Louisiana by France in 1763 to compensate for the loss of Florida, and she now recovered Florida as well Thus Spain in 1783 held a vast territory in North America, all Central America, most of the West Indian islands, and all South America save for Guiana, and Portuguese Brazil This Spanish Empire contained some fourteen million people, over three million more than Spain itself The population was made up of some three hundred thousand European-born Spaniards, nearly three million creoles or American-born Spaniards, about five million mestizos or Spanish-Indian people, and the same number of Indians, with over half a million negroes The Spanish-born white men formed an aristocracy which filled the highest offices in government, the army, the judiciary, and the church, and supplied the leading traders The creoles were the largest landholders and mining industrialists, and filled the professions and what lesser offices were open to them They strongly resented the superior position of the Spaniards proper, but were equally conscious of their superiority to half-castes, Indians, and negroes The mestizos formed the majority of the population in the towns, whereas

the Indians provided the bulk of the labour for the mines and the large estates Despite the laws, they were exploited as beasts of burden, serfs at best, by the white population Most of the negroes were in the islands, and more than half of them were no longer slaves. Brazil resembled Spanish America, though it had more negro slaves, and Portuguese and native-born whites were not so sharply divided

Reforms in the Eighteenth Century. The seventeenth century had seen little change in the organization and life of the Spanish colonies, which remained under the autocratic and complicated system established after the conquest Smugglers, buccaneers, and foreign enemies continued to prey upon the empire, indeed it was in this period that the buccaneers, under leaders like the famous Henry Morgan, raided not merely in the Caribbean, but also across Panama and down the Pacific coast But the change from the Habsburg to the Bourbon kings of Spain in 1700 brought important changes for the colonies The connection with France encouraged administrative reform, and also opened the way for the spread of new ideas. Thus the old monopolistic system of trading gave way to a freer system which allowed many ports in both Spain and America to trade across the Atlantic, the fleet system was abolished Two new viceroyalties were created, making four in all The Captaincies-general and the Audiencias were rearranged, and new officials, intendants, were appointed in nearly all the provinces to supervise local government It was hoped that they would at last remove the many abuses which existed in colonial administration, not least the exploitation of the Indians, and so prevent the risings which had occurred in various provinces The Jesuits, who had played the leading part in the expansion of Spanish influence into California, Texas, and Florida, who controlled Paraguay, and exercised a predominant influence in education, were now (1767) expelled from the colonies, as from Spain itself

The Growth of Revolutionary Feeling. These changes did not eliminate the abuses of colonial rule, but they affected Spanish America from one end to the other Trade and industry expanded, and with greater freedom came the increased spread of new ideas There was greater activity in expansion and defence, and new towns like San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Montevideo were founded The successful revolt of the English colonies in North America naturally aroused aspirations for greater freedom amongst the creoles of Latin America The Venezuelan Francisco de Miranda (1750 – 1816), who had fought in the North American revolt, and was widely travelled and known in Europe, did much to spread the gospel of independence· he is justly entitled the Precursor of the Revolution Like other Spanish colonials, he was much influenced by the writings of the French *philosophes* Thus when the

French Revolution came it added further stimulus to what by the end of the century was becoming a serious movement, felt from Mexico to Chile The destruction of the Spanish fleet at Trafalgar cut off communication with the mother country, and the success of the colonists in expelling the



Academy of Fine Arts, Caracas

MIRANDA IN PRISON IN SPAIN
(*Arturo Michelena*)

English from Buenos Aires in 1807 gave them a measure of self-esteem which they had lacked before

The Struggle for Independence. It was the Napoleonic invasion of Spain in 1808 which provided the immediate occasion for revolt in Spanish America, and also brought about the independence of Brazil The various movements which began shortly after Napoleon seized the Spanish king, and placed his own brother Joseph on the throne of Spain, were at first partly loyalist, against a foreign conqueror who claimed dominion over the colonies as over Spain itself. But they became increasingly movements for independence, despite the attempts of the loyalists in Spain to unite colonial with European effort against the oppressor The story which begins with Miranda's efforts to rouse Venezuela is a very complicated one, for risings occurred all over South and

Central America, like volcanic eruptions, and continued, partly separate and partly connected with each other, for nearly twenty years until 1826. The various movements can best be looked at in four areas: the northern part of South America, then organized as the Viceroyalty of New Granada, the southern and central part of South America, i e. La Plata (Argentina), Peru, and Chile, Brazil, and finally Central America, including both New Spain (Mexico) and the peninsular units organized as the Captaincy-general of Guatemala. Most of the Spanish islands of the Caribbean, save the western half of San Domingo (Haiti), remained Spanish for many years.



(1) **Northern South America.** New Granada, to-day the states of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador, was more open to foreign influence than other parts of the Spanish empire, and possessed also in Miranda the earliest of the great leaders of the struggle for independence. Although Venezuela, after a vain attempt by Miranda in 1806, broke out in revolt in 1810, and declared its independence, the movement was put down and Miranda ended his career in a Spanish prison. But Miranda's successor was Bolivar (1783–1830), the Liberator, a Venezuelan like Miranda, and likewise much travelled in Europe, a brilliant soldier, vehemently devoted to the cause of independence, a thinker, statesmanlike in his ideas of government, alive to the dangers of the movement, rather vain and domineering, but a great man by any measurement. Though Bolivar, too, failed at first, he finally succeeded with the aid of a contingent of British troops, enlisted after the wars in Europe were over, in conquering first New Granada proper, and then Venezuela. These he organized into the independent republic of Colombia, with himself as President (1821). To this new state was shortly added Quito (Ecuador) by the victory of Sucre

(ii) **Southern and Central South America.** Meanwhile to the south similar movements had taken place in La Plata (Argentina) and Chile There the leader was San Martin, a man of simpler and finer character than Bolivar, a soldier first and last, devoted solely to the cause of independence It was he who secured the success of the rising in Buenos Aires and La Plata. From there he collected and trained an army, made a famous march across the Andes to Chile, and after twice defeating the Spanish troops established the freedom of that country also In the harder task of winning over Peru, the centre and heart of Spanish rule in America, he was aided by the fleet, commanded by Cochrane, and composed largely of British and American sailors, which carried his army up the coast He gained Lima, the capital, and proclaimed the republic (1821), but by the move into Peru his effort joined that of Bolivar, and the two men were too unlike to work together San Martin realized that there was hardly room for both, and nobly retired It remained for Bolivar to complete the independence of Peru, which was accomplished in 1824



BOLIVAR

Of the three remaining states to be carved out of Spanish South America, the republic of Bolivia, named after the liberator, was set up by Sucre shortly after the freeing of Peru Its neighbour, Paraguay, long under the rule of the Jesuits, in 1811 declared itself independent and gave itself over for a generation to the dictatorial rule of a lawyer, Dr. Francia Uruguay, lying between Argentina and Brazil and coveted by both, owed its separate existence partly to the efforts of its cavalry leader, Artigas, and partly, in the end, to British intervention, which in 1828 secured the recognition of its separate existence

(iii) **Brazil.** The remaining European colony in South America, Brazil, secured independence somewhat differently. The Napoleonic invasion of Portugal led in 1807 to the flight of the royal house to South America, and its establishment at Rio de Janeiro But with the return of King John to Portugal fourteen years later there arose a definite demand for independence on the part of the Brazilian-born Portuguese, led by Andrada Dom Pedro, son of the King and Regent of Brazil, yielded to the demand He refused to return to Portugal, declared for 'Independence or death,' and became emperor of an independent Brazil The

separation was accomplished without the severe fighting which took place elsewhere on the continent, and with the grant of a constitution Brazil appeared to have begun its life as a separate state under favourable circumstances Yet the monarchical settlement was not to be a final one

(iv) Mexico and Central America. In New Spain, or Mexico, and the adjacent area of Central America, united when the revolution broke out under the Captaincy-general of Guatemala, the successful achievement of independence was preceded by abortive revolts in Mexico, San Salvador, and Nicaragua. The first of these was led by the scholarly priest, Hidalgo, concerned for the hard lot of the Indians, and after his execution by another priest who in 1813 issued a Declaration of Independence, and drew up a constitution, before he in turn was killed It remained for the brilliant and ambitious Iturbide, who took Napoleon for his model, to unite all the forces for independence behind him and to give to Mexico not merely freedom from Spain, but also, in his own person, an emperor (1822). Iturbide was emperor but for a brief time, however, for revolts led by Santa Anna shortly forced him to abdicate and withdraw, and on his return a year later he was killed Thus Mexico entered on its troublous career as a republic To the south of Mexico, Guatemala, San Salvador, and Honduras had declared their independence without opposition in 1821, but Iturbide shortly annexed them to his empire When Mexico became a republic, however, the five Central American states (Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica) separated themselves from their northern neighbour, and formed themselves for a time into a republican federation after the model of the United States

The Achievement of Independence. Thus did Latin America free itself from its European bondage The process had been immensely aided by the forced absorption of Spain and Portugal in the Napoleonic wars, and also by the British sea power which prevented Napoleon from interfering After Napoleon's final defeat and the restoration of Ferdinand to the throne of Spain, the incapacity of that ruler, together with the sympathy of Britain and the United States, continued to aid the colonial cause When liberal Spain revolted in 1820 and the Holy Alliance intervened there, both these countries made it clear that they would oppose any extension of that intervention to South America It was at this time that the United States, though refusing Canning's proposal for joint agreement, formulated what became known as the Monroe Doctrine, warning off European intervention in America Though both the United States and Britain recognized the independence of the colonies about this time, it was not until after 1830 that Spain came to do this By this time the many independent republics formed from the Spanish empire in America were engaged in a task which was to prove longer and more

difficult than the achievement of independence, the building up of stable and effective governments Bolivar had dreamed of a vast federation of Latin America as the outcome of independence, but ere he died in 1830 he saw the freedom for which he had fought dissolving into chaos, with local irresponsible dictatorships as the only apparent result of the struggle 'Latin America is ungovernable Those who have served in the revolutions have merely ploughed the waves,' he cried in despair And for long his diagnosis seemed to be justified

For Further Reading

J T. Adams, *The Epic of America*
H E Egerton, *The American Revolution*
J Hergesheimer, *Balisande*
S E Morison and H S Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*
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CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

France on the Eve of the Revolution. When the Revolution opened France was governed by the absolute monarchy which had reached its height under Louis XIV. That great king had been succeeded by a child, Louis XV, who grew up to be a bad king and a worse man His son, Louis XVI, was a far better man than his father, pious, simple, fond of hunting and pottering about in a workshop, but lacking in resolution or statesmanship and blind to the problems of the time He was married to an Austrian princess, the ill-fated Marie Antoinette, who with all her charm was even less wise than himself Yet it was *his* ministers and *his* councils who governed this nation of twenty-four million people, and there was no check on his authority, if and when he cared to exercise it France had been built up by the union under the crown of a large number of semi-independent provinces, controlled at this time by royal officials called intendants Though provincial feeling was active, government was centralized in Paris, or rather in the royal palace at Versailles, just outside the capital There were a number of local supreme courts called *parlements*, chief of them that of Paris, but they could be over-

FRANCE

BEFORE THE
REVOLUTION
To show Provinces

ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF BISCAY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

ARTOIS
PICARDY
NORMANDY
ÎLE de FRANCE
PARIS
CHAMPAGNE and BRIE
VERDUN
LORRAINE
ALSACE
BRITTANY
MAINE and PERCHE
ORLEANS
ANJOU
TOURAINE
BERRY
NIVERNAIS
BURGUNDY
FRANCHE COMTE
POITOU
AUNIS
LA MARCHE
BOURBONNAIS
LYONNAIS
ANGOUMOIS
SAINTONGE
LIMOUSIN
AUVERGNE
DAUPHINE
GUIENNE and GASCONY
LANGUEDOC
PROVENCE
NAVARRE & BEARN
FOIX
ROUSSILLON
CORSICA

Cherbourg
Caen
Dieppe
Havre
Rouen
Amiens
Abbeville
Arras
Lille
Soissons
Rheims
Chalons
Strasbourg
Basle
Mulhausen
Rennes
Chartres
Orleans
Blois
Tours
Angers
Saumur
Nantes
La Rochelle
Poitiers
Nevers
Troyes
Dijon
Besançon
Geneva
Lyons
Limoges
Bordeaux
Bergerac
Cahors
Montauban
Toulouse
Carcassonne
Alet
Narbonne
Nimes
Avignon
Valence
Grenoble
Barcellonette
Colmars
Arles
Aix
Marseilles
Toulon
Antibes
Bayonne
Pau
Bastia
Ajaccio

Rhone
Saone
Loire
Seine
Garonne
Lot
Durance
Danube
Rhine
Meuse
Ebro

Scale
50 0 50 100 miles

ridden by a special royal session. The most obvious weakness of the absolute monarchy at this time was its financial failure. The revenue was provided chiefly by the unprivileged third estate, whilst the upper classes largely escaped taxation, and the revenue was quite inadequate for the vast and wasteful expenses of the court or the wars. An able minister, Turgot, had tried to bring order out of the chaos, but court influence had led to his dismissal. It was the hopeless financial situation which led to the meeting of the Estates General in 1789.

The social organization of France in 1789 likewise called for reform. Of the total population about half a million belonged to the two privileged classes of clergy and nobles, the remainder composed the unprivileged and burdened third estate. The bishops and other members of the higher clergy were drawn from the nobility, and whether at court or on their estates in the country had little to do with the parish priests, who were mostly poor and closely connected with the common people from whom they sprang. The monasteries were declining in numbers and they, like the Church in general, had lost much of their influence. The nobility were likewise divided between the nobility 'of the sword,' the descendants of the old families who had governed feudal France, and the newer nobility 'of the gown,' whose title was derived from some legal office they had bought. While most of the old nobility had gravitated to the court at Versailles, a few wealthy nobles still lived on their estates, and others had fallen into rural insignificance and poverty. Yet all alike, while they had lost their power, retained their privileges of exemption from taxation, their social superiority, and some of their feudal rights over the peasantry.

The third estate, the great majority of the people of France, was similarly divided into the *bourgeoisie* and the peasantry; the industrial workers hardly formed a separate class as yet. The *bourgeoisie*, or middle class, included the professional men, financiers, traders, down to the small shopkeepers. In this age of enlightenment they formed the most progressive element in the state. They resented the privileges of the nobility, tended to be anti-clerical, and were to provide the outstanding leaders of the Revolution. The peasantry suffered from the unequal and excessive taxation, the forced labour they had to supply, and the feudal dues still exacted by the nobility. Whilst their condition varied from place to place, they were in general poor, and whilst their ownership of the land was increasing, they had a growing consciousness of the injustice of their position. They, too, demanded reform. Thus politically, socially, and economically the old regime in France was ripe for change, it remained to be seen how that would come about.

The Opening of the Revolution: The Estates General. It was to meet

these conditions that the Estates General, of medieval origin, but which had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years, was called to meet at Versailles on 5th May 1789 The electors for each of the three orders had drawn up memorials (*cahiers*) on what they wished to be done All agreed in asking for a 'constitution' and financial reforms, while the third estate also demanded the abolition of feudal rights While many able men like Sieyès and Mirabeau had been elected, there was a general lack of political experience, and no one knew, for example, whether the three







LES TROIS ÉTATS

The Clergy — The Nobility — The Commons

estates should sit separately or together The reforming members of the third estate wished to sit as one body, and vote not by estates, but individually, and after a first clash with the Crown they prevailed So the Estates General became the National Assembly, or, as it came to be called in view of its work in drawing up a constitution, the Constituent Assembly.

The Growth of the Spirit of Revolution. But this Constituent Assembly was not to be allowed peacefully to continue its task of providing France with a new system of government and a new social order Its meeting had aroused intense excitement, and in Paris and all over France, a new spirit of revolution began to rise In the provinces there appeared what has been called 'spontaneous anarchy' The peasantry could not wait for the slow-moving Assembly in Versailles, and during the summer of 1789 proceeded to take matters into their own hands, rioting, murdering unpopular landlords, attacking the châteaux, and destroying the records of their hated bondage In Paris, the radical middle class and the poor who lacked bread began to play a decisive part in the development of the revolution The first outburst occurred on 14th July, henceforth the great

day of the revolution, in the shape of an attack by an excited mob on the old castle prison of the Bastille The assault succeeded, marked with riot and murder, the revolution of mob violence had begun The king accepted the fact and ceased to think, as he had done, of overriding the Assembly Some of the nobility even left the country. In October, the Paris mob took a further step, marching the twelve miles to Versailles, thirty thousand strong, invading the palace and the Assembly. It was only appeased by the return of the king and the Assembly to Paris. Henceforth Paris with its mob, and the political clubs which were beginning to appear, increasingly dominated the course of the revolution

The Work of the Constituent Assembly, 1789–91. The National or Constituent Assembly was one of the great assemblies of modern times, and contained a large number of men of ability, the cream of the French reformers When it moved to Paris it sat in the riding-school of the Tuileries Palace, where the royal family now lived, and there its members arranged themselves in groups from the conservative right to the radical left In addition to Sieyès and Mirabeau, there were young lawyers like Barnave, as well as clerics like Talleyrand and Grégoire, and on the extreme left another young lawyer, Robespierre The Assembly had the task of remaking France. It began by sweeping away some of the obvious abuses of the old system, abolishing in one night (4th August 1789) serfdom, forced labour, exemption from taxation, social privilege and feudal dues, the hated salt tax, and the clerical tithes. A year later titles of nobility were abolished, the title of citizen was henceforth to be the only wear To raise revenue the Assembly seized the lands of the Church, issuing paper money (*assignats*) against them This device was later to lead to a grave depreciation of the currency and to destroy the efforts of the Assembly to work out a sound and fair system of finance and taxation for France

For administrative purposes the Assembly abolished the old provinces and divided France into eighty-three departments, each of them subdivided into districts, cantons, and communes, as in France to-day The system of justice was likewise reformed. new courts were set up, trial by jury was introduced, punishment was made less brutal, and the judges were to be elected With regard to the constitution, the Assembly first drew up a grandiloquent Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, and then worked out an elaborate system of government, with the king as head of the executive, and an elected legislature separated from it, after the American pattern Finally, after closing the monasteries, and establishing complete religious toleration, the Assembly proceeded to reorganize the Church as a part of the new State, by a law known as the

Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Having done all this the Constituent Assembly dissolved itself, feeling that its task was accomplished.

The Coming of War and the Downfall of the Monarchy. Although the reformers of the National Assembly believed, as did many others, that the revolution was over, actually it was only begun. Within a year their new constitution was set aside, and France was plunged into internal



Hachette

ROUGET DE LISLE SINGING 'LA MARSEILLAISE' FOR THE FIRST TIME
(*From the picture by Pils in the Louvre*)

strife and foreign war. The causes of this are not easy to describe briefly. The king was now hostile to the revolution, especially to its church policy. In June 1791, he had attempted to escape from Paris across the frontier, and though he was caught and brought back, no one trusted him any more. Many of the nobility had now emigrated, and sought to stir up foreign opinion against the revolution. Of the leaders of the earlier Assembly, Mirabeau had died, others had withdrawn, and the radicals of the left, now organized in the famous Jacobin and Cordelier Clubs, were joining hands with the more extreme elements in Paris, hungry and dissatisfied as before. The Legislative Assembly of the new constitution reflected these growing passions. Its left wing came to be

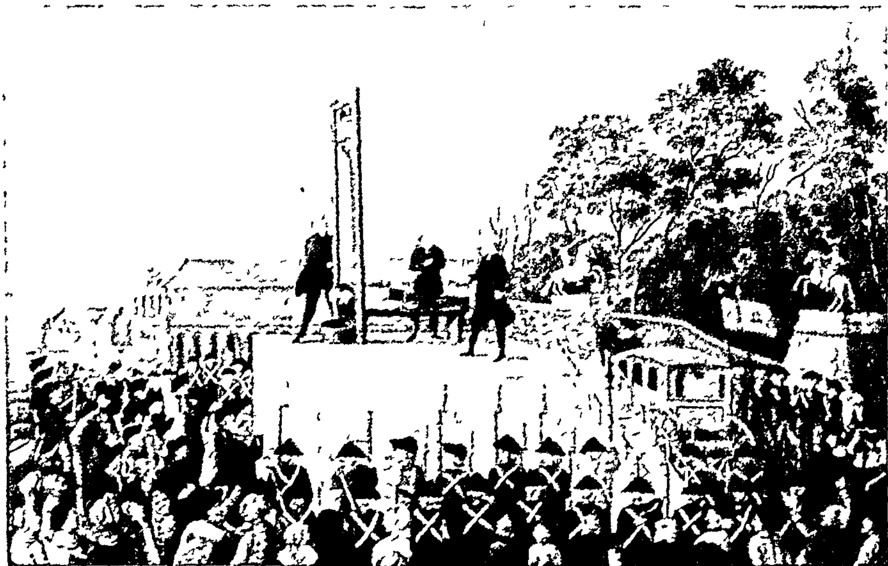
divided into two groups, that of the Girondins, so called because of the place of origin of a number of its leaders, who wished to challenge Europe on behalf of the revolution, and that of the Jacobins, who were more concerned with domestic problems. Yet the war, when it came, and the course of events in Paris which destroyed the monarchy, were inextricably connected.

The war which opened in April 1792 with Austria and Prussia, and which within less than a year brought in Spain, England, and Holland, was at bottom a continuation of earlier French wars for expansion towards the Rhine on the one hand, and of the old struggle with England on the other. It was provoked by the activities of the French *émigrés* abroad, by the antagonism of the conservative rulers of Europe to the revolution, and by particular actions of revolutionary France. In it France expressed her new-found unity and the nationalism which was one of the elements of the revolution. This new patriotism found voice in the famous song, the *Marseillaise*. At first the war went badly for France, since the army of the old regime had gone to pieces, so that the country was invaded and its forces defeated. But in time revolutionary enthusiasm was disciplined, new armies were created by national levy, Carnot 'organized victory,' new generals like Jourdain, Hoche, and others appeared, and by the summer of 1794, the enemies were driven across the frontiers, the French had overrun Belgium, and the revolution had begun the career of conquest which was to reach its height with Napoleon Bonaparte.

Long before defeat had changed to victory France had become a republic. To the threat of foreign invasion was added the danger of civil war in France itself. Parts of the country, such as La Vendée and Brittany in the west, disliked the radicalism of the capital, above all the attack on the Church. For the Constituent Assembly had ordered that the clergy should swear fidelity to the new regime, and as most of the bishops and clergy refused to do this, they were expelled from their livings. In Paris, fear of invasion and hatred of the alleged 'enemies of the revolution,' fostered by extremist journalists like Marat, raised passion to fever heat. The result was that between June and September 1792 there were a number of risings. In the second of these the Tuileries Palace was sacked, and the royal family took refuge with the Assembly, whence they were transferred to prison in the Temple. All the prisons of Paris became filled with suspects. The king was suspended and the calling of a National Convention was ordered. During the elections the Paris mob raided the prisons and murdered some fifteen hundred of the priests, royalists, and other suspects without any hindrance on the part of the authorities. These 'September Massacres' marked the beginning of the Terror, and Jacobin leaders like Danton and Robespierre were

partly responsible for them When the Convention met it declared the monarchy abolished, and proclaimed a Republic, 'one and indivisible,' 25th September 1792 It was to last for seven years

The Struggle between Girondin and Jacobin. With the opening of the National Convention, a bitter struggle ensued between the Girondins, now sitting on the right of the chamber, and the Jacobins, called the



THE EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI
From a contemporary print)

Mountain from the fact that many of them sat on the raised seats to the left of the Assembly Both parties stood for the Republic and the ardent prosecution of the war, but the Girondins, led by Vergniaud, Brissot, Condorcet, and others, were more moderate, more middle-class, and stood for the provinces rather than for Paris The Jacobins, backed by their Club, which now had branches all over France, and led by Danton, Robespierre, Marat, and Saint-Just, claimed to be more democratic, and more concerned for the rights and interests of the common people They stood for the domination of Paris, where they had more support Though many members of the Convention belonged to neither of these two parties, the conflict between them determined the course of events

The first great issue came over the fate of the unhappy king The Jacobins were determined to execute him, whereas the Girondins favoured imprisonment or banishment In the end the Jacobins had their way, and after a futile trial Louis Capet, as he was now called, was condemned

governed by the Directory appear in history as a rather drab interlude between the lurid days of the Terror and the coming of Napoleon So far France had failed to inaugurate the Age of Reason and the Rights of Man She still had war abroad, and poverty, disorder, and discontent at home The ablest leaders of the revolution had been devoured by the guillotine, and the members of the governing Directory were in general men of inferior calibre The leading figure amongst them, Barras, a former noble, was a mere adventurer, the best of them was Carnot, but he was expelled Abroad their credit was maintained by the amazing success of a young artillery general, a Corsican out to make a name for himself, called Napoleon Bonaparte Barras befriended him, found him a West Indian widow, Josephine Beauharnais, as wife, and gave him the command of the war against Austria on the difficult Italian front Bonaparte took his half-starved and neglected army, and drove it across northern Italy in a series of resounding victories which brought all Italy under French domination and opened a road to Vienna He then on his own authority made a triumphant peace with Austria (the peace of Campo Formio, 1797) Only England and Portugal remained in open hostility to the revolution It was the height of the Directory's career



BARRAS
(*After Raffet*)

This proud and glorious state of affairs was not, however, to last Bonaparte, drawn by visions of Eastern triumphs and preferring to get away from Paris, went off to Egypt, but while he easily conquered that country Nelson caught his ships off the Nile and destroyed them Although Bonaparte, after a vain attempt to march through Syria, was to escape back to France, he left the remains of his army behind him Meanwhile England, despite rebellion in Ireland and a naval mutiny, had won other victories at sea, and Russia and Austria had joined her in a second coalition against the common enemy The Russian Suvorov drove the French out of Italy and threatened to invade France, while farther north the French were driven back across the Rhine

In France itself the Directory had become increasingly unpopular,


CENTRAL EUROPE
IN 1810
English Miles
0 100 200
Empire of Napoleon Direct Rule
Allies of Napoleon
Independent States
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Heligoland
Hamburg
Berlin
Danzig
Kolberg
Dresden
Prague
Vienna
Budapest
Cracow
Warsaw
GRAND-DUCHY OF WARSAW
WESTPHALIA
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
SAXONY
BAVARIA
Munich
Frankfurt
Coblenz
Cologne
Amsterdam
London
Cambridge
Oxford
Bristol
Plymouth
Portsmouth
Dublin
York
WALES
Brussels
Waterloo
Namur
Boulogne
Cherbourg
Channel Is.
Brest
Lorient
Nantes
VENDÉE
Paris
Versailles
Fontainebleau
Orleans
Châtillon
Valmy
Verdun
Metz
Nancy
Strasburg
Basle
Zürich
SWITZERLAND
KINGD. OF ITALY
LOMBARDY
Milan
Venice
Turin
Genoa
Marengo
Parma
Florence
Rome
Elba
Corsica
Bastia
Toulon
Marseilles
Avignon
Nice
ILLYRIAN PROVINCE
Trieste
BOSNIA
SERVIA
DALMATIA
HUNGARY
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Olmutz
Austerlitz
Wagram
Aspern
Pressburg
Innsbruck
Drave
Save
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Bayonne
Pamplona
Vitoria
San Sebastian
Saragossa
Barcelona
Gerona
Burgos
Salamanca
GALICIA
Corunna
Oporto
Pyrenees
Marseilles
East from Greenwich
0 5 10 20

The finances were in a hopeless condition, and the persecution of Catholicism and the attempt to substitute for it a revolutionary religion which abolished the observance of Sunday, alienated the peasantry everywhere. Barras made a *coup d'état* to get rid of his enemies in the government, but by 1799, despite the fact that it had passed over four thousand laws, the government of the Directory was bankrupt on every side It was at this moment that Bonaparte reappeared and planned with the crafty Sieyès, who had somehow survived the Terror, to overthrow the Directory The *coup d'état* of Brumaire (9th November 1799) ended not merely the Directory but also the Republic The war, or rather the army, had swallowed the revolution

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J M Thompson, *Leaders of the French Revolution*

CHAPTER III

THE ERA OF NAPOLEON

The Establishment of Napoleonic Rule in France It was as a general of the army that the 'little corporal' made himself master of France in 1799 No one could guess that he would prove a great statesman and lawgiver as well as the greatest soldier in French history He displayed great wisdom in keeping himself aloof from Royalists at one extreme and Jacobins at the other Against the Jacobins, his most dangerous foes, he was ruthless, the Royalists he tried to win over to his own rule, and not without success That rule was organized at first under the Consulate, by which Bonaparte became the first of three Consuls charged with the executive authority A senate and two legislative chambers were also established, but the effective power rested in the hands of Bonaparte himself, and the real law-making body was a small Council of State which he controlled, as he did also the ministers whom he appointed At first he was Consul for ten years, then for life, and in 1804 he changed the Consulate into the Empire The Pope came

to Paris for his coronation, at which Napoleon crowned himself, and wore the sword of Charles the Great. Josephine became an empress, his brothers and sisters became princes and princesses, an Imperial Court was set up with a galaxy of officials and a ring of Marshals of the Empire. It was an incredible achievement for the once poor Corsican boy.

The great laws by which Napoleon established his rule were mainly passed during the Consulate. In general Napoleon made no attempt to



Louvre

THE CORONATION OF NAPOLEON
(*David*)

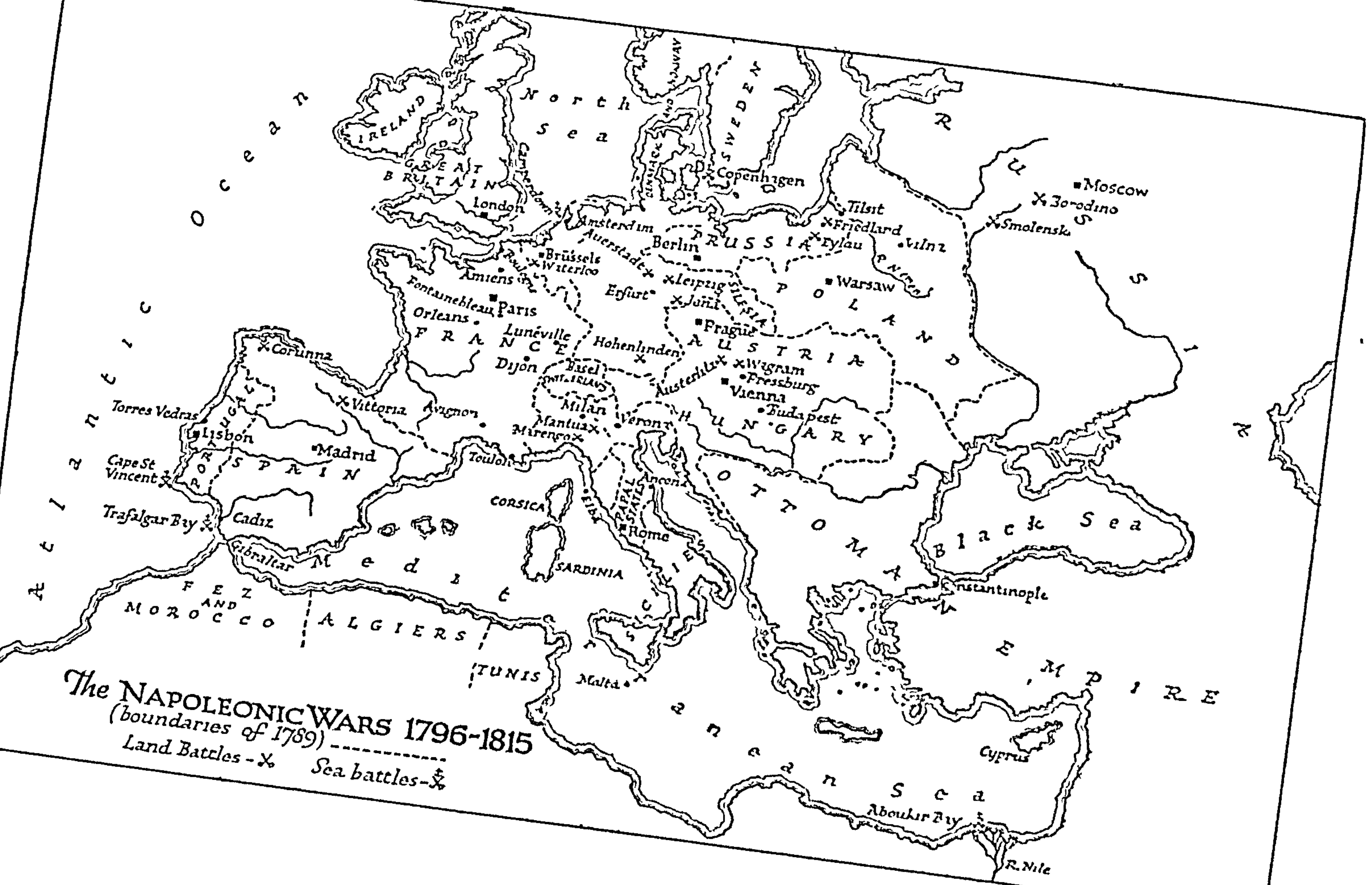
overthrow the work of the revolution. 'I am the Revolution,' he declared, and proceeded to solidify much of its work, save where it conflicted with his authority. Thus he perfected the system of control over local government in France, by a law which set up a prefect over each department, with sub-prefects over each district. All of these officials, together with the mayors of cities of any size, were appointed by Napoleon himself. He brought coherence out of the mass of laws which ten years of revolution had produced, by the creation of the Code Napoléon and other codes. These codes show the fusion of revolutionary principles with the old regime, coloured by Napoleon's imperial concepts of law and government. They were to remain a permanent possession of France, and their influence was to spread not only through Europe but also to America and Asia.

With the land settlement of the Revolution and the abolition of feudalism Napoleon did not interfere. Social equality he accepted up to

a point, but as a soldier he believed in the gradations of rank, and he created the Legion of Honour to satisfy a desire for distinction. His system of education, owing much to the earlier Condorcet, was mainly concerned with higher education and the production of loyal servants of the Empire. One of his early achievements was the bringing of order into the national finances, for which he established a Bank of France and a more effective system of collecting taxes. The religious problem he solved by the famous Concordat with the Papacy, which recognized the Catholic religion as 'the religion of the great majority of the French people.' The Church lands were not restored, and although the Church was re-established, Napoleon made it clear that he intended to assert his authority over it. The settlement was long to survive him, but he himself was to fall out with the Pope ere many years had passed.

The Making of Peace. Bonaparte's *coup d'état* had been accepted by France largely because the Directory had failed in the war, and it was believed that he alone could retrieve the situation. This he did with remarkable speed and success. He dealt first with Austria, leading his army over the snowclad St. Bernard Pass to emerge behind the astonished Austrians on the plains of Lombardy, and to defeat them at Marengo. Moreau followed this up by a victory at Hohenlinden in south Germany, and Austria was driven to peace at Lunéville (8th February 1801) acknowledging the Rhine frontier with French ownership of Belgium. At the same time the admiration of the Tsar Paul for Bonaparte's military genius brought peace with Russia. This left England as the only enemy, and, after a year of wrangling, peace with England was finally signed at Amiens (26 March 1802). It was a great triumph for the new ruler of France and did much to consolidate his power. But like the peace with Austria it did not really settle the issues at stake. 'We are the masters of the world,' the victorious First Consul announced. It was inevitable that his devouring ambition should seek fresh conquests, and equally inevitable that this should lead to the reopening of the war.

The Ascendancy of Napoleon in Europe, 1804–7. The ambitions of France's new ruler were not long in showing themselves. Notwithstanding the agreement of the Peace of Amiens Napoleon openly interfered in Germany, Switzerland, and Holland. Nor did he confine himself to Europe. He sent missions to Egypt, Persia, and India, as well as a voyage of discovery to Australia, to investigate the possibilities of expansion eastwards. He dispatched an expedition to restore French authority in San Domingo, and having acquired Louisiana from Spain, projected a revival of the French Empire in North America. But the West Indian expedition failed and he sold Louisiana to the United States. These activities showed all his intentions [illegible]



Atlantic Ocean
North Sea
IRELAND
GREAT BRITAIN
London
Camperdown
Amsterdam
Copenhagen
SWEDEN
Berlin
PRUSSIA
Tilsit
Friedland
Eylau
Vilna
Warsaw
POLAND
Moscow
Borodino
Smolensk
RUSSIA
Brussels
Waterloo
Amiens
Auerstadt
Leipzig
Erfurt
Jena
SILESIA
Prague
AUSTRIA
Wagram
Pressburg
Vienna
Budapest
HUNGARY
Austerlitz
Hohenlinden
Paris
Fontainebleau
Orleans
Luneville
FRANCE
Dijon
Basel
SWITZERLAND
Milan
Mantua
Marengo
Verona
Corunna
Vittoria
Avignon
Torres Vedras
Lisbon
Madrid
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Cape St Vincent
Trafalgar Bay
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Toulon
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Elba
PAPAL STATES
Ancona
Rome
SICILIES
Malta
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Black Sea
Constantinople
Cyprus
Aboukir Bay
R. Nile
Mediterranean Sea
FEZ AND MOROCCO
ALGIERS
TUNIS
The NAPOLEONIC WARS 1796-1815
(boundaries of 1789)
Land Battles - X
Sea battles

suspicion in England, and after just over a year of peace war broke out again, in essence the old war with the old issues

To break the stalemate between a France supreme on land and an England all-powerful at sea Napoleon determined to invade England. He collected a great army at Boulogne with a fleet of flat-bottomed ferry boats, and ordered Admiral Villeneuve to secure command of the Channel, if only for half a day But this Villeneuve was unable to do, for Nelson, after chasing him across the Atlantic and back, crushingly defeated his fleet in Trafalgar Bay (21st October 1805) Trafalgar did not end the war, but it destroyed the French naval power, put an end to Napoleon's dreams of invading England, and later allowed the British to carry on the war in Portugal and Spain

Although England was out of reach behind its wall of waters, triumphs might be won elsewhere A breach with Russia and Austria followed hard on that with England, and before his enemies were ready Napoleon had marched his legions half-way across Europe, captured Ulm, together with an Austrian army, and swept through Vienna to defeat both Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz (2nd December 1805) in the most splendid of all his victories Austria surrendered and accepted humiliating terms, and Napoleon was free to reshape Germany as he desired He dissolved the moribund Holy Roman Empire (1806) and set up a new union for Western Germany, the Confederation of the Rhine, under French suzerainty Prussia, which after a decade of neutrality now at last took up arms against the invader, Napoleon first defeated in the field and then cut in half, giving Westphalia to his brother Jerome and Prussian Poland to the King of Saxony 'Prussia,' he wrote from Berlin, 'has vanished' Finally a victory over Russia at Friedland opened the way to peace with Tsar Paul's successor, Alexander I By the peace of Tilsit (1807) the two emperors agreed to divide the control of the continent of Europe between them Once again Britain was left as the sole opponent of triumphant France

The Empire at its Height In the three or four years following the Treaty of Tilsit the Empire was at its height In France Napoleon's rule seemed to be permanently established, though he lacked a son True, there was no political freedom, and the conscription swallowed up the young manhood of France, but the army was the finest in the world, and there was a positive surfeit of glory France had enlarged its boundaries almost beyond recognition To the north-east it included not merely Belgium and Holland but also north Germany as far as the Baltic To the south-east it incorporated Savoy, Tuscany, and the Papal States, with Illyria across the Adriatic Northern Italy Napoleon ruled as king, whilst Naples provided a crown for another of the Bonapartes

Spain was invaded and placed under his elder brother Joseph, Switzerland was subject to him, western Germany he controlled as we have seen, Prussia was in French occupation, Poland, revived as the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, was a vassal state. Thus Napoleon bestrode Europe like a Colossus, one foot touching the Atlantic, the other reaching the dominions of his ally the Tsar He could call for troops from half Europe, his legions, like those of Rome, spoke many tongues Indeed, not since the days of Rome had so wide-flung a rule existed in Europe.

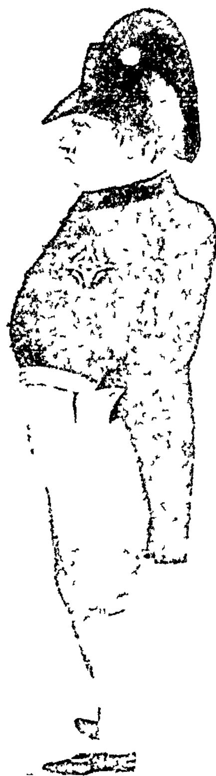


Louvre

'1814'
(*Meissonier*)

The Weakness of the Empire. This Napoleonic Empire had, however, obvious limitations It lacked any effective unity of race, tongue, interest, or sentiment It depended not so much on France as on the Emperor and his army France was, indeed, in danger of being swallowed up by this new creation, which was built up and maintained not by consent but by force The Empire was curiously shaped, with one arm stretching north-east to the Baltic, the other south-east to the Adriatic This unnatural extension of the extremes of the Empire was due to a special cause arising out of the war with Britain Napoleon, finding that he could not invade the shores of the hated 'nation of shopkeepers,' determined to prevent them from trading with Europe By the Berlin Decrees (1806) he declared a blockade against Britain and ordered her goods to be excluded from the Continent To carry out this policy Napoleon was forced to extend his hold ever farther along the coast-line of Europe, to try to absorb Spain and Portugal, and to maintain the alliance with the Tsar of Russia This 'Continental System,' as it came to be called, inflicted considerable hardship on Britain, which was now

markedly developing her manufactures But it caused a great drain on the resources of the Empire, aroused wide discontent everywhere, and in fact could not be completely enforced, so strong was the demand in Europe for British colonial and manufactured products Smuggling grew apace, and even Napoleon's own army wore overcoats and boots from Britain



NAPOLEON AT ST HELENA
(From a drawing by an English officer who attended the Emperor)

The Rise of National Feeling in Germany and Spain. Napoleon did much to arouse the national feeling which was to be the chief cause of his downfall Already strong both in Britain and France, it now began to work more strongly in Germany and Spain In Italy Napoleon consciously and definitely encouraged the national idea In Germany the revival of national feeling was part of the general stirring of German life at the close of the eighteenth century, associated with Goethe, Schiller, Fichte, and others It found its most vigorous expression in Prussia, which now began to arise from the depths of its defeat, with a new sense of devotion to the fatherland, and a wide movement for reform The leader in this reforming movement was Stein, the emancipator of the peasants from serfdom The finances, education, and above all the army, were similarly reorganized, in preparation for the task of liberating the country from the French yoke An example of such an effort had already been supplied by Spain There Napoleon had secured the surrender of the Spanish crown to himself But the attempt to subdue the country over which his brother Joseph was placed as king proved a task beyond his power It was made more difficult because Britain now began in Portugal and later in Spain the long series of campaigns of the Peninsular War Wellington's slow but steady advance at length drove King Joseph out of Spain and dealt a severe blow at Napoleon's fortunes It was 'the Spanish ulcer,' he once remarked, which destroyed him

The Downfall, 1812–14. By the time Wellington was invading France across the Pyrenees the downfall was well on its way Napoleon, having broken with Alexander, declared war on him and in the summer of 1812 began the fatal invasion of Russia It availed him little that he won the battle of Borodino and managed to reach Moscow, for the Russians refused to sue for peace, Moscow went up in flames, and Napoleon was left to make his dreadful retreat across the frozen plains of Russia with the loss of half a million men This terrible blow encouraged Prussia and Austria to take up arms for the German War of Liberation. The great battle of Leipzig (October 1813) ended Napoleonic domination in Germany and opened the way to the direct invasion of France from that side also Despite all his efforts the allies occupied Paris in the spring of 1814, and Napoleon was forced to abdicate and retire to the island of Elba

The Hundred Days: Waterloo and St. Helena. The drama was not quite played out Early in 1815 the emperor secretly left his tiny island kingdom, landed in France, and made a final bid for restoration But though he gained the army and re-entered his capital, France refused to rise in his favour At Waterloo, in the Low Countries where the revolutionary wars had begun, the issue was decided by Wellington and Blucher Napoleon became the prisoner of the great powers of Europe and was sent to end his days on the lonely island of St Helena, under the guardianship of Great Britain Yet although his vast empire had crumbled and was not to be revived, and though he died in exile in 1821, Napoleon left a name and fame unequalled in modern history He had not merely closed the era of revolution in France but he had broken up the old Europe and prepared for its reorganization in the nineteenth century To France he left a tradition of unmatched glory In due course his ashes were to be brought back to the city on the Seine where his eagles had spread their wings, and where a second Napoleonic empire was to rise phoenix-like from the ashes of the first

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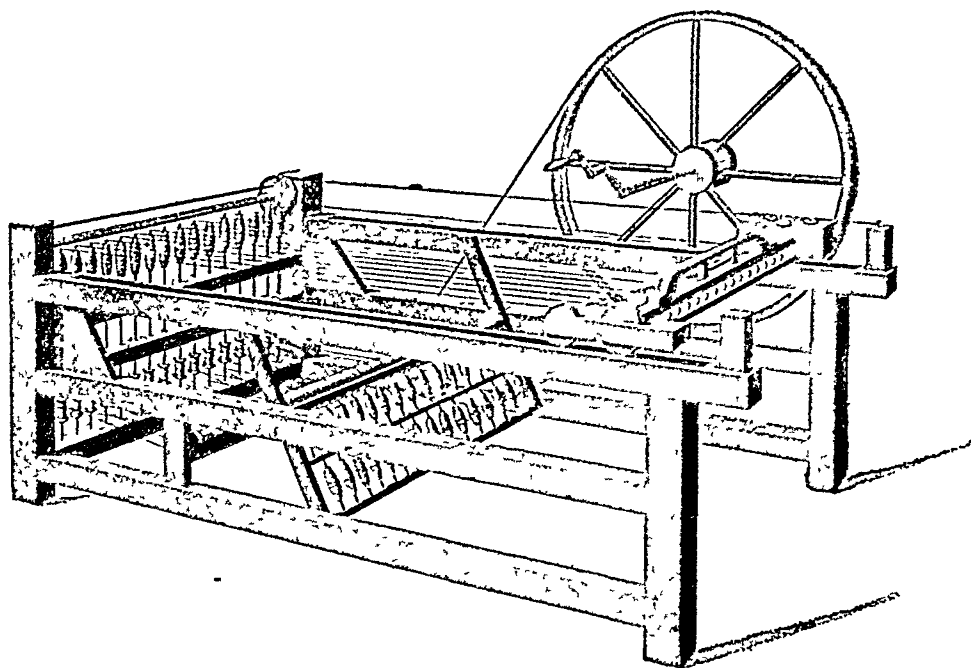
CHAPTER IV

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN BRITAIN

Changes in Agriculture. England in 1750 was still an agricultural country with few large towns. John Bull was a farmer Much of its farming was still conducted as in the Middle Ages, with wide open fields divided into narrow strips of different ownership all worked on a common plan of simple crop rotation There had been a certain amount of enclosure of these common fields in the sixteenth century for pasture Now there began a new and larger enclosure movement, which in about half a century changed England to the land of hedged-in fields we see to-day This process increased the number of large farms but dispossessed the small holders of land, who were often driven into the towns Thus England moved in the opposite direction from France, where the revolution increased peasant ownership of the land The change formed an essential part, however, of the general improvement in agricultural methods which took place at this time New crops like turnips and clover appeared, the seed-drill was invented, and farming became more scientific As a result crops became larger and there was an immense improvement in the size and quality of livestock It was in this period that more careful attention to breeding began to make English pedigree farm-horses, cattle, and sheep, famous throughout the world Yet although agriculture in England flourished during the Napoleonic wars, after the peace of 1815 it fell upon hard times Worst of all was the condition of the agricultural labourer, with low wages, much unemployment, and a vicious 'dole' system Only in the middle of the century was there any material improvement in his condition

Inventions in Industry. More striking and revolutionary than the changes in agriculture, however, were the inventions in industry, first seen in the textile industry A Lancashire weaver, Hargreaves, invented a hand machine, called a Jenny after his wife, which allowed the use of many spindles (instead of the single one of the spinning-wheel) to spin raw cotton into the weft required for cloth Then Arkwright, once a barber's boy, invented another machine worked by water power, which span raw cotton into thread strong enough to make the warp Another weaver, Crompton, combined the work of these two inventions into a 'mule' capable of spinning the finest yarn Thus the machines came to rival, and surpass, the finest hand work And these machines required special buildings, factories, to house them, whereas, earlier, the work had been done at home

The speeding up of spinning encouraged a like development of weaving. Kay had invented a flying shuttle to send the weft through the warp in 1733, but it was a clergyman, Cartwright, who invented a power loom for weaving more rapidly and on a larger scale The increased demand for raw cotton for these machines was supplied by another machine invented by Whitney in the United States (1793), the cotton gin which



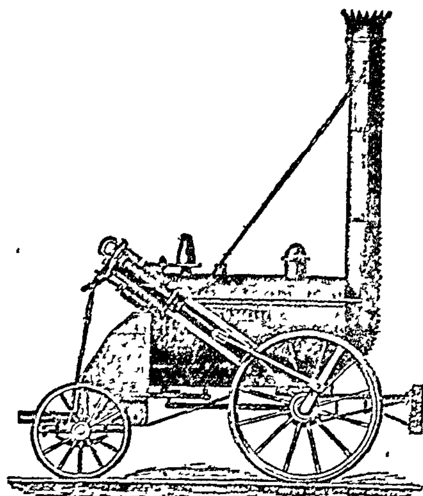
THE SPINNING-JENNY

separated cotton from its seeds. Finally the power required for these large machines, at first horses, then water power, came to be supplied by the new agent, steam The result was that Great Britain became by far the largest cotton manufacturer in the world The possession of water power, and then of coal, together with a suitably moist climate, caused the industry to be concentrated in Lancashire

Coal, Iron, and Steam. Coal and iron were used in England long before the industrial revolution But in the second half of the eighteenth century they began to be employed far more as new uses were found for them, and new methods of smelting iron by means of coal instead of charcoal were discovered Darby, about 1750, found out how to use coal in blast furnaces, and then followed the discovery of means to 'puddle' and 'roll' iron into bars in forges by the use of coal Then Huntsman discovered how to make better steel in coke furnaces The age of iron and steel had begun, and the industry rapidly developed,

aided for a time by the needs of the Napoleonic wars Coal mining grew in proportion, and the new iron industry established itself on or near the coalfields of central England, now significantly called the Black Country, and in South Wales, Yorkshire, and southern Scotland near Glasgow. England became far the largest producer of pig-iron in the world

It was the growth of coal-mining which brought the steam engine A blacksmith, Newcomen, had earlier contrived an engine with a piston worked by steam, to pump out water from coal mines, but it was Watt (1736–1819), a maker of scientific instruments in Glasgow, who after infinite thought and labour finally succeeded in improving Newcomen's engine to make the modern steam engine He joined a hardware manufacturer, Bolton, and together they applied Watt's invention not merely to pump out mines but also to drive the new machines in the cotton industry. By 1800 nearly three hundred of their engines were in use in England, in cotton and woollen mills, in collieries, for foundries, canals and breweries The new industry had now got its new power, and was henceforth freed from dependence on the water power of rivers Thus steam likewise contributed to develop the textile and other industries

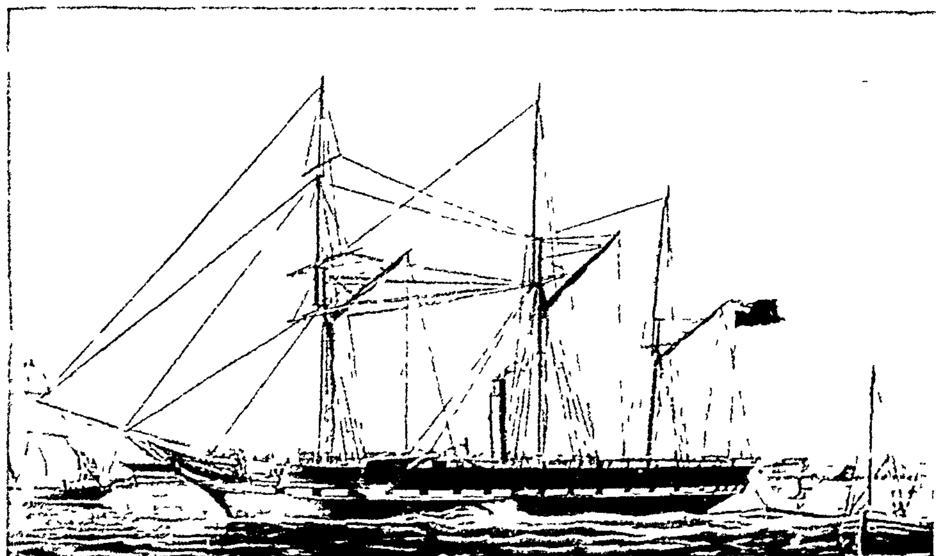


I L N

THE 'ROCKET'

The Revolution in Transportation. Nor did the application of the new power stop there Growing industry and trade demanded improved means of transportation The roads, still mere earthen tracks for pack-horse traffic, were quite unable to bear the strain of the new traffic, even when they had been improved by surfacing with broken-up stone, after the method invented by the Scot, McAdam This allowed the free use of wagons, and gave England by 1800 the best roads in Europe. But more was needed France had led the way in the construction of canals, to supplement river transport, and now England began to join her river systems from one end of the country to the other by these water roads But ere the canals were completed, a rival had appeared in the railways Rails for trucks had already been used in the coal mines, at first of wood, then of iron, and Watt had thought of driving wheeled carriages by steam But it was in the eighteen-twenties that the first railways appeared in England For one of these Stephenson built his famous 'Rocket' engine,

capable of attaining the unheard-of speed of thirty miles an hour The age of railways had begun, and within twenty years Britain had over five thousand miles of railway in use The application of the same principle to ships had already taken place. In 1803 Symington designed a steamship for the Forth and Clyde Canal, and within a few years steamships were running from England to Ireland, Scotland, and France A Canadian ship, the *Royal William*, first crossed the Atlantic Ocean

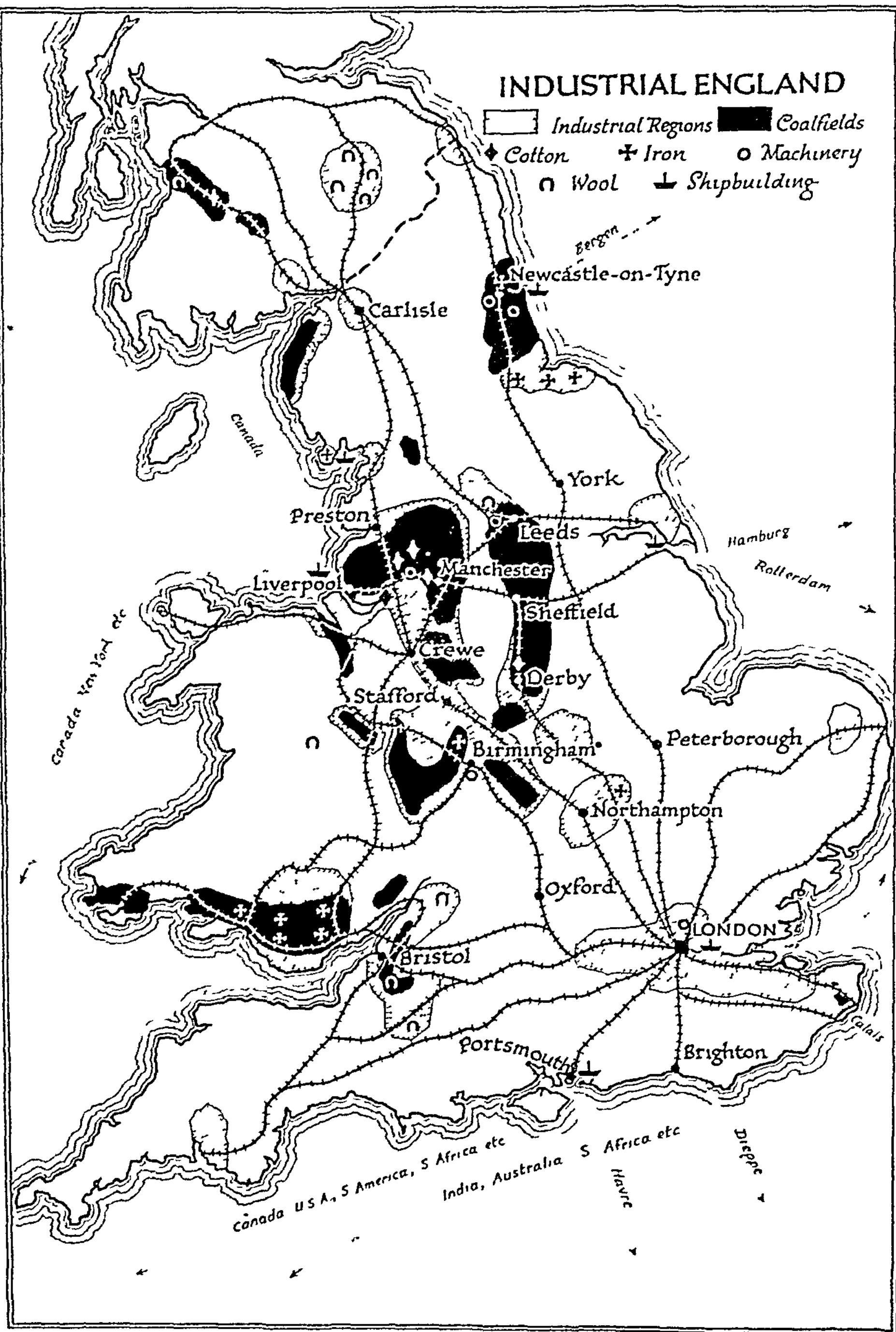


Public Archives of Canada

THE 'ROYAL WILLIAM'

under steam the whole way in 1833 These early steamships were paddle-boats, with wooden hulls Iron ships and screw propellers followed in the middle of the nineteenth century, to be succeeded in turn by steel hulls, turbines, and, in our own day, oil instead of coal for fuel

The Results of the Industrial Revolution: The New Capitalists Such great changes in the processes of manufacture and transportation inevitably brought results of the greatest importance It goes almost without saying that there was a vast development of industry and trade, of shipping and of wealth Without this increase of wealth, Britain could hardly have borne the strain of the long wars with France And when these wars were over, she enjoyed for half a century the industrial and trading supremacy of the world The new wealth accrued mostly to the capitalists of the new system There had been manufacturers with capital before in England, but now they greatly increased in numbers, wealth, and power Many of them, like Watt or Arkwright, rose from the ranks of the workers There were scores of new millowners, iron-


INDUSTRIAL ENGLAND
Industrial Regions
Coalfields
Cotton
Iron
Machinery
Wool
Shipbuilding
Bergen
Newcastle-on-Tyne
Carlisle
Canada
York
Preston
Leeds
Hamburg
Rotterdam
Manchester
Liverpool
Sheffield
Canada New York etc
Crewe
Derby
Stafford
Peterborough
Birmingham
Northampton
Oxford
LONDON
Bristol
Calais
Portsmouth
Brighton
Canada U S A., S America, S Africa etc
India, Australia S Africa etc
Havre
Dieppe

masters, industrialists of every kind, who now began to rival, and later to vanquish, the landed class which had so long been dominant in England. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, by which the worker's food was made cheaper, was evidence of their victory over the agricultural interests Further, the new system, with its costly and elaborate machines, required large amounts of capital, and as the scale of manufacture grew, a gulf opened between capital and labour. The capitalist supplied the machines, and drove them night and day to secure the largest profit from them, regardless of the conditions under which his employees lived and worked, It was the age of individualism, of *laissez-faire*, in economic life, and the new capitalists of the industrial revolution competed with each other relentlessly for trade and wealth

The Factory Workers. At the other end of the scale was the factory worker, the 'hand' which guided the new machines With the growth of industry the population of Britain increased far more rapidly than before, so that she no longer grew enough grain to feed herself, but came to depend increasingly on imported wheat The growing population followed the industries, so that the balance of population moved away from the rural south, which had no coal, to the centre and north, where it concentrated in towns, some old, but many of them new creations of the new age, the factory towns

The factory town was a new phenomenon in industrial life Its inhabitants, at first recruited largely from the country, lost touch with rural life and became townspeople, their lives bounded by the smoky factory and the crowded, ugly houses which sprang up mushroom-like round the factories and mines. These mines and factories, with their busy machines, came to absorb the lives and energies of men, women, and children, down to mere infants. All worked for long hours, night and day, sometimes for fourteen hours a day, in the factory prisons. Labour was plentiful and cheap, and wages were often paid in goods, a system open to abuse. Yet quite early it was apparent that the new machines could, and did, produce more than was needed, so that they had to slow down or stop altogether for a time, which brought unemployment for the workers A new machine would often throw workers out of employment Thus the first stages of the Industrial Revolution brought new and often hard, unhealthy, and cruel conditions of life and labour for the workers, above all for children, with little attention to health, sanitation, leisure, and beauty

Attempts at Redress. Thus along with a great increase of industry, trade, and wealth, the Industrial Revolution had produced a vast amount of misery and hardship, so that, as Disraeli put it in the eighteen-forties, there were in England two nations, the rich and the poor It was little

wonder that labour revolted against such conditions, rising and destroying the hated machines, striking for better conditions or higher wages, organizing in societies of their own, and evolving schemes for the elimination of private capital After the inevitable failure of attempts such as the Luddite Riots of 1811–12 to destroy the new machines, the radical journalist, Cobbett, encouraged the workers to aid the movement for Parliamentary reform, which came in 1832 And when the reformed Parliament failed to fulfil the hopes of the factory workers, they brought



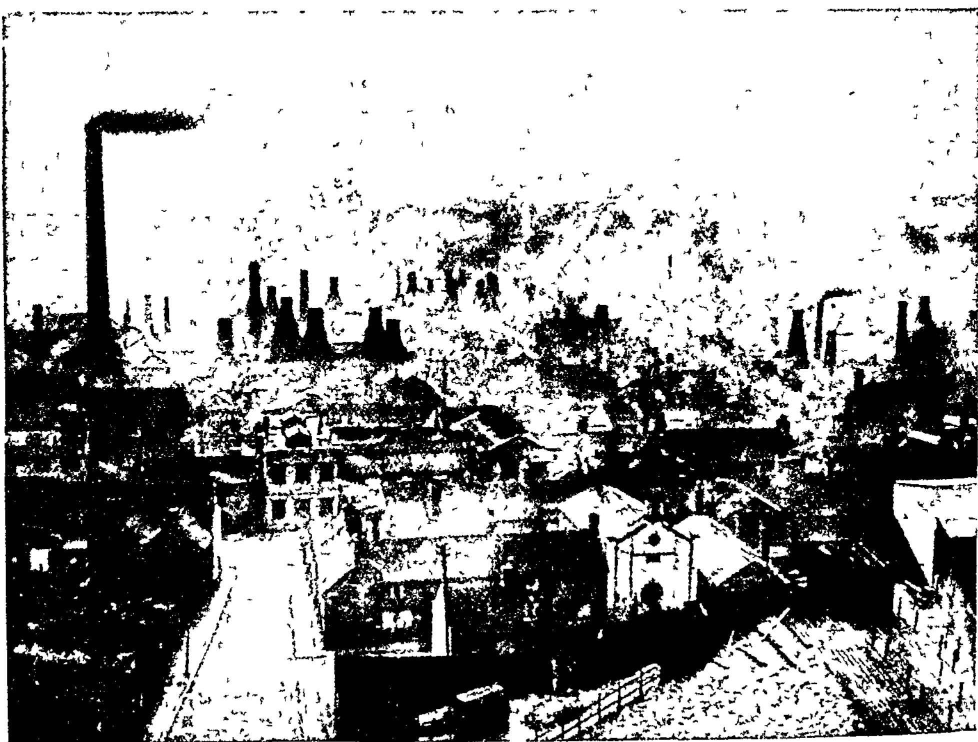
I.L N.

A CHARTIST PROCESSION

forward proposals for further reform in a People's Charter (1838) Though the demands of the Charter for manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, payment of members, were in due course to become a part of the British Constitution, at the time they were too revolutionary to be accepted by the middle-class Whigs governing England Parliament did, however, concern itself with the conditions of labour created by the Industrial Revolution In the year 1802 an Act of Parliament first tried to check the abuses of child labour, but failed for lack of any proper means to enforce it. The 'Children's Charter' of 1833 partially remedied this it regulated child labour in factories, and set up government inspectors to enforce the law There followed, slowly enough, other legislation limiting hours, and providing for improved conditions of labour, until a whole factory code was built up The name of Lord Shaftesbury will always be associated with these efforts at factory improvement

Trade Unions and Co-operation. Meanwhile the workers had begun

to combine amongst themselves to improve conditions. Though the employers might combine, unions of workers were at first forbidden, by laws passed during the stress of the Napoleonic wars. After the peace, the efforts of the London tailor, Place, and other radicals secured the repeal of these Acts, with the result that trade unions, as they came to be called, sprang up in large numbers. Under the influence of Robert Owen,



The Times

A SCENE IN INDUSTRIAL ENGLAND

manufacturer, social reformer, and socialist, a Grand National Consolidated Trades Union was formed to include all the workers in every trade. But this scheme failed, and after the failure of Chartism also, the workers set about the formation of separate national unions for separate trades. Through these trade unions labour came to exercise an increasing influence for the improvement of working conditions and higher wages, preparing for the entry of the trade unions into Parliament in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Another development of organized labour was the Co-operative Movement, by which labour set up in competition with capital. Apart from the early efforts of Robert Owen, this movement began when in 1844 some weavers of Rochdale (the Rochdale

Pioneers) founded a store with their limited funds and began to distribute the profits amongst those who purchased there. The enterprise prospered and spread, and even, though with more limited success, entered the field of co-operative manufacture Both trade unions and the co-operative movement were to spread far beyond Britain with the spread of modern industrialism.

The Rise of Socialism Almost from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution there were critics who argued that mere tampering with factory conditions was not enough, that far more radical changes, involving the elimination of private capital and the ownership by the workers, or the State, of machines, coal mines, railways, and perhaps the land, were necessary Both in England and France social reformers of this kind appeared The Comte de Saint-Simon, a French aristocrat, a gambler, spendthrift, and visionary, early in the nineteenth century vaguely outlined a new society in which men were no longer to exploit each other for profit, Fourier, a *bourgeois*, elaborated a most fantastic scheme for the regeneration of mankind by balancing good and evil passions in the units of his new society Later, Louis Blanc came forward with his more concrete proposals for the formation of social workshops, by State funds, to eliminate private capital Before this, in England, Robert Owen had turned from successful manufacturing to be the founder of English Socialism, though when he essayed to bring into existence in Indiana his scheme for a new society with public ownership of land and the means of production, the experiment failed sadly These early socialists have been called Utopian, from their belief that mankind, once freed from the competition and exploitation of industrialism, would be henceforth universally diligent, harmonious, and happy

Marxian Socialism. The failure of the haphazard attempts of the early socialists to put their beliefs into practice, combined with the failure of the revolutions of 1848, discredited their theories But already, in 1847, a German of Jewish descent, Karl Marx (1818–83), along with a disciple, Frederick Engels, had drawn up a *Communist Manifesto*, which was a call to a new, more revolutionary socialism Marx tried to turn the revolution of 1848 in Germany into more revolutionary channels, but failed and was expelled from the country. Henceforth he lived mainly in London, studying, writing, and agitating, producing in 1867 the first of three volumes called *Capital* The theories of Marx cannot be summarized in a few lines Their essence was the appeal, already contained in the Manifesto of 1847, to all working men to unite for the inevitable class struggle of labour against capital Capitalism was to be overthrown by revolution, and in its place was to be established the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist commonwealth Socialism

was henceforth to be international, for the interests of labour were identical in all countries As industrialism grew in the countries of Europe, the theories of Marx gained acceptance with numbers of workers, leading to the foundation both of national socialist parties in Germany, France, and Italy, and also to the formation of successive International Socialist Associations The effects of this we shall see in following the history of the nineteenth century, down to the revolution in Russia in 1917, when for the first time an attempt was made to build a new society on Marxian lines

Thus the Industrial Revolution had results of fundamental importance, by no means confined to the early part of the nineteenth century or to Britain, but developing, as the Industrial Revolution itself developed, down to our own day, and calling into question the whole basis of modern society.

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PART X

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY AND NATIONALISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

THE century which forms the immediate background to our own age was more complicated, and more full of change, than any preceding one. It inherited from its predecessors, and from the era of revolution which ushered it in, widened scientific knowledge, new industrial methods and technique, and new conceptions and experiences of government and society in the Old World and the New The western world now included not merely Europe, but also America So complicated does the story become that it is impossible to include in the chapters of a single Part all the developments of the century The expansion of the western world in all five continents, and the reactions thereto, as also the course of international relations leading to the world war of 1914–18, must therefore be looked at separately In this Part we are concerned with the way in which the twin forces of Democracy and Nationalism, remote in origin but first clearly expressed during the French Revolution, changed Europe between 1815 and 1914, and with certain cultural developments in the same period

We begin by following first the efforts of the statesmen of the Congress of Vienna to reshape Europe after the Napoleonic Wars, and then the revolts against that settlement, down to the widespread but ineffectual revolutions of 1848–9 (Chapter I) From this we trace the development of liberal and democratic ideas, and the establishment of popular government, in Britain and France, the two major European countries where this was most marked (Chapter II). The triumph of nationalism is similarly illustrated in the unification of Italy and Germany (Chapter III) The same two forces were likewise at work in the smaller states of Europe, and in the more autocratic empires of Austria and Russia (Chapter IV). Finally the same period saw a marked development of the many branches of modern science, as well as of literature and art (Chapter V)

CHAPTER I

THE RESTORATION, AND ATTEMPTS AT REFORM AND REVOLUTION, 1815–48

I THE RESTORATION

The Congress of Vienna and the Peace Settlement, 1814–15. The resettlement of Europe after the Napoleonic upheaval was a tremendous task, comparable to that following the war of 1914–18 It was accomplished by a congress which met in Vienna, at which most of the decisions were made by the great powers who had defeated Napoleon. The leading figures were Metternich, Alexander I, Castlereagh, and Frederick William of Prussia, though Talleyrand, the French representative, came to play an important part. Peace with France had already been made by separate treaty, which restored the Bourbon kings there

The main problem at Vienna was the reorganization of central Europe, and the allies dealt with it piecemeal, swayed by different motives, and frequently in conflict To strengthen Europe from further aggression from France they united the former Austrian Netherlands with Holland, Genoa with Piedmont, and increased Prussian territory across the Rhine They restored the old rulers in Spain and parts of Italy, such as Piedmont and the Papal States They compensated themselves out of the territories in dispute for their losses and efforts in the wars thus Austria not merely took back Milan but added Venice, Russia absorbed most of Poland, Prussia, after a severe struggle, got parts of Poland and Saxony Britain kept some of her gains overseas, but nothing in Europe Norway was joined to Sweden, which had helped in the war against Napoleon Switzerland regained her independence and was given a guarantee of neutrality Germany was left under Austrian control with only a semblance of unity It was evident that the settlement could not be a final one, the best that can be said for it is that it gave peace to Europe for a generation

The Holy Alliance. The four chief allies against Napoleon realized to some extent the need for some permanent organization to preserve the peace of Europe. They tried to meet it by agreeing to preserve their war-time alliance, and to hold conferences at intervals Alexander of Russia, a puzzling mixture of religious mystic and worldly imperialist, tried to go further He evolved a scheme for a Holy Alliance of the Christian powers of Europe, based on 'the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace.' But the powers were not ready for such exalted principles Britain refused to join the alliance, seeing its weakness, and



EUROPE
IN 1815
Scale 1:20,000,000 (320 miles-1 inch)
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400
Boundary of German Confederation
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF BISCAY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC
IRELAND
UNITED KINGDOM
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
HUNGARY
KINGDOM OF POLAND
RUSSIA
UKRAINE
VOLHYNIA
PODOLIA
BESSARABIA
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
BULGARIA
SERVIA
BOSNIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
ANATOLIA
GREECE
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
PAPAL STATES
HANOVER
Edinburgh
Newcastle
Dublin
Manchester
London
Paris
Rouen
Orleans
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Marseilles
Lyons
Berne
Innsbruck
Munich
Vienna
Pressburg
Trieste
Rome
Naples
Palermo
Messina
Salonica
Sofia
Adrianople
Varna
Plevna
Bucharest
Belgrade
Copenhagen
Königsberg
Danzig
Breslau
Warsaw
Magdeburg
Cologne
Lille
Le Havre
Brest
Madrid
Barcelona
Niemen
Rhine
Danube
Save
Drave
Smyrna
Rhodes
East from Greenwich
George Philip & Son, Ltd

though the other powers signed the covenant, Metternich derided it as 'a loud-sounding nothing' Soon Alexander himself forgot its principles, and the Holy Alliance became an instrument for oppression rather than an agency for peace The European conferences held in the years immediately following 1815 likewise came to serve similar ends, leading to intervention, first in Italy and then in Spain, on behalf of reactionary rulers Canning, now in charge of Britain's foreign affairs, refused to support this policy, and so the alliance of the great powers broke up A widening gulf appeared between the policy of the three eastern, more autocratic powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and that of the two more liberal western powers, Britain and France, which made co-operation impossible, so that for a long time there was no such thing as a concert of the great powers of Europe



ALEXANDER I

Metternich. The man who exercised most influence in forming and directing the policy of the three more autocratic powers was Metternich, first Foreign Minister and then Chancellor of Austria for the whole period down to 1848 Metternich was a conservative, and, from his point of view, with some reason He belonged to the old society of the eighteenth century, which the French Revolution had destroyed He had seen Austria, the country he served, overrun and defeated time and again by the armies of the French Republic and Napoleon, before he helped to build up the alliance which finally removed the Napoleonic menace The settlement of the Congress of Vienna, thanks largely to him, had been very favourable to Austria, and Metternich spent the rest of his term of office in striving to maintain it Any change in the system of Europe was almost bound to be to Austria's disadvantage, and so Metternich stood for stability, political and social Since the Habsburg realm was made up of many different nationalities, disturbance in Italy or Germany was likely to encourage unrest in Austria So Metternich followed the behest of his master the emperor, and opposed all change Despite his vain, egotistical character, however, he was free from aggressive imperialism, and was shrewd enough to see as time went on that

some change was inevitable, indeed necessary. But he loved power, and his place at court, and so remained in office, concerned, as he once admitted, with 'propping up the mouldering edifice,' until the revolution of 1848 swept him away, unmourned and unregretted, a symbol of an age which had passed



METTERNICH

The Restoration in France. The spirit of the Restoration period was not only embodied in Metternich It was manifest also in France, in Spain, in Germany, in Italy, varying from country to country, but everywhere concerned to undo, or ignore as far as possible, the work of the revolutionary period But although there were ultra-conservatives in France who had 'learnt nothing and forgotten nothing,' and although the restored Pope might put back the gates of the ghetto, actually it was too late to go back over twenty years In France the restored Bourbon king, Louis XVIII, though he was old, stiff, and gouty, had the sense to see this, and stood by the Charter of 1814, which set up a form of limited monarchy, with two legislative Chambers He accepted the administrative, judicial, agrarian, and financial changes of the Revolution, and strove to hold a middle path between the returned *émigrés* and ultra-royalists led by his brother, the Comte d'Artois, and the more liberal and radical elements he found in France But when that brother succeeded to the throne as Charles X in 1824, the triumphant ultras altered the constitution in their own favour, indemnified themselves for their losses in the Revolution, and increased the influence of their allies, the clergy The result was that in six years Charles exhausted the loyalty of the country, and a rising in Paris in 1830 sent him into exile again, the last of the Bourbon kings of France



LOUIS XVIII

The Restoration in Spain and Naples Nor was the restoration of the Bourbon kings in Spain and Naples any happier Ferdinand VII of Spain began by repudiating the constitution which the Spaniards had set up in his absence, and set to work to 'blot out Liberalism' from his domains The result was that within a few years he was faced by a revolt of liberals and army officers Although this was repressed with the aid of France, acting for the Holy Alliance, Ferdinand's conduct rendered inevitable the loss of his American colonies, drove many Spaniards into exile, and made his rule a byword for tyranny and oppression. The Carlist civil wars which followed his death were a fitting epitaph for this bad king Yet he was surpassed in misrule by his cousin, the Bourbon king of Naples, in whose realm the Restoration saw its utmost folly and its blindest reaction There was scarcely a redeeming feature in the character and rule of this restored king He, too, provoked a rising, that of the secret society of the Carbonari or Charcoal-burners, and was likewise restored by foreign arms, in this case those of Austria The tyranny he again set up was continued after his death by his son

II ATTEMPTS AT REFORM AND REVOLUTION

Serb Autonomy and Greek Independence But even before these Restoration monarchs had passed from the scene, a new tide had begun to flow in the affairs of Europe It manifested itself first in the Balkans The attempts of the Serbs to free themselves from the alien Turkish yoke had, indeed, begun during the Napoleonic period, but it was not until 1817 that they secured autonomy within the Ottoman Empire, the first stage to later independence The Greek rising which came a few years later aroused far more general interest in Europe, partly because of the influence of the classical past of the Greeks, which sent the poet Byron and many others to fight for a sacred cause, and partly because the great powers were drawn into the struggle Whilst the Greeks displayed great heroism in their long-drawn-out struggle with the Turks, it was the intervention of Britain, France, and Russia on their behalf which finally secured for them complete independence and gave them a Bavarian prince as king (1832) Only part of modern Greece became independent, and the history of the new state was by no means easy or smooth Yet its creation marked the first clear triumph of the new principle of nationality in the Balkans, and, because of the interest aroused all over Europe, was of considerable significance for the new age

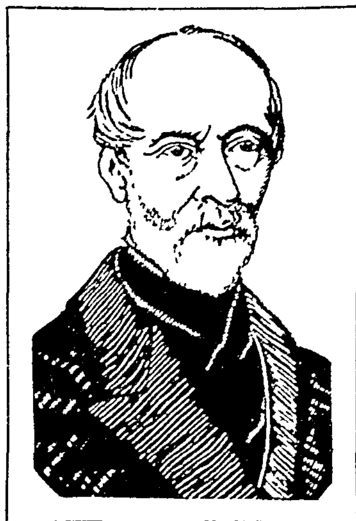
The Revolutions of 1830· France Before Greek independence had

finally been secured by treaty, revolutions had broken out elsewhere in Europe, from France to Poland These revolutions illustrated the rise of the twin forces of liberalism and nationalism, the former clearest in France, the latter in Belgium and Poland France, or rather Paris, led the way with its rising against Charles X in July 1830 But although it was the Paris radicals who defeated the royal troops in the *street fighting of the July days, the moderate liberals of the middle class* reaped the reward. The real significance of the revolution of 1830 was that it completed the process, which had begun in 1789, of giving control to the *bourgeoisie* Fearing the republic, these men set up Louis Philippe, an Orleanist cousin of the Bourbons, as king The tricolour replaced the white flag of the Bourbons again, the Charter of 1814 was modified and the franchise somewhat enlarged, and the National Guard was revived to be a middle-class bulwark for the July Monarchy Louis Philippe, the *bourgeois* king, was despised by the aristocrats for his lack of royal dignity His ministers were financiers and professional men like Casimir Périer, Guizot, and Thiers, and the Chamber of Deputies was likewise filled with good, sober, middle - class men With 1830 France entered on a period of relative stability and calm

Revolutions elsewhere in Europe in 1830. 'When Paris has a cold Europe sneezes' So it was in 1830 The effect of the July days in Paris was felt immediately in the Netherlands, where the union of Belgium with Holland had not been a success The unwise policy of the stronger Dutch partner to the alliance had magnified the differences which already existed between Protestant trading Holland and Catholic agricultural or industrial Belgium Hence the discontented Belgians, on hearing of the success of the rising in Paris, rose in Brussels and declared their independence Thus a liberal-radical movement in France provoked a nationalist movement across the border. The Belgian rising made a definite breach in the settlement of 1815, but in view of its strength of feeling Britain and France accepted the fact and the separate state of Belgium was created It was later given a new kind of joint guarantee of independence by the powers of Europe, a guarantee maintained until 1914 Leopold I, the German uncle of Queen Victoria, became the ruler of the new state, with a parliamentary system of government

Nationalism also provoked a rising in Poland The existence of this sentiment there, outraged by the partitions of the eighteenth century, roused again by Napoleon, had been largely ignored by the settlement of 1815, which gave parts of Poland to Austria and Prussia, and the major portion as a Polish kingdom to Russia The Paris rising quickly led to a nationalist movement in Warsaw But whilst there was much

sympathy for the Poles in western Europe, no power was prepared to go to war with Russia on their behalf The revolt was put down with great severity, the separate constitution for Poland abolished, and Russia strove to assimilate the country It was left to the Polish exiles scattered all over Europe to keep alive the cause of Polish independence In the Italian peninsula, divided into eight separate states and dominated by Austria, there were risings in some of the duchies and in the Papal States But they were too divided and weak to achieve anything and were quickly suppressed Similar attempts to secure more liberal government in Germany had little result save the gain of representative institutions in some of the north-western states Thus the revolutions of 1830 were a mixture of success and failure Yet they provided clear evidence of the rise of new forces, in opposition to the settlement of 1815 and the system of The Restoration Further evidence was to appear between 1830 and 1848 in the *Risorgimento* in Italy, the liberal-nationalist movement in Germany, the national-racial movement in Austria, and the socialist-republican movement in France These we must look at in turn



MAZZINI

Mazzini and the Risorgimento in Italy The *Risorgimento*, or Revival, in Italy was many-sided, but all its aspects met in the ideal of an Italy free from Austrian control, no longer a mere 'geographical expression' as Metternich had declared, but united from end to end, and more or less democratically governed. Thus it was primarily national, but also liberal The outstanding figure at this stage of the movement was Mazzini (1805–72), scholar, exile, philanthropist, plotter, and above all patriot, the founder of the secret society of Young Italy, with its motto 'God and the People' To Mazzini nationality and popular government were inseparable A nation was to him 'a fellowship of free and equal men', indeed, only a republic could fulfil his aspiration for Italy But although Mazzini gathered many disciples, including young men like the simple and intrepid Garibaldi, the *Risorgimento* included others of more moderate political views Some of these, like Gioberti, saw the natural leadership for Italy in the Papacy, under a liberal Pope such as Pius IX seemed to be on his accession in 1846 Others began to look rather to the Piedmontese monarchy to take the lead. Yet though Piedmont

was becoming more progressive and more national, its ruler at this time, Charles Albert, was no man to lead Italy into the Promised Land, as 1848 was tragically to show.

The Liberal-nationalist Movement in Germany. Germany after the Napoleonic period had been reduced to thirty-eight states, varying from Austria and Prussia (only parts of which states were included), down to the many tiny states of central Germany. Austria dominated the Confederation set up in 1815, which had a Diet at Frankfurt, but no army, judiciary, or budget. In these and other matters the separate states went their own ways, accepting the domination of Austria as represented by Metternich. And despite the fact that some of the states had representative assemblies, and that agitations occasionally arose, Metternich was able to hold Germany in check until about 1840, getting the Diet to pass repressive decrees from time to time.



THE STATUE OF GOETHE AND SCHILLER AT WEIMAR

Yet Germany was changing all the same. The literary revival of the later eighteenth century, led by Lessing, Herder, Schiller, and Goethe, had prepared for the war of liberation against Napoleon. Schiller (1759–1805) by his fiery verse helped to evoke national feeling in Germany, and Goethe (1749–1832), the greatest figure in all German literature, combined in himself all the tendencies of the age. His greatest drama, *Faust*, has the timelessness of Shakespeare's tragedies. This literary movement, continued in the Romantic writers, found more political significance in the rise after 1830 of what was called Young Germany, connected with the universities, but also represented by the prose and poetry of Heine, and by much patriotic writing. Economic conditions were likewise changing. Germany's first railway was opened in 1827, and the coal-fields of Westphalia, Silesia, and Saxony were beginning to develop. Prussia was waking up. To meet her lack of geographical unity she had begun to build up a Zollverein or Customs Union, first for her own territories, and then for all Germany. By 1834 nearly all the German states save Austria were members of this union, which thus provided a rival to the Austrian control of the Diet. The advent

of a new and gifted king to the Prussian throne in 1840, Frederick William IV, encouraged 'Young German' liberals and nationalists to believe that a new era of greater unity and freedom was about to dawn for their fatherland But 1848 was to show that Frederick William IV was as lacking in leadership as Charles Albert of Piedmont

The Rise of Nationalism in Austria. Within the Habsburg realm itself these years saw the rise of a Nationalist movement making not for greater unity but for the reverse For the Austrian Empire was only about one-quarter German, the remainder of its population being made up of Magyars, Slavs, Rumanians, Italians, and Jews The Slavs were divided into Poles, Ukrainians, Czechs, and Slovaks in the north, and Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes in the south, some in Austria itself and others in Hungary In theory Hungary and Bohemia were separate kingdoms, but the emperors disregarded this division as far as they could The empire was likewise divided in religion between Roman and Greek Catholics, Lutheran and Calvinist Protestants, Jews and Moslems

Of all the subject peoples the Magyars of Hungary were most politically conscious, and there now arose among them an insistent demand for fuller recognition of their ancient rights This was accompanied for a time by a movement for political and social reform Some of the Slav peoples were likewise stirred The Czechs of Bohemia revived the study of their history and literature, and the Croats of southern Hungary responded to the same stimulus, seeing in Magyar nationalism a threat to their own claims There was also a growing impatience of incompetent autocracy and bureaucracy in Vienna, whilst in rural Austria the peasantry began to protest against the feudalism which still survived Yet the emperors, Francis II to 1835, and then the feeble-minded Ferdinand I, had no thought of change, and Metternich was too old to meet these problems, which were to flame into revolution in 1848

The Growth of Socialism and Republicanism in France. At first appearance the monarchy of Louis Philippe seemed extraordinarily firm, stable, and prosperous France grew rapidly in material prosperity under the domination of the middle class, its relations with England improved, and the age was one of great artistic and literary achievement, the great age of French Romanticism But the prosperity was largely due to the development of industrialism, which, whilst it brought wealth to the employers, was accompanied by much misery and hardship amongst the workers Already social reformers like Saint-Simon and Fourier had made proposals for reconstituting French society Now, a young journalist, Louis Blanc, proposed that the State should take over the

industries of the country for the benefit of the working class. These 'socialistic' ideas spread among the industrial workers of France, strengthened by a severe economic crisis in the middle forties Other opponents to the July Monarchy also began to show themselves. The Bourborn aristocrats naturally hated the regime which had ousted them; the Catholic Church was dissatisfied under Guizot, the Protestant prime minister, Bonapartism began to revive in protest against a dull and peaceful regime, liberal reformers like the poet Lamartine demanded an extension of the franchise, and finally, radical opinion of all kinds began to look back to the Revolution of 1789 and seek the revival of the Jacobin republic



Courtesy 'Punch'

Mr Punch 'There! Go and kiss your little sister, and don't talk about fighting any more!'
(*The First Entente between France and England*)

III The Revolutions of 1848–9

From Monarchy to Republic in France. It was from these conditions that there broke out in 1848 a series of revolutions in Europe France was still the mother of revolution, but revolutionary movements had begun even before Paris rose in February 1848 Thus Switzerland was already torn by a civil war, which was to end in the triumph of the radicals and the establishment of the federal, democratic Swiss Republic In contrast with this single success the revolutions of 1848 in France, Italy, Germany, and Austria were to end in failure and disaster, even where, as in France, they seemed for a time to be successful As in 1830, it was a rising in Paris which, somewhat unexpectedly, put

an end to the reign of Louis Philippe, and sent the old king to end his days in exile But there were two parties to the rising, democrats and socialist republicans, and although these two groups united to set up the Second Republic, their rivalry was to be fatal to its success

The Revolution of 1848–9 in Italy. The attempt of the Italians to throw off the Austrian yoke and reform their ways of government was a confused medley of noble but tragic efforts Every part of the peninsula



I L N.

THE MARCH DAYS IN BERLIN, 1848

was affected Sicily was already in revolt Milan rose against Austrian rule immediately it received news of the risings in France and Austria Venice followed, and under Manin proclaimed the revival of the old republic In Piedmont came the first demand, led by Cavour, for a parliamentary constitution, and then a cry for instant war against Austria Though war was proclaimed, enthusiasm was no match for military discipline and the skill of the old Austrian general, Radetzky After a temporary success, defeats at Custozza and Novara ruined the Italian cause in the north of the peninsula, leaving the Austrians rulers as before To the south the rising in Naples had been quickly suppressed In Rome Pius IX, who had already repented of his early sympathy with the popular cause, openly opposed the war against Austria, and then fled from his capital There ensued the brief but heroic episode of the Roman Republic But despite the idealism of Mazzini and the

valour of Garibaldi, the Republic was destroyed by a French army and the rule of the Pope restored Thus in Italy, also, the revolution failed disastrously

The Revolutions of 1848–9 in Austria and Germany. The risings which occurred in Germany and Austria were hardly more successful. In the Habsburg dominions the downfall of Metternich in March 1848 was followed by great confusion The emperor fled from Vienna, his rule collapsed, and for a time the capital was a prey almost to anarchy But the army had remained loyal, and after some months fought its way back into Vienna and crushed the revolution there The old emperor abdicated in favour of a young nephew, Francis Joseph, who was instructed in autocratic rule by Schwarzenberg Meanwhile the Magyars and some of the Slavs had likewise risen But in Bohemia, dissension between Czechs and Germans enabled the Habsburgs to restore their authority Similarly, although the Magyars of Hungary under patriots like Kossuth made a great struggle to assert and maintain their national independence, the rival aspirations and racial hatreds aroused among the Croats and Rumanians also played into the hands of the Habsburgs Russian intervention finally brought the Magyars to their knees, and destroyed their hopes of freedom for many years With the victory in northern Italy the Austrian Empire thus appeared to be completely restored, leaving as the one achievement of the revolution the abolition of the feudal burdens of the peasantry

The revolution in Germany was more peaceful than that in Austria, being free from the racial antagonisms aroused there It began most promisingly with the triumph of liberal reform in practically all the states, including Prussia where Frederick William IV appeared ready to support it In order to create a national government for Germany a great assembly was elected and met at Frankfurt in May 1848 It contained many able and high-minded men, but lacked political experience and was too academic in its discussions In any case the German problem was beyond solution by an elected assembly, without the whole-hearted support of the leading princes of Germany The Austrian Empire was naturally hostile, and the King of Prussia after some hesitation definitely refused to accept the new German crown offered him by the Frankfurt Assembly Instead, he turned against the revolution both in Frankfurt and in Berlin The Assembly broke up, leaving its task incomplete, the old governments were restored in most of the German states, the old Diet was set up again, and at a conference held at Olmutz (1850) Prussia accepted once more Austrian dominance in Germany

For Further Reading

A Cecil, *Metternich*
Bolton King, *Mazzini*
J S Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*
G M Trevelyan, *Garibaldi*
C K Webster, *The Congress of Vienna*

CHAPTER II

THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY IN BRITAIN AND FRANCE

I Britain

England before the French Revolution The second half of the eighteenth century was a time of cross currents in Britain The England of the first three Georges, of Walpole and Dr Johnson, with its all-powerful landed aristocracy, hard-drinking country squires, and sturdy yeomen, its established Church and unreformed Parliament, its growing wealth and trade, and its wide empire, was giving way before new influences In addition to the breach in the empire made by the American Revolution, and the changes in agriculture and industry, there were other influences as well The Wesleys and Whitefield with their preaching and hymns both brought Methodism into being and aided the Evangelical Revival in the established Church The religious revival encouraged the efforts of men like John Howard for prison reform, Raikes for Sunday schools, Wilberforce and others for the abolition of the slave trade Adam Smith advocated greater freedom of trade, Bentham laboured for legal reform There was a growing demand for the reform of Parliament, supported for a time by the younger Pitt Manners became a little softer, drunkenness began slowly to decline There was a new movement in painting led by Gainsborough and Reynolds, and in poetry Burns heralded the dawn of a new age, the age of lyrical romanticism

The French Revolution and After Whilst the revolution in France at first stimulated the demand for reform in Britain, its growing violence soon alarmed moderate opinion Then came the war, and the cause of reform in Britain was lost for more than a generation Pitt and his Tory followers prosecuted reformers and passed repressive measures, the king refused to grant the freedom to Catholics promised with the Union forced upon Ireland in 1800, Fox only managed to end the slave

trade in 1807, after Pitt's death. Nor did conditions improve at first when the long wars were over. The burden of the enormous national debt, together with the rapid changes in agriculture and industry, made the economic problem acute. The need for reform had increased, but the Tory government saw the spectre of Jacobinism in any effort to obtain it. They used military force against an unarmed crowd in the 'Peterloo Massacre' (1819) and passed Acts against public meetings and agitation of any kind. Castlereagh, who had done much to win



SIR ROBERT PEEL



WILLIAM HUSKISSON

the war against Napoleon, became a hated figure, and his death was greeted with savage joy. The future George IV, Regent for his mad father, was once attacked by a mob in London.

An Age of Reforms. About a decade after Waterloo, however, a reforming tide began to flow, at first under Tory rule. Robert Peel amended the monstrous criminal laws and established a police force, called 'bobbies' or 'peelers' after him, to keep the peace without recourse to the army. Huskisson freed trade and shipping from many of the restrictions of the old Mercantile System, encouraged emigration, and established colonial trade preference. About the same time the laws forbidding the organization of workers' unions were repealed. Canning, as foreign minister, opposed the reactionary powers of the Holy Alliance and aided Greek emancipation. Even the Duke of Wellington, a High Tory, was obliged to accept both the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts against Dissenters, and then the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829), by which the Roman Catholics were made eligible for public

office It was the Whigs, however, led by Grey and Russell, who passed the most important British Act of Parliament in the whole nineteenth century, the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832 The Act was only passed after a severe crisis, in which England was near to revolution. And although it made a clean sweep of the old 'rotten' boroughs and introduced a uniform franchise, that franchise was far from universal, the working man in town and country was not given the vote But this first reform undoubtedly opened the way to further change, by which in due time the government of Britain was to become fully democratic

A number of other notable reforming measures were passed in the years immediately following the Reform Act An Act of 1833 put an end to slavery throughout the British Empire An effective beginning was made in checking abuses of workers in the factories The penal code was further reformed and something was done for popular education The local government of towns, formerly corrupt and inefficient, was now placed in the hands of those who paid local taxes, which led to a steady improvement in urban conditions The old method of aiding the poor by doles was replaced by a new system which set up workhouses, a harsh remedy but better than none The heavy tax on newspapers was reduced and the penny post established The banking system was improved and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was established Whilst Scotland shared in the benefits of these reforms, the Whigs did little to amend conditions in discontented Ireland, despite the efforts of O'Connell for repeal of the Union of 1800



Courtesy of 'Punch'

CARRYING THE CORN, OR, THE FREE TRADE HARVEST-HOME

In imperial affairs they were more successful, for the famous Report of the radical Whig, Lord Durham, on the unrest in Canada was to lead to the establishment of colonial self-government.

Middle-class Rule. For a generation or more after the Reform Act of 1832 Britain was governed by her powerful and large middle class During this period she was slowly emerging from the depression which followed the Napoleonic wars The radical Chartist movement of the thirties for more democratic government failed to achieve its ends at the time, but the agitation for the removal of the import duties on wheat (the Corn Laws) which followed was brilliantly successful Its leaders, Cobden and Bright, were the apostles of the Manchester School, which believed in complete freedom for trade and industry, and they managed to convert the Tory statesman, Peel, to their views The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 marked both the triumph of Free Trade for Britain and the coming of better times Food became cheaper, trade and industry steadily improved, wages rose, and well-being and contentment began to replace the earlier misery and discontent

Thus the long reign of Queen Victoria (1837–1901), which opened in storm and stress, gradually emerged into quieter waters The queen, and until his death her husband, the Prince Consort, helped to restore the monarchy from the disrepute into which it had fallen under the later Georges For although the queen was rather conservative, she had much common sense, she acquired a vast experience, and learnt to accept the actions of her responsible ministers Her piety and high moral standards also exercised a great influence, so that Victorianism, represented by Tennyson and Browning in verse, Dickens and Thackeray in fiction, came to be the accepted characteristic of nineteenth-century England Yet for this middle period the Whig-Conservative, Lord Palmerston (1784–1865), likewise represented the ruling tendencies of the age, with half a century of public life behind him

Votes for All With the disappearance of Palmerston from the stage in 1865 a new era of change set in Curiously enough it was the Conservative Disraeli who in 1867 made the famous 'leap in the dark,' which extended the parliamentary franchise to all householders in the towns Carlyle called this 'shooting Niagara' In 1884 the agricultural labourer was likewise given a vote, and in 1918 full adult male suffrage became the law of the land At the same time votes for women were introduced, and ten years later their voting powers were made equal to those of men Payment of members of the House of Commons was introduced in 1911 Thus step by step Britain made her institutions more democratic The Cabinet had long been responsible to Parliament, now Parliament became responsible to the people The Crown

remained, gaining rather than losing in popularity, as a symbol of national and imperial unity, but no longer exercising any direct or appreciable control over government The House of Lords likewise remained unchanged, despite efforts to reform it, but its powers steadily diminished, while those of the House of Commons as steadily increased An Act of 1911 formally limited the powers of the House of Lords in legislation,



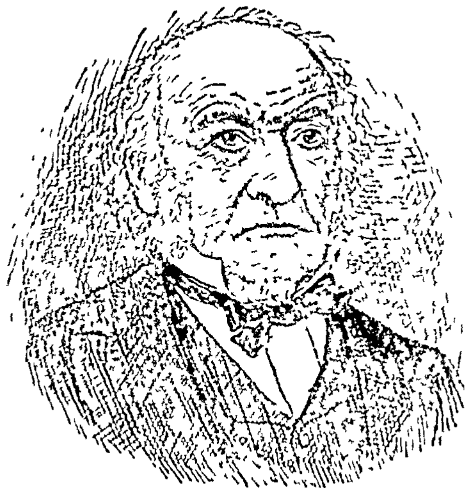
Courtesy of 'Punch'

A LEAP IN THE DARK

and it has now practically become the rule that the Prime Minister must be a member of the lower house Another development of this period deserves mention the creation of a civil service of great efficiency, and independent of party politics

Gladstone and Disraeli Two great statesmen, Gladstone and Disraeli represent the height of Liberalism and Conservatism in nineteenth-century Britain It was Gladstone (1809–98), once a Tory but later a Liberal, who took advantage of the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1867 to inaugurate other reforms in a great ministry from 1868 to 1874 He began with the stiffest problem of all, that of Ireland, by disestablishing the Anglican Church there Then with a Land Act he began the long process by which the possession of the land was opened to the Irish

peasantry Later he was to continue his attempts to solve the Irish problem. Meanwhile he provided England with a national system of primary schools to educate the new voters, ended by the Ballot Act the old and much abused method of open voting, and reformed the civil service, the army, and the higher courts of justice. This accomplished, his Liberal government gave way to the Tory one led by his great rival Disraeli (1804–81), the 'old Jew,' as Bismarck called him, was less interested in reforms than Gladstone, but he had the wisdom to see that Conservatism, if it was to survive, must win popular support This he accomplished in part by sponsoring measures for the improvement of social conditions, but also by the way in which he appealed to popular imagination and imperialist sentiment Thus he created the title Empress of India for the Queen, purchased control of the Suez Canal, and expended much effort in raising British prestige abroad



GLADSTONE

Irish Home Rule. As the nineteenth century ran towards its close the special problem of Ireland became increasingly insistent The growth of English democracy and Irish nationalism together made some new arrangement necessary, for it was abundantly clear that the parliamentary Union of 1800 was not a success. The early agitation of O'Connell for its repeal had failed, and although conditions in Ireland had improved since the dreadful potato famine of 1845, and Gladstone had redressed the grievance of an alien Church, the land problem still remained By 1880, moreover, a new demand for self-government had appeared, finding support from the many embittered Irish emigrants in America Parnell, a Protestant landowner but an uncompromising Irish nationalist, put himself at the head of the movement, which was accompanied by disorders in Ireland Gladstone, after a further attempt to improve the position of the Irish tenant farmers, was converted to Home Rule, and in 1886, and again seven years later, he strove to bring this into effect But in this last crusade the great Liberal failed, and broke up the Liberal party in his effort Despite Conservative attempts to 'kill Home Rule by kindness' in the shape of generous Land Acts, Irish nationalism continued to grow steadily The earlier Fenianism developed into Sinn Fein ('ourselves alone'), seeking the establishment of an independent

Irish Republic Yet Protestant Ulster refused to accept a further attempt at Home Rule in 1914, and after the war of 1914–18, during which a rising had occurred at Easter 1916, matters went from bad to worse. Finally, a treaty made in 1921 recognized an Irish Free State, excluding Ulster, as a self-governing dominion in the British Empire. Ireland was free, within these limits, to solve her own problems in her own way, though the extremists, led by de Valera, continued to demand more complete separation


DISRAELI

Social Reforms in Democratic Britain. With a democratic system of government it was inevitable that further attempts should be made to reduce the evils of industrialism in this highly industrialized country The age of *laissez-faire* passed away, save in trade, and even there proposals were made for 'tariff reform' which were to lead in 1931 to the abandonment of free trade Meanwhile there was an increasing flow of legislation designed to protect the factory workers and to improve their conditions Thus a Workman's Compensation Act (1897) protected the workmen against accidents, old age pensions and insurance for workers against sickness and unemployment were provided, conditions of labour, hours, and even wages, were regulated, and the legal position of the Trade Unions was strengthened Popular education was improved by the setting up of public secondary schools, and the sale of liquor was restricted. Much of this legislation was the work of the Liberal government of Asquith and Lloyd George in the decade before the war, and the attempt of the radical Welshman to increase the taxation of the rich to provide money for social reform led to a great crisis with the conservative House of Lords in 1909–11 It was the last phase of reforming Liberalism

Labour in Politics For another result of the political changes of the century was the entry of Labour into Parliament as a rival to Liberalism The Trade Unions had steadily increased in importance during the second half of the nineteenth century, and found a programme in modern socialism They began to press for Labour representation in Parliament, and formed a Labour party which in 1906 returned fifty-one

members to the House of Commons Thus Labour came to exercise a direct influence on legislation, and the party grew at the expense of the older Liberalism, which favoured social reform but not socialism The war put a stop for a time to the struggle of parties, but when that was over a reorganized and strengthened Labour party reappeared, taking the place of the Liberal party in opposition to the Conservatives In 1924 Labour formed its first government under Ramsay MacDonald, but being dependent on Liberal support only lasted a few months. Yet it was to return to office five years later, and although the crisis of the depression of 1929 led to the formation of a National Government drawn from all three parties, Labour had firmly established its place in British politics

Thus Britain by slow stages evolved from a state in which monarchy and aristocracy were supreme to one in which the mass of the people both directly and through their representatives in Parliament exercised an increasing control over the destinies of the nation. How the British Empire fared in the same period we shall see in another chapter

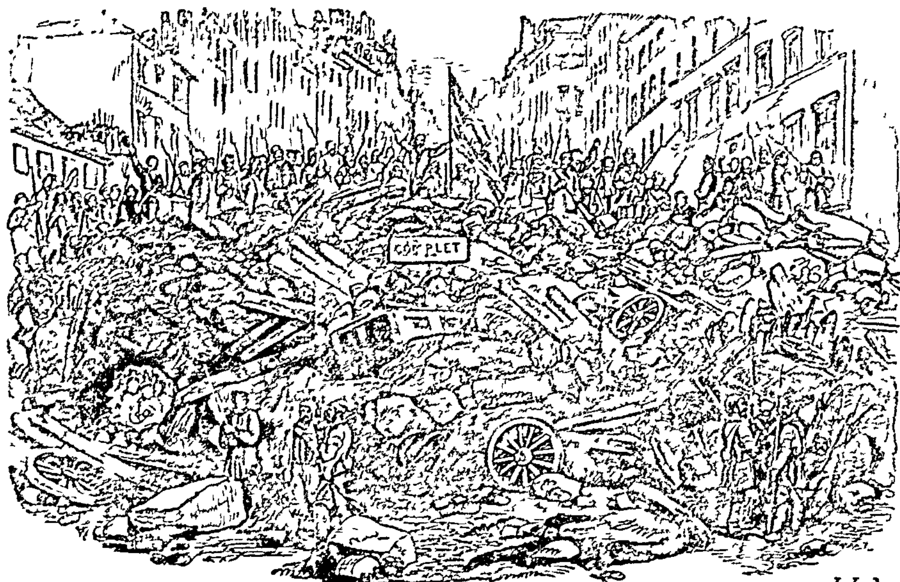
II FRANCE

The Second Republic, 1848–52. We have seen how Paris in 1848 overthrew the constitutional monarchy of Louis Philippe and established in its place a democratic republic But the makers of the revolution were themselves sharply divided between the *bourgeois* reformers led by Lamartine, and the radicals and socialists led by Louis Blanc Rural France was alarmed at socialist proposals from Paris which might threaten the ownership of their land, the Church was hostile, as were also the aristocrats and capitalists, and finally the revival of Bonapartism likewise threatened the new regime The National Assembly, chosen to draw up a new constitution, quickly quarrelled with the provisional government in Paris, which had rashly guaranteed work for every one and set up 'national workshops' which were supposed to fulfil socialist aspirations The result was the bitter street fighting of the 'June Days' in Paris, in which the army of the Assembly vanquished the socialist proletariat of Paris. But this victory widened the gulf between the middle and working classes, and fatally weakened the infant republic

The final blow was given by the election of Louis Napoleon, nephew of the great emperor, as President of the newly organized republic He was supported by many who, with no belief in Bonapartism, regarded him as a useful nonentity, but the mass of the people elected him for his name, some peasants even believed that they were voting for the old emperor Actually Louis Napoleon was by no means a cipher He

firmly believed that he was called upon to restore the Empire, and as President he possessed an unrivalled position to bring this about. After careful preparation, on 2nd December 1851, the day of Austerlitz, he destroyed the Republic by a *coup d'état*. A year later to the day, having secured an enormous vote in his favour from the people of France, he restored the Napoleonic Empire.

The Second Empire, 1852–70. Thus the seemingly incredible had happened and France in four years had passed from democratic republic



I L N

A BARRICADE IN PARIS DURING THE JUNE DAYS, 1848

to autocratic empire. Napoleon III was by no means so great a man as his uncle; Victor Hugo called him 'Napoleon the little'. He had proved himself a skilful plotter, but though courageous enough he was no soldier; his character was weak and he was no great statesman. His rule rested on the army and the support of the peasantry of France; when the army was defeated in the war with Prussia in 1870 the Empire collapsed. Yet for a time the Empire was, or appeared to be, a success. Although Napoleon hated popular government, he essayed to be a benevolent despot. He gave the country internal stability and strove to improve material conditions for the poor. Industry and trade developed rapidly, and it was in this era that France became covered with a network of railways. Much of Paris was rebuilt, its narrow streets cleared, and the fine boulevards we see to-day created. His Empress, Eugénie, made the court a gay one; the birth of a son strengthened his position; the

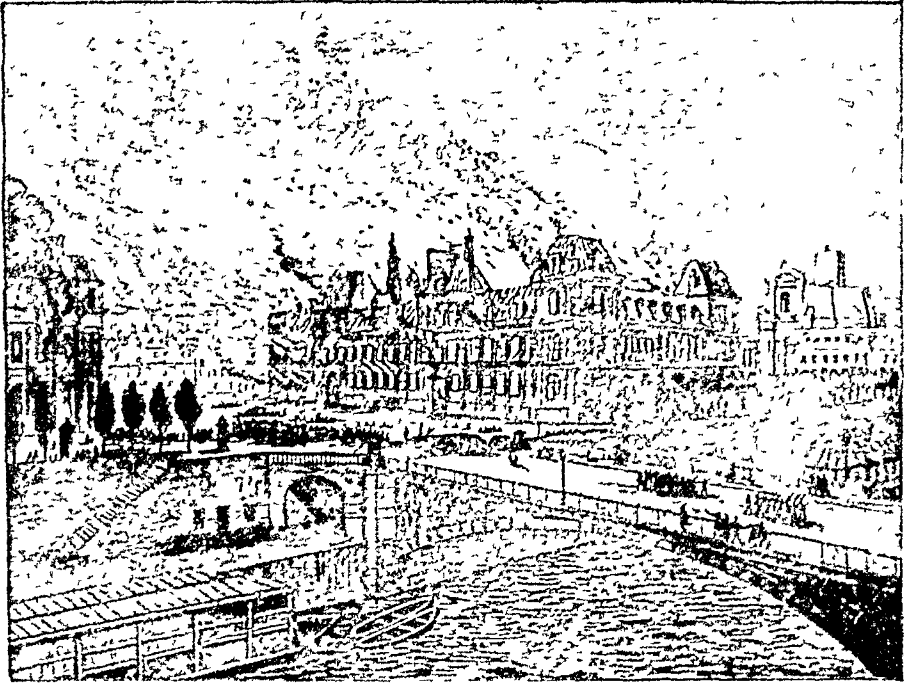
Church approved of his policy. Abroad the Empire won credit and even renown. Although Napoleon belied his declaration that 'the Empire is peace,' by joining Britain in the Crimean War against Russia, his armies were victorious, the peace conference of 1856 met in his capital, and for a few years he was the outstanding ruler in Europe.

The Decline and Fall of the Second Empire. After some years, however, the Empire began to weaken. Napoleon's own powers diminished, and he had against him the two great forces of democracy and nationalism. The former of these began to raise its head again in France, to criticize the growing inefficiency of the Empire, and even demand the Republic. Napoleon tried to disarm this opposition by making his rule more liberal, but the so-called 'Liberal Empire' was in reality an impossible contradiction in terms, and satisfied hardly anybody. To the democratic opposition within France was added the nationalist opposition without. Napoleon III was rather friendly to the nationalist aspirations of the day. He aided the creation of Rumania, and went to war with Austria in 1859 on behalf of Italian nationality. But although he had a measure of success in this, and won Savoy and Nice for France, his Italian intervention roused suspicion in Europe and controversy in France. To disarm Catholic opposition Napoleon for years kept a French garrison in Rome, to protect the Pope against the very movement he had encouraged.

It was the rise of German nationalism, however, which was fatal to the Empire. Whilst Bismarck was carefully preparing for the swift settlement with Austria which came in 1866, Napoleon was dissipating the energies and reputation of his regime in the futile attempt to set up an Austrian archduke as a protégé emperor in Mexico. As a result Bismarck was able to settle with Austria whilst Napoleon looked helplessly on. Then, when he tried to make up for this by securing some territory on the Rhine, Bismarck both defeated and exposed his schemes. Thus weakened within and without, and with Napoleon failing in health, the Empire blundered into war with Prussia in 1870. Defeats at Metz, Sedan, and elsewhere destroyed the Empire, sent Napoleon a prisoner to Germany, wrote *finis* to the Napoleonic legend, took away Alsace and Lorraine, and made Germany predominant in Europe. The crash cleared the way for yet another attempt to establish the Democratic Republic in France.

The Establishment of the Third Republic. The Third Republic was actually proclaimed by Gambetta in Paris within two days of the defeat of Sedan, 4th September 1870. But this did not mean that it was either organized, or accepted by France. Within a few days Paris and the new government of National Defence were besieged by the Prussian

army, and despite heroic resistance and Gambetta's fiery crusade in the provinces, France had to surrender and make peace by the Treaty of Frankfurt The immediate result was a violent explosion in Paris An independent Commune was set up by radicals and socialists, in opposition to the new National Assembly called to make peace. Only after heavy fighting was the capital subdued, and the terrible vengeance



I L N

THE PARIS COMMUNE OF 1871
The burning of the Hotel de Ville

taken by the Assembly on its own citizens was a bad omen for the future This bloody episode ended, the Assembly began seriously to organize a new government But since only a minority of the Assembly was republican, it was not until after the failure of the Bourbon and Orleanist royalists to unite that Thiers and Gambetta were able to create a new republican constitution for their country in 1875

The Growth of the Third Republic. Only slowly did the Third Republic become accepted as permanent Its first President, MacMahon, was a royalist, and until he had been driven out of office after a grave crisis in 1877 Gambetta's aspirations for a democratic republic could not be fulfilled And even then it seemed impossible to secure any political

stability, so violent were party passions. In the eighties it looked for a moment as if the Minister for War, Boulanger, might bring about a royalist restoration, and a few years later the republic was shaken by the Dreyfus Affair, in which an innocent Jewish army officer was made the scapegoat for scandals in the army A bitter conflict with the Catholic Church followed, bringing the dissolution of the religious Orders in France, the ending of the Napoleonic Concordat and the separation of Church and State in 1905 For years the Church refused to accept this verdict Finally the growth of Socialism under leaders like Jaurès, and later of Communism, provided fresh cause for division in the republic

This political instability was reflected in the Chamber of Deputies, which came to contain a dozen parties or groups, from the Conservative Right to the Communist Left Governments had to be formed by coalitions of groups, and were consequently very unstable Yet the republic survived the severe test of the war of 1914–18, and the established administrative system, coupled with the strength of the social order in France, have so far proved strong enough to make up for the political instability 'The Republic,' as wise old Thiers said, 'divides Frenchmen least.'

For Further Reading

J. R. M. Butler, *A History of England*, 1815-1918
G Lowes Dickinson, *Revolution and Reaction in Modern France*
H A L Fisher, *Bonapartism*
P. Guedalla, *The Second Empire*
Morley, *Life of Gladstone* (*abridged*)
C Seignobos, *A History of the French People*
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CHAPTER III

THE VICTORY OF NATIONALISM IN ITALY AND GERMANY

I Italy

The Rise of Piedmont under Cavour We have seen how the first attempts of Mazzini and others to free Italy from Austrian control and to unite the peninsula had ended disastrously in 1848-9 At that time Piedmont (Savoy) under King Charles Albert had failed to provide the hoped-for leadership, being in fact not yet prepared for this task But after 1849 she had a new king, Victor Emmanuel II, devoted to the national cause, and also a new statesman, Count Camillo Cavour (1810-61) Although born into the conservative Piedmontese nobility, Cavour became a liberal nationalist The new constitution he had helped to give Piedmont in 1848 allowed him to attain both power and popular support Thus he became and remained a parliamentary statesman after the English pattern he so much admired As such he set before himself the great and difficult task of freeing and uniting Italy under the Piedmontese monarchy But it was characteristic of his genius that he always retained a strong sense of what was possible at any given moment He saw that the first step was to build up Piedmont politically and economically So he reduced the excessive powers of the Church and transferred some of its wealth to the State He encouraged agriculture and other industries and fostered trade He paid much attention to the building of railways, the Alps were pierced for the first time by the Mont Cenis Tunnel Under this fostering care the prosperity of Piedmont rose by leaps and bounds, the army was likewise prepared for its role in the coming struggle



CAVOUR

The Work of Unification. Cavour was a consummate diplomatist as well as financier and economist Austria would not give up her Italian possessions peacefully, so she must be forced to yield them by war and, since 1848 had shown that Italy could not drive out Austria alone, allies were required. Cavour seized the opportunity presented by the Crimean War to join France and Britain against Russia Thus he both restored the credit of the Piedmontese army and won the goodwill of two great powers He then sought to turn that goodwill into alliance against Austria, and at length, for a price, won over Napoleon III Finally, the war which he desired broke out in the spring of 1859 The Piedmontese and French armies drove the Austrians eastwards through Lombardy, aided by Garibaldi and his volunteers, but just as Venice seemed within reach Napoleon suddenly stopped short and made peace with Austria for his own ends Cavour was in despair, and resigned from office for a moment.



Courtesy of 'Punch'

RIGHT LEG IN THE BOOT AT LAST

Garibaldi 'If it won't go on, sire, try a little more powder'

But national feeling was now aroused all over Italy, and so the struggle continued The little states of north-central Italy, with the Romagna, insisted on joining Piedmont and Lombardy. Napoleon III, the arbiter of Italian fortunes at the moment, agreed, providing he was given his price of Nice and Savoy. Then Garibaldi set out in all secrecy on his famous Expedition of the Thousand He sailed to western Sicily, swept victoriously across the island, crossed the narrow strait to the mainland, and marched in triumph north to Naples and beyond. Cavour sent Victor Emmanuel with an army to march south and meet the Liberator, and with that meeting all Italy save Venice and part of the Papal States

ITALY in the XIX Century showing Unification

Scale 1:10000000 (160 miles-1 inch)
English Miles
0 50 100

The Dates are those of the recognition by the various provinces of the King of Sardinia. Quadrilateral Fortresses are underlined in black.

AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
VENETIA 1866
LOMBARDY 1859
SAVOY
Novara
Magenta
Vercelli
Milan
Verona
Venice
ISTRIA
Turin
Susa
Mantua
Legnago
Ferrara
Comacchio
Ravenna
Bologna
ROMAGNA 1860
Modena
LIGURIA
Genoa
Monaco
Nice
Lucca
Florence
Pisa
Leghorn
San Marino
Pesaro
Ancona
THE MARCHES 1860
G. DY. OF TUSCANY
Siena 1860
PAPAL STATES
UMBRIA 1860
Elba
CORSICA (to France)
Rome
Chieti
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Foggia
Benevento
Gaeta
Capua
Naples
Castellamare
BASILICATA
Taranto
Gulf of Otranto
Bari
Brindisi
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
Lissa
TYRRHENIAN SEA
SARDINIA
Caprera
Cagliari
SEA OF SARDINIA
Palermo
Milazzo 1860
Messina
Reggio
Aspromonte
Marsala
Catania
SICILY 1860
CALABRIA

GERMAN EMPIRE in 1871 showing Unification

Scale 1:12000000 (200 miles-1 inch)
English Miles

BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
Hamburg
MECKLENBURG
Stettin
OLDENBURG
Bremen
HANOVER
KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA
Berlin
BRUNSWICK
THURINGIA
SAXONY
NASSAU
Frankfort
LUXEMBURG
PALATINATE
Bamberg
ALSACE-LORRAINE
BADEN
WURTEMBURG
BAVARIA

was united under one ruler Garibaldi nobly retired, his task accomplished In the breathing-space after these stirring events Cavour unexpectedly died of fever He had been marvellously successful, although we do not know how he would have dealt with the problems created by the new state of affairs Unity was completed by the addition of Venice in 1866 and Rome four years later There remained only the disputed border territory of the Trentino, and the north-east coast of the Adriatic, to be won after the war of 1914–18

Problems of United Italy. To liberate and unite Italy for the first time since the days of the Roman Empire was a remarkable achievement, but the new kingdom had serious problems to solve Italians had been divided so long that much time and effort were required before they could forget their old divisions and regard themselves as a nation Cavour had believed in parliamentary government, but it proved difficult to apply this system to a country where a large proportion of the population, especially in the south, was still illiterate Hence there was corruption in politics, and parliamentary life under leaders like Giolitti became a matter of shifts and expedients, lacking principle and a healthy party life As in other countries socialism found disciples in Italy and became active both in parliament and, in its more extreme forms, in fomenting strikes and unrest Economically Italy was a poor country, with no coal, limited in agricultural land and in large-scale industry Yet her population steadily increased, and as a result there was much emigration to foreign countries, notably to America

The Papacy provided another and special problem, for the Pope refused to accept either the ending of his temporal power or the settlement offered by the Italian government Yet here, too, time softened the animosities aroused, although it was not until 1929 that the issue was closed by Mussolini It was this Church problem which made the relations of the new state with her neighbours, above all France, specially difficult Colonial rivalries also appeared in north Africa, and caused Italy to join Germany and her old enemy Austria in the Triple Alliance, until the crisis of 1914 made it clear that her interests lay rather with the powers of the Entente These problems, added to those created by the war, accounted for the later rise and victory of Fascism

II GERMANY

William I and the 'New Era' in Prussia The failure of the liberal nationalists of 1848–9 in Germany was followed by a decade of reaction But economic forces continued to knit Germany more closely together, and when William I succeeded to the rule of Prussia after the old king

had gone mad a 'New Era' opened in German history William was a simple, pious, and firm ruler, a soldier, and devoted to Prussia With his accession and the beginnings of the Italian success a new wave of *liberal national feeling* began to rise in Germany. But a crisis shortly arose between the new ruler of Prussia and his parliament over a proposed enlargement of the army The issue involved control both of finance and of the army, and neither side would give way. In this extremity the king in 1862 called a conservative Junker squire, Otto von Bismarck-Schonhausen, to be Minister-President of Prussia It was the most decisive step he ever took

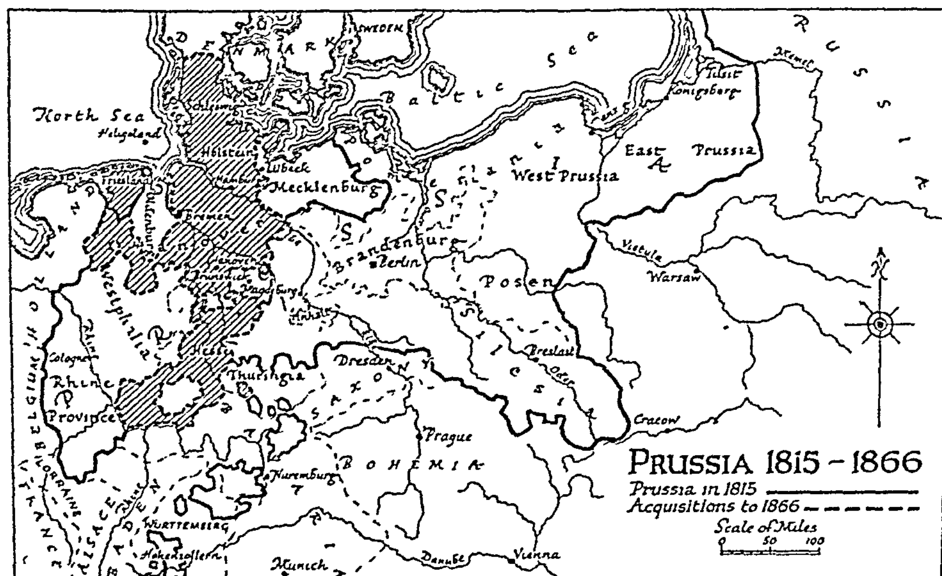


BISMARCK

Bismarck, *1815–98*. The new minister was to be the unifier of Germany, the creator of the German Empire, and the most powerful statesman in Europe for many years Like most of his fellow Junkers of the Prussian landed aristocracy he had opposed the liberal revolution of 1848 Since then, however, in his years as Prussian representative at the Confederate Diet and then as Prussian ambassador in St Petersburg and Paris, he had modified his views Whilst he was no more friendly to liberal or democratic ideas, his Prussian nationalism had come to revolt against the dominance of Austria in Germany. He aimed at closer unity for Germany under the Prussian monarchy, and this must mean the expulsion of Austria It also involved in his mind the defeat of the claims of the Prussian parliament, whose democratic ideas would hamper Prussia's freedom of action Bismarck desired national support but not popular criticism Gifted with great strength of mind and body, fearless and shrewd, not over scrupulous, he had boundless confidence in himself and little trust in others The King of Prussia he managed; those who opposed him he crushed, first the Prussian parliament, then Austria, finally France

The Expulsion of Austria from Germany, 1866. Although Bismarck

inevitably began his long term of office by fighting the claims of the majority in the Prussian Diet, he won his battle there by successfully driving Austria out of Germany Whilst Roon and Moltke, despite parliamentary opposition, built up the Prussian army for its task, Bismarck prepared for the struggle with Austria in other ways He refused to allow King William to attend a conference called by Austria to reform



the German Confederation, he made a commercial treaty with Austria's recent enemy, France, and he won the goodwill of Russia by offering help to the Tsar to suppress a Polish rising Then he seized an opportunity to interfere in the affairs of the Danish Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, coming forward as the champion of German nationalism With Austria he made war on Denmark in 1864, secured the Duchies, and divided them for the time being with his ally But this division was, as Bismarck put it, a mere 'papering over the cracks' now definitely appearing between the two rival German powers Bismarck negotiated an alliance with Italy, which was anxious to gain Venice, secured the goodwill of Napoleon III by a vague agreement that France should be compensated for any material expansion of Prussia, persuaded his king that Austria was his enemy, and then precipitated the conflict over the questions of the Duchies and the Confederation

Although most of the lesser German states took the side of Austria, the war of 1866 was decided with amazing swiftness, thanks to the magnificent military organization of Prussia The minor German states were

crushed, and a great victory over Austria at Koniggratz (Sadowa) ended the war in six weeks, despite an Austrian victory over the Italians Peace was signed before Napoleon could interfere as he had intended By it Austria was excluded from Germany and Bismarck was free to reorganize northern Germany as he wished. He filled up the gap between Prussia proper and her Rhineland by adding Hanover, Nassau, and Hesse to Prussia, as well as both Danish Duchies The old Confederation of Germany was dissolved, and a new Confederation for North Germany was created In the new state, whose constitution was largely drawn up by Bismarck himself, Prussia was supreme Bismarck was Federal Chancellor, or Chief Minister (as well as Minister-President of Prussia), and he saw to it that the Federal authority was real and effective. So far as union with the south German states was concerned, he was content, for the moment, with a common tariff parliament and military alliances As for Prussian liberalism, it had received a fatal blow; the cause of responsible government was lost for half a century, and many of its adherents now became followers of Bismarck

The Franco-Prussian War (1870) and the Creation of the Empire. Prussia's unexpected victory over Austria had been a blow to Napoleon III, and Bismarck now refused to consider his demands for the 'compensation' referred to before the war. As the credit of the Second Empire declined in France some of its supporters began to see in a victory over this upstart Prussia the most obvious way of restoring the imperial fortunes To Bismarck, on the other hand, a war with France offered a means of completing the unity of Germany, he later declared it lay 'in the logic of history' A crisis arose from a revolution in Spain A Hohenzollern prince was offered the Spanish crown, but withdrew under French protest France, however, pressed her demands too far, Bismarck accepted the challenge, and skilfully made of it an occasion for war In the resultant conflict the French, to the amazement of Europe, were disastrously defeated North and South Germans fought side by side against the common enemy, and with the conclusion of peace Bismarck realized the fulfilment of his aims The King of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles and Bismarck became Imperial Chancellor The new realm was enlarged by the gain of Alsace-Lorraine and exacted a large war indemnity from France Germany suddenly became the strongest military and political power in Europe, completely eclipsing France.

The German Empire. The distinctive and essential feature of the empire created by Bismarck was the dominance of one state, Prussia Prussia contained two-thirds of the federal territory, its king was Emperor, its chief minister was head of the federal executive, and Prussia

controlled the upper federal chamber, the Federal Council. Although the lower federal assembly, the Reichstag, was elected on a wide suffrage, it was by no means a sovereign parliament. It neither appointed nor could it dismiss the Chancellor. None the less the Reichstag developed an active life, grouped about the different political parties. These were the Conservatives, Prussian landlords devoted to crown and army, the National-Liberals, middle-class imperialists and industrialists, the Radicals, standing for more democratic government; the Catholic Centre party, and the new Social-Democratic group representing the workers of the large towns. Bismarck usually managed to secure the necessary support in the Reichstag by playing off the parties against each other. At first he worked with the National-Liberals, but later turned to the Catholic Centre. The control over the foreign relations of the new empire, which absorbed much of his energy, he kept in his own hands.



I. L. N.

PROCLAIMING THE KING OF PRUSSIA AS GERMAN EMPEROR IN THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES

Bismarck as Chancellor, 1871–90. Bismarck remained in office as Chancellor for nearly twenty years. Apart from foreign affairs, his first task was to fill out the framework of empire by such measures as the establishing of the Reichsbank, and the preparation of codes of imperial law. Almost at once, however, he became involved in a great fight with the Catholic Church, the *Kulturkampf*. For the same year which had seen the completion of German unity had also seen the triumph of Ultramontanism and the adoption of the dogma of Papal Infallibility in Rome. This brought conflict in the German Church, and Bismarck was drawn in. But although he secured the adoption of severe laws against the Catholic Church in Germany he was in the end obliged to repeal them



Courtesy of 'Punch'

DROPPING THE PILOT (1890)

and make his peace with Rome He was partly impelled to this course by the rise of a new enemy, Socialism. The doctrines of Karl Marx, which had recently been more fully expounded in his book on Capitalism (1867), found ready disciples in Germany as industry developed there For a time many German socialists followed another Jewish writer, Lassalle, who was less revolutionary and more national But in 1875 the two wings united to form the Social-Democratic party Bismarck hated socialism, and both prosecuted its adherents with all the rigour of the law and tried to undermine its influence by passing measures of social reform, providing insurance of the workers for sickness, accident, and old age Yet neither means availed to remove the menace, which grew steadily in Bismarck's time and afterwards, until in 1912 some four million socialist voters sent over one hundred members to the Reichstag, making the largest single party in that body

Economic Expansion. The development of socialism was one of the results of the marked growth of trade and industry in the new empire Germany had been a poor country, but now with her central position in Europe, her new-found unity, her strong leadership, her possession of coal, iron, and other minerals, industrial life developed enormously She became one of the greatest coal producers in the world, and her iron, steel, electrical, chemical, shipbuilding, and other industries grew in proportion Her foreign trade vastly increased, as did her population Bismarck played his part in these developments by such measures as the introduction of protective tariffs for agriculture and manufacture, but the full height of the material prosperity of the German Empire was reached after his day That day ended shortly after the death of the old emperor in 1888 For the imperial successor, Frederick III, died after a few months, and there came to the throne a young man, William II, who quickly got rid of the aged but all-powerful Chancellor

The Era of William II. The new German Emperor was a brilliant but unstable character, highly egotistical, and lacking in statesman-like qualities He reflected only too clearly the militarist quality in German nationalism, seeing in the Prussian army the creator of the empire, and fostering it accordingly He also, backed by Tirpitz, built up a great navy, and he was concerned to play a great part in international affairs He had no more belief than Bismarck in democratic institutions for Germany, still less for Prussia The Chancellors who succeeded Bismarck—Caprivi, Hohenlohe, Bulow, and Bethmann-Hollweg—were all dependent on the imperial favour, though they had to get on with the Reichstag as well This became more difficult as radicalism and socialism grew in Germany, and the task required all the skill of the dexterous but untrustworthy Bulow, the ablest of these later Chancellors

Thus by 1914 there existed a dangerous gap between the system established by Bismarck, and continued by William II, and the growing demand for more responsible and democratic government Out of this came, in part, the revolution of 1918 and the overthrow of the Bismarckian Empire Another problem was provided by the presence in the empire of Poles, Danes, and the Alsace-Lorrainers annexed in 1871 Bismarck and his successors tried to enforce the assimilation of these groups, but they too responded to the growing nationalism of the century, and the problem remained unsolved until the German defeat in the war of 1914 separated them from the empire

For Further Reading

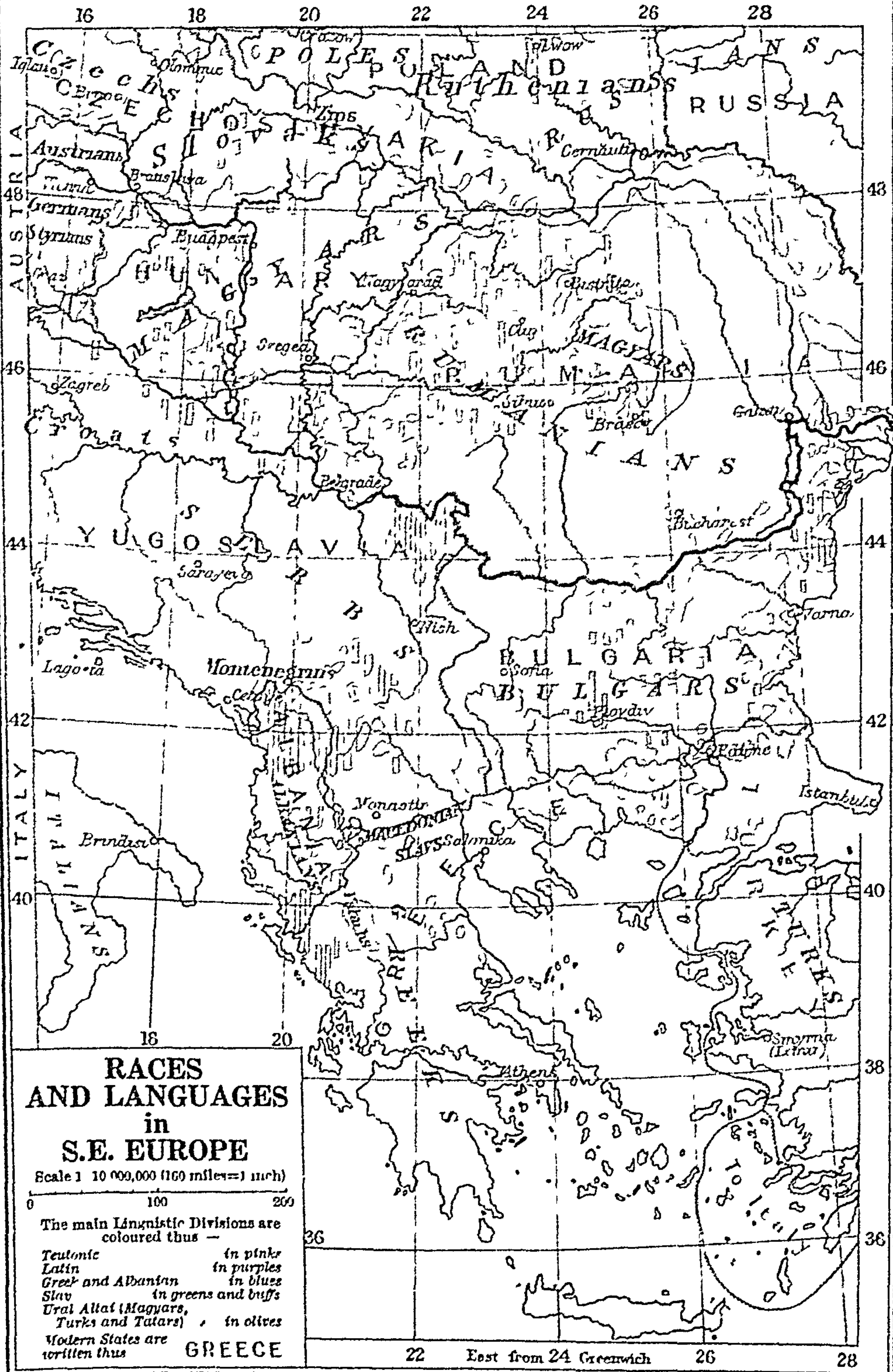
G B McClellan, *Modern Italy*
E Martinengo-Cesaresco, *Cavour*
P Orsi, *Modern Italy*
C G Robertson, *Bismarck*

CHAPTER IV

THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY IN THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

I Lesser States of Western and Northern Europe

The Netherlands, Switzerland, and Scandinavia The most progressive of the minor states of Europe were Belgium and Holland, Switzerland, and the three Scandinavian countries After the Napoleonic wars Belgium was united to Holland, and Norway to Sweden, but the development of national feeling led in due course to the separation of Belgium in 1830, and of Norway in 1905 More remarkable, however, than the possession or attainment of national independence by these countries was their progress in democratic government Switzerland not merely set up in 1848 the first real example of federal government in Europe, but by its steady extension of popular control over public affairs provided an experimental laboratory for democracy in the western world The two countries of the Netherlands, though going neither so fast nor so far as the Swiss republic, managed to harmonize monarchy with an increasing degree of control by parliament and people Of the Scandinavian countries Denmark likewise gradually developed into a democratic monarchy, giving universal suffrage to both men and women earlier



RACES AND LANGUAGES in S.E. EUROPE
Scale 1 10 000,000 (160 miles=1 inch)
0
100
200
The main Linguistic Divisions are coloured thus —
Teutonic in pinks
Latin in purples
Greek and Albanian in blues
Slav in greens and buffs
Ural Altai (Magyars, Turks and Tatars) in olives
Modern States are written thus GREECE
East from 24 Greenwich
George Philip & Son Ltd.
Czechs
POLES
POLAND
Ruthenians
RUSSIA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Slovaks
Austrians
AUSTRIA
Germans
Bratislava
Budapest
HUNGARY
MAGYARS
Zagreb
Croats
Belgrade
Bucharest
RUMANIA
RUMANIANS
MAGYARS
Brasov
Galatz
Cernauti
Cluj
YUGOSLAVIA
SERBS
Sarajevo
Nish
Montenegrins
Cetinje
BULGARIA
BULGARS
Sofia
Plovdiv
Varna
Istanbul
Monastir
MACEDONIAN SLAVS
Salonika
ALBANIA
ITALY
ITALIANS
Brindisi
Athens
Smyrna
GREECE
GREEKS
TURKS
TO ITALY

than most of her neighbours, putting into effect advanced social legislation, and conceding self-government to her Icelandic colony Norway and Sweden achieved the difficult task of dividing into separate states without war, after nearly a century of union Norway had long possessed the most democratically elected parliament in Europe, and was the first country to grant the franchise to women, in 1907, Sweden developed more slowly in the same direction Thus these smaller states rather set an example than followed in the wake of their larger neighbours

Spain. Although Spain is by no means one of the smaller states of Europe in size, her relative weakness during this century justifies us in dealing with her here. Like France, Spain was long engaged in the search for political stability. The absolutist monarchy of Ferdinand VII was succeeded by a period of civil strife and revolution, that of the Carlist wars These were broken for a time by the reign of Queen Isabella, a bad ruler, who was ultimately obliged to flee the country after a military revolt Only in 1874 did Spain enter a period of more stable rule under Alfonso XII, whose short reign was followed by the regency of his widow, until Alfonso XIII became of age to rule In theory their regime was one of parliamentary monarchy In fact, Spain was hardly ready for liberal or democratic rule, though later events were to show that the regime of Alfonso XIII was very far from satisfying the aspirations of Liberals, Republicans, Socialists, and Anticlericals The loss of the remains of her overseas empire to the United States in 1898, and her difficulties with her colony in Morocco, both testified to the weakness of Spain and discredited her government But while Spain was to wait until after the war of 1914–18 for revolution to break out, Portugal shortly before that war overthrew with violence the ruling house of Braganza, and established a democratic republic

II The Rise of the Balkan Nations

'The Balkan Question' Whereas these more westerly European nations almost all possessed foundations of political independence on which to erect democratic institutions, in the Balkan peninsula what independence had earlier existed had long been submerged under the tide of Turkish invasion In the nineteenth century, however, the corrupt and incompetent Turkish rule was declining in strength, so that Greek, Serb, Bulgar, and Rumanian were free to reconstruct their national foundations But the Turk did not retire voluntarily, he had to be driven out, which brought a series of Balkan Wars of Independence, lasting right up to 1914 And although all these Balkan nationalities could look back to a period of independence, and even greatness, their national boundaries

had varied considerably, so that in certain parts of the peninsula, above all Macedonia, the nationalities were inextricably mixed up Thus the process of liberation was accompanied and followed by fierce jealousies and rivalries Further, the great powers of Europe were interested in the Balkans for political, strategic, religious, and economic reasons,



Courtesy of 'Punch'

A CONSULTATION ABOUT THE STATE OF TURKEY (1853)

so that each stage of the drama tended to provoke a European crisis, if not a European war Finally, after so many centuries of subjection to the rule of their military and Moslem overlords, the Christian nations in the Balkans were very backward both politically and economically They found great difficulty in establishing stable forms of government and in developing their economic resources Thus the rise of the Balkan nations, the Balkan Question as it was often called, was long, complicated, and difficult It was to have a direct connection with the outbreak of war in 1914

The Emergence of Rumania. We have seen already how, after the Napoleonic wars, first Serbia secured autonomy under the Sultan, the first stage to independence, and then the Greeks fought for and won independence for a portion of the territory they occupied, with the aid of the great powers of Europe The emergence of Rumania resulted largely from the Crimean War of 1854–6 In the course of that conflict of Russia with France, Britain, and Turkey, Russia had seized the two Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia lying north of the Danube, the home of the descendants of the Roman colony of Dacia By the peace treaty of 1856 these provinces were to be made autonomous under the Sultan, like Serbia Within a few years, however, the provinces managed, by the aid of Napoleon III, to unite themselves into one state, and to secure recognition from the great powers Formal recognition by Turkey did not come until 1878 The large district of Transylvania, likewise inhabited mainly by Rumanians, had long been incorporated in Hungary, and it was not until after the war of 1914–18 that this region was to be joined to the rest of the kingdom

Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria, 1878. The continued decline of Turkish rule, and the triumph of nationalism in Italy and Germany, naturally encouraged the Balkan nationalities to make further attempts to secure independence In 1875 the peasantry of Bosnia, in the extreme north-west of the Balkan peninsula, rose against their Turkish landlords and precipitated a wide revolt Russia, the champion of the Slavic cause in the Balkans, declared war on Turkey, and by a successful campaign secured a peace (San Stefano) which not merely established the freedom of Serbia and Montenegro but also created a new, large, self-governing Slav province, that of Bulgaria The treaty also gave Russia some Turkish territory But this settlement aroused jealousy of Russia amongst the other European powers. After a severe crisis a congress met at Berlin in 1878 and modified the earlier settlement By the new treaty Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro were recognized as separate and independent states, and the boundaries of Greece were soon extended The 'Big Bulgaria' was greatly reduced in size and divided into two parts The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were handed over to Austria-Hungary to occupy Within a few years, however, a united Bulgaria reappeared to take its place among the Christian Balkan nations, although it was smaller than the state created by the treaty of San Stefano

From the Congress of Berlin to the War of 1914–18. The last stage of the nationalist struggle in the Balkans before the war of 1914–18 was marked by increasing tension, frequent crises and wars, resulting from causes old and new As the new Balkan states developed they sought to extend





(i) After the Treaty of Paris, 1856

(iii) After the Treaty of Berlin, 1878



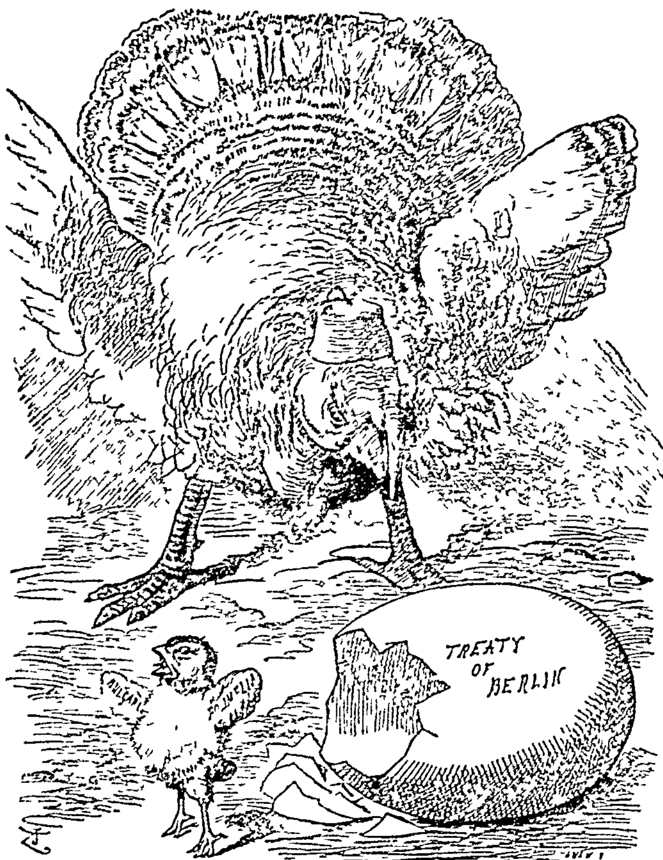


(ii) Proposed by the Treaty of San Stefano, 1878

(iv) After the Treaty of Bucharest, 1913

BOUNDARIES OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA TO 1914

their boundaries at each other's expense, above all to gain control of Macedonia Nor were their ambitions confined to the Balkan peninsula itself Greece sought to add Crete and other islands to her realm, whilst Serbia and Rumania were increasingly conscious that large numbers of their compatriots lived within the borders of Austria-Hungary The Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, turned into complete annexation in 1908, strengthened this feeling in Serbia, and caused almost continuous friction, resulting in the crisis of 1914 Meanwhile the imperialist ambitions of the great powers in the Balkans and the Near East increased Russia cast eyes on Constantinople, Austria on Salonika, and Germany dreamt of a Berlin-Baghdad railway Finally the Turks themselves began to feel the influence of the nationalist movement, and in 1908 the Young Turks rose against the rule of Sultan Abdul Hamid, demanding liberal reform Although this movement was not to succeed until after the war of 1914–18, it added one more complication to the rise of the Christian Balkan nations



Courtesy of 'Punch'

THE CHEEKY CHICK (1885)
Bulgaria 'My! What a row I'm making!!'

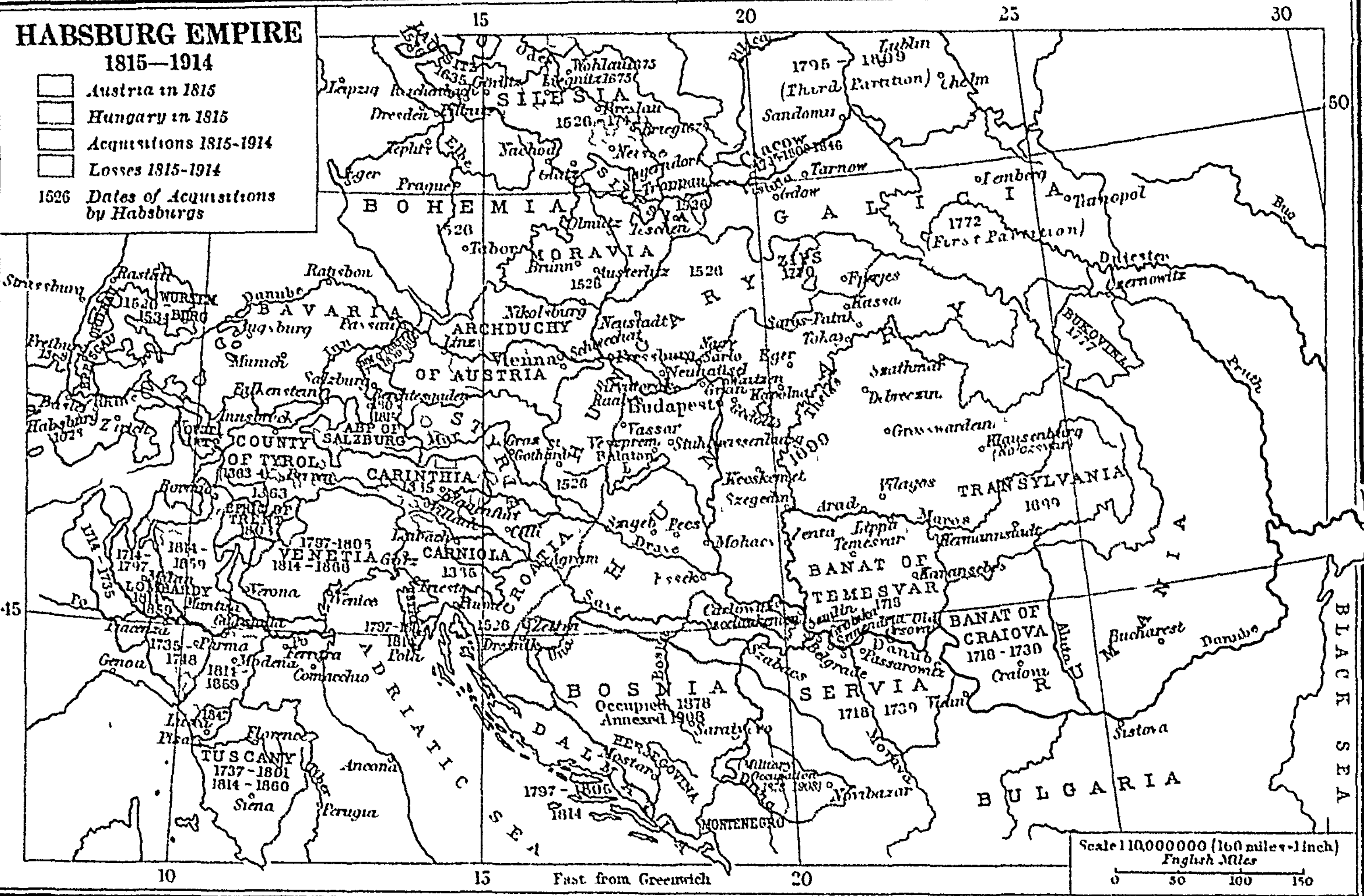
Notwithstanding these difficulties Balkan nationalism made certain advances in the period 1878–1914 Greece went to war with Turkey in 1897 in an endeavour to win the island of Crete, but failed completely. More was accomplished in 1912–13, when Greece allied with her Christian

neighbours in the Balkans against the common enemy. But although Turkey was decisively defeated, and her territory in Europe reduced to Constantinople and a strip of land north of it, the problem of dividing up the territory won from her brought a war between the allies themselves Bulgaria, the attacker, was defeated and most of the gains went to Serbia and Greece Turkey actually recovered a little of her lost territory, and, largely from Austrian and Italian dislike of Serbia, the new state of Albania was created along the Adriatic Thus as a result of a century of development six new states had been created out of European Turkey, and the Turks themselves had almost been expelled from the peninsula But each stage of the process had been accompanied by a crisis involving Europe, and a new and more fatal crisis, that of 1914, lay just in front Nor were the Balkan states capable yet of governing themselves in a peaceful and orderly way

III Austria

The Rule of Francis Joseph I. The failure of the revolutions of 1848–9 in the Habsburg dominions resulted in the restoration of the autocratic empire and the eclipse for some years of nationalist and liberal aspirations The new ruler, Francis Joseph I, whose reign was to last nearly seventy years, had been placed on the throne by the imperial army and the autocratic Prince Schwarzenberg, at a young and impressionable age The army and the Habsburg dynasty were indissolubly connected in his mind From the beginning he was on the defensive, like Metternich, against the forces which threatened the unity of his polyglot empire. With much devotion, backed by moderate abilities, he managed to keep the bulk of the empire together during his long reign, save for the loss of the Italian provinces and the expulsion from Germany But he had no real alternative in his scheme of government to repression, or surrender when opposition became too strong, and after his death the Habsburg realm broke into fragments

From Reaction to the Compromise of 1867 with Hungary. For a decade and more after 1849 Francis Joseph followed a policy of repression, exercised through the army, the bureaucracy, the Church, and the police Critics declared that Austria was ruled by a 'standing army of soldiers, a sitting army of officials, a kneeling army of priests, and a crawling army of spies' This was the 'system' of Bach, the chief minister. But the defeats in Italy (1859) and Germany (1866) brought a change At first the attempt was made to provide a new constitution for the empire, with a central parliament and local provincial assemblies The Magyars, however, refused to accept this, and after the crushing defeat in the war with Prussia



HABSBURG EMPIRE
1815—1914
Austria in 1815
Hungary in 1815
Acquisitions 1815-1914
Losses 1815-1914
1526 Dates of Acquisitions by Habsburgs
BOHEMIA
1526
SILESIA
MORAVIA
ARCHDUCHY OF AUSTRIA
BAVARIA
COUNTY OF TYROL
ABP OF SALZBURG
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
VENETIA
1797-1805
1814-1866
LOMBARDY
TUSCANY
1737-1801
1814-1860
GALICIA
1772 (First Partition)
1795 - 1809 (Third Partition)
BUKOVINA 1777
TRANSYLVANIA
BANAT OF TEMESVAR
BANAT OF CRAIOVA 1718-1739
SERVIA
1718 1739
BOSNIA
Occupied 1878
Annexed 1908
MONTENEGRO
BULGARIA
ROUMANIA
ADRIATIC SEA
BLACK SEA
Vienna
Budapest
Prague
Dresden
Leipzig
Munich
Augsburg
Ratisbon
Salzburg
Innsbruck
Linz
Brunn
Olmutz
Austerlitz
Breslau
Cracow
Tarnow
Lemberg
Tarnopol
Lublin
Chelm
Sandomir
Czernowitz
Debreczin
Kassa
Tokaj
Eger
Szegedin
Kecskemet
Mohacs
Arad
Temesvar
Belgrade
Passarowitz
Bucharest
Craiova
Sistova
Vidin
Sarajevo
Mostar
Agram
Fiume
Trieste
Pola
Verona
Venice
Parma
Modena
Ferrara
Comacchio
Florence
Siena
Pisa
Genoa
Ancona
Perugia
Strassburg
Rastatt
Freiburg
Basle
Zurich
Habsburg
Danube
Elbe
Oder
Inn
Drave
Save
Maros
Theiss
Pruth
Dniester
Bug
Aluta
Morava
Po
15
20
25
30
50
45
10
East from Greenwich
Scale 1:10,000,000 (160 miles = 1 inch)
English Miles
0 50 100 150
George Philip & Son Ltd

their statesmanlike patriot, Deák, was able to secure a drastic revision of the imperial system The Austrian Empire by this compromise settlement (*Ausgleich*) of 1867 became Austria-Hungary Whilst matters like foreign affairs, the army, and, in part, finance, were to be managed jointly, in other matters the two parts of Austria and Hungary were henceforth to govern themselves, with separate ministries and parliaments Thus Hungary won her fight for recognition of her ancient rights But the new system was difficult to work evenly, and it ignored the rival claims of other nationalities than German and Magyar

The Nationalist Struggle, 1867–1914. The period from 1867 to the war in 1914 was one of increasing difficulty and stress in Austria-Hungary The task of maintaining the balance between the two parties in the empire became more difficult because of the growing demands of the Magyars for the use of their own speech, separate tariffs, and even separate representation in foreign countries The problem of applying parliamentary institutions was likewise one of great difficulty, especially since Francis Joseph had no faith in this form of government, and fell back on the old Austrian (or Roman) method of 'Divide and rule,' playing off the various nationalities against each other A new complication appeared in the growth of socialism, chiefly in Vienna, threatening the whole system of the empire But most dangerous of all was the continued growth of nationalist sentiment in opposition to the rule of the two dominant peoples Some concessions were made to the Czechs of Bohemia, but the Magyars refused to recognize the rights of any nationality save their own in Hungary Yet despite their efforts they were unable to absorb the non-Magyar peoples The Rumanians and south Slavs were encouraged by the growth of nationalism amongst their brethren across the border in the Balkans, and found centres there for their discontent The Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, and the Serb success in the Balkan wars of 1912–13, further intensified the nationalist problem within and without the empire Finally the murder of the heir to the throne in July 1914 in Bosnia by Slav nationalists precipitated a conflict between Austria and Serbia which drew in all Europe The war which followed saw the complete break-up of the Habsburg Empire

IV RUSSIA

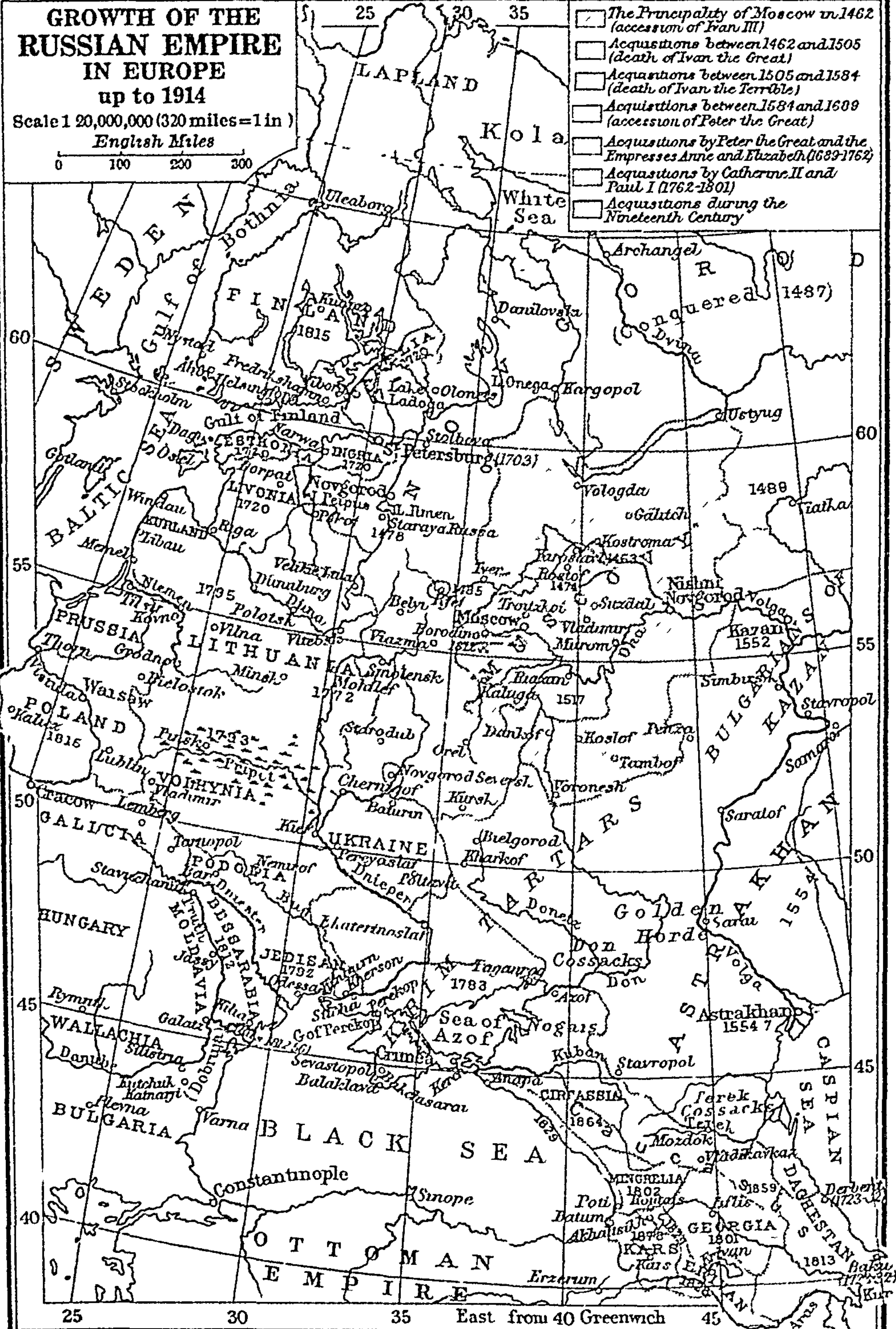
Russia and Europe. The Russian Empire was governed when the nineteenth century opened by Tsars whose autocracy was unquestioned over State and Church, undisturbed by a parliament, a free press, or any active popular interest Below the Tsar Russian society was divided

primarily into nobility and peasants, and more than half of the latter were serfs, bound to the land and regarded as the possession of their lords, much as negro slaves in the United States. The population was mainly Slav, nearly half of them Great Russians, and the remainder Ukrainians (Little Russians), Lithuanians (White Russians), and Poles But there was also a fringe of non-Slavic peoples made up of Finns, Letts, Caucasians, and Tartars, and there were many Jews. Whilst Peter the Great and Catherine II had attempted to introduce western ideas and methods, these had scarcely affected the mass of the people. The Russia of Alexander I (1801–25) and Nicholas I (1825–55) lived a life of its own, and appeared little affected by the new forces active in western Europe Nicholas was a stern conservative, repressing Polish nationalists and revolting peasants with great severity, interfering to put down revolution in Austria in 1849, prohibiting foreign travel, and refusing freedom for the press or in education The few Russian liberals fled into exile, or travelled the hard road to Siberia



NICHOLAS I

Reform and Reaction after 1855 With the death of Nicholas I, and the defeat of Russia in the Crimean War, a more liberal era opened in the empire. Alexander II, though hardly a liberal, saw that reform was needed, and began by the emancipation of the peasantry from serfdom (1861) The larger problem of providing the peasant with land enough to live on was not solved, however, and the peasant was not made a full and free citizen, he was still bound to the village commune (the *mir*), which became the holder of the land taken over from the landlords This period also saw the reorganization of local government by the setting up of local councils (*zemstvos*) to look after schools, roads, poor relief, and hospitals, as well as the reform of the judicial system, of education, and of the army The building of railways was begun But whilst liberals were encouraged by these changes, the conservative elements, including many of the landlords, were alarmed at the new trend A Polish revolt in 1863, and an attempt to assassinate the Tsar three years later, checked the tide of reform, and during the later part of the



GROWTH OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN EUROPE up to 1914
Scale 1 20,000,000 (320 miles = 1 in)
English Miles
0 100 200 300
The Principality of Moscow in 1462 (accession of Ivan III)
Acquisitions between 1462 and 1505 (death of Ivan the Great)
Acquisitions between 1505 and 1584 (death of Ivan the Terrible)
Acquisitions between 1584 and 1689 (accession of Peter the Great)
Acquisitions by Peter the Great and the Empresses Anne and Elizabeth (1689-1762)
Acquisitions by Catherine II and Paul I (1762-1801)
Acquisitions during the Nineteenth Century
LAPLAND
Kola
White Sea
Uleaborg
SWEDEN
Gulf of Bothnia
FINLAND
1815
Stockholm
Abo
Helsingfors
Gulf of Finland
Archangel
Danilovska
Kargopol
Olonets
Lake Ladoga
L. Onega
Ustyug
Vologda
St Petersburg (1703)
Novgorod
L. Peipus
L. Ilmen
Staraya Russa
1478
ESTHONIA 1710
INGRIA 1720
LIVONIA 1720
KURLAND
Riga
Libau
Memel
Windau
Dorpat
Narwa
Dago
Osel
Gotland
BALTIC SEA
Kostroma
Rostof
Suzdal
Nishni Novgorod
Kazan 1552
Vladimir
Murom
Moscow
Borodino 1812
Troitzkoi
Tver
Viazma
Smolensk
Mohilef
1772
Vitebsk
Polotsk
Dvina
Dünaburg
Velikie Luki
1795
Niemen
Kovno
Tilsit
Vilna
LITHUANIA
PRUSSIA
Thorn
Grodno
Minsk
Bielostok
Warsaw
POLAND
Kalisz
1815
Vistula
Lublin
Pinsk
1793
Pripet
VOLHYNIA
Vladimir
Cracow
Lemberg
GALICIA
Tarnopol
PODOLIA
Nemirof
Bar
Dniester
BESSARABIA
1812
MOLDAVIA
Jassy
HUNGARY
Kiev
UKRAINE
Pereyaslavl
Poltava
Dnieper
Bug
Ekaterinoslav
JEDISAN 1792
Kherson
Odessa
Perekop
Taganrog
1783
Sea of Azof
Azof
Nogais
Crimea
Sevastopol
Balaklava
Kertch
Anapa
Chernigof
Baturin
Novgorod Seversk
Starodub
Orel
Kursk
Bielgorod
Kharkof
Voronesh
Tambof
Koslof
Penza
Kaluga
Riazan
1517
Danlof
Simbirsk
Stavropol
Samara
Saratof
Tsaritsyn
Sarai
Golden Horde
Don Cossacks
Don
Donetz
TARTARS
BULGARIA
KAZAN
ASTRAKHAN
1554
Astrakhan 1554 7
Volga
Kuban
Stavropol
CIRCASSIA
1864
1829
Terek Cossacks
Terek
Mozdok
Vladikavkaz
MINGRELIA 1802
Poti
Batum
Kutais
Tiflis
GEORGIA 1801
Akhaltsikh
1878
KARS
Kars
Erivan
1828
Erzerum
DAGHESTAN
1813
Derbent (1723-32)
Baku (1723-32)
CASPIAN SEA
Kur
Aras
1859
WALLACHIA
Rymnik
Galatz
Kilia
Silistria
Danube
Dobruja
Kutchuk Kainarji
Plevna
BULGARIA
Varna
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
Sinope
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Stolbova
Gof Perekop
East from 40 Greenwich
25 30 35 40 45
60 55 50 45 40
George Philip & Son Ltd

nineteenth century Alexander II (murdered in 1881), and his successors Alexander III and Nicholas II, pursued a policy which reduced the value of the reforms granted, and was hostile to all attempts at change The non-Russian peoples of the empire were oppressed, worst of all the Jews, who suffered from all kinds of discrimination and were the victims of organized attacks (*pogroms*) The powers of the police steadily increased,



I L N

MARCHING OFF POLISH PATRIOTS TO SIBERIA (1863)

and the State Church likewise became an agent for reaction, dissent of every kind was persecuted

Rise of the Liberal and Revolutionary Opposition. Nevertheless liberal, and above all revolutionary, forces continued to grow in Russia For as the nineteenth century went on, bringing the developments already described elsewhere in Europe, and improved communications between different countries, Russia was inevitably affected by the forces of change The growth of industry in the empire likewise began to provide an urban proletariat in the large towns, ready to absorb socialist propaganda There was endless confusion of ideas and aims amongst the opponents of Tsarism, and the movement was largely subterranean because of the strict repression The Nihilists of the sixties took refuge in negation The efforts of the intellectuals to make common cause with the newly enfranchised peasantry were hardly more fruitful. Numbers turned to the anarchism preached by Bakunin, and advocated and practised murder by bomb or otherwise Of more positive significance,

however, was the development of the liberalism which was to lead to the attempt to apply parliamentary institutions to Russia in 1906, and of the Marxian socialism which was to triumph in 1917. Liberalism found a focus in the *Zemstvos*, which began to consult and co-operate with each other, and in 1904 drew up a definite programme of far-reaching reforms. Organized socialism found its first leader in Plekhanov, but in 1903 there came a split in the party, and Vladimir Ulianov, better known as Lenin, secured the majority (Bolsheviks, i.e. men of the majority) for more extreme measures.



NICHOLAS II

The Revolution of 1905. The year 1905 saw a crisis in Russia. The disasters of the war with Japan increased the general discontent with the existing regime. A deputation to the Tsar was fired upon, on the so-called Bloody Sunday, and there was disorder from one end of Russia to the other. Nicholas II was forced to make concessions, and promised a Duma or Parliament, and far-reaching reforms. The first Duma met in May 1906, but it was dissolved a few weeks later, and its successor likewise lasted only a few months. The introduction of democratic institutions into Russia was extremely difficult. To begin with, the Tsar, Nicholas II, was quite incapable of adapting himself to such a change. He was a mixture of weakness and obstinacy, subject to irresponsible influences such as that of the empress, or, worse still, of creatures like Rasputin. Hence he alternated between conciliation and repression, with fatal results. Then there were many landlords, officials, and army officers who hated any change from the old system. At the other extreme were the socialists, of varying views, but all agreed in desiring the overthrow of the Tsarist system. There were the peasants, increasing by over a million a year, who wanted more land; there were Poles, Finns, and Jews, with national or other aspirations. There was no experience of active political life, and the bulk of the people was still illiterate and uneducated. Thus the task of the liberals, the 'Cadet' party in the Duma, to introduce a democratic parliamentary regime into Russia was one of immense difficulty, even harder than the task of the Con-

stituent Assembly in France in 1789. Like the French Revolution, this first Russian Revolution was to be plunged into war, and the war that opened in 1914 was to destroy both the Duma and the Tsar

For Further Reading

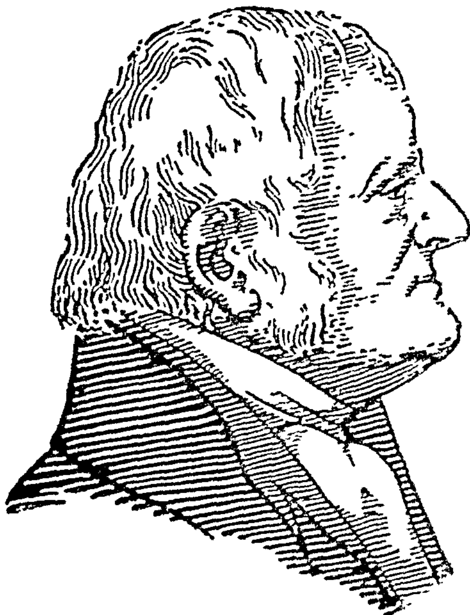
J A R Marriott, *The Eastern Question*
J Redlich, *Francis Joseph of Austria*
J S Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*
G Vernadsky, *A History of Russia*

CHAPTER V

SCIENCE, LITERATURE, AND ART IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

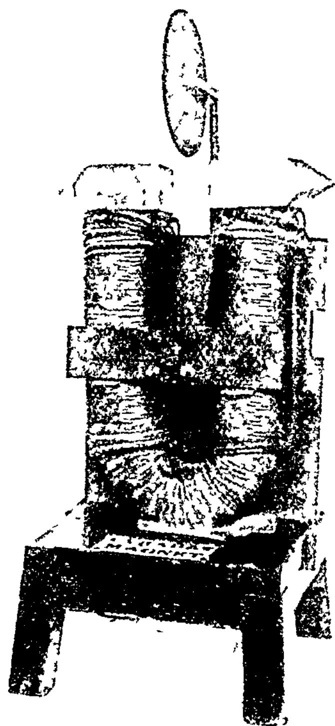
I The Physical Sciences

Chemistry: Dalton. For purposes of convenience we may divide modern science into its physical and biological branches, recognizing, however, that the division is by no means a complete one In chemistry Dalton (1766–1844) linked the eighteenth with the nineteenth century The son of a poor weaver in England, Dalton educated himself to carry on lengthy and fruitful researches, more particularly in chemistry He investigated the laws governing the chemical combinations of the atoms and formulated what became known as the atomic theory By this he meant that all elements were aggregates of minute, invisible units, or atoms, and that in any chemical compound these atoms united in fixed and measurable ratios Dalton weighed the elements thus combined, taking hydrogen as the unit for comparison of the atomic weights of other elements His work formed the foundation on which much of nineteenth-century chemistry was built, though it was greatly extended by chemists in many countries



JOHN DALTON

The Break-up of the Atom. The growth of scientific knowledge since Dalton's day is illustrated by the fact that whereas he identified a score of different elements, now we know that there are more than four times that number. Our view of the atom has changed The researches of physicists like J J Thomson and Rutherford towards the end of the nineteenth century led to the conclusion that the atom, although too small to be seen with the most powerful microscope, was nevertheless no simple, indivisible unit, but a complex structure comparable to the solar system itself, made up of protons charged with positive electricity, and electrons charged with negative electricity A balance of positive and negative forces was required to preserve the atom in equilibrium This development of atomic theory, which later research has carried still further, exemplifies the interdependence of chemistry and physics



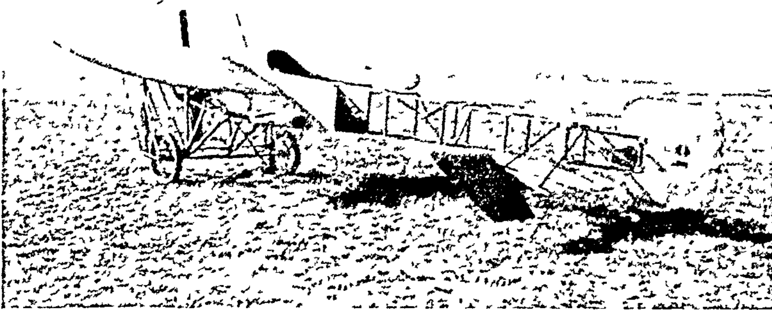
Courtesy of the Science Museum, London

FARADAY'S ELECTRO-MAGNET

Synthetic Chemistry. The application of modern chemical knowledge may be illustrated by the way in which chemists in the nineteenth century began to build up chemical compounds artificially, or as it was termed, synthetically Synthetic chemistry, indeed, was not content to imitate the compounds of nature, but made new compounds, rayon and saccharine are obvious examples of synthetic products Most wonderful of all perhaps is the way in which coal tar, a black, sticky by-product of coal, long regarded as quite useless, has now become a sort of fairy godmother to mankind, the source of an enormous number of useful products A London schoolboy accidentally made the first aniline dye from coal tar, and German effort developed this discovery until to-day thousands of such dyes are made From coal tar also came many other products, from explosives to perfumes, and drugs such as aspirin The making of paper from wood is another achievement of modern chemistry

Electricity: Faraday and his Successors. Michael Faraday (1791–1867),

an errand boy to a London bookseller, became the greatest scientist of his day, owing much to the encouragement of Sir Humphry Davy, likewise a great scientist, who amongst other things invented a safety lamp for coal miners, thereby reducing the frequent explosions from coal gas Faraday was a man of fine character, great simplicity and piety, and his scientific work was mainly done in the field of electricity, a force then scarcely understood or utilized After years of experiment Faraday managed to make the first electric dynamo, thereby founding the science of electro-dynamics From the discoveries of Faraday,



Courtesy of Bleriot-Aeronautique

THE BLÉRIOT MONOPLANE

supplemented by those of many other workers in this field, came the dynamos and motors of the great electric power and lighting systems of to-day, utilizing water power such as that of Niagara Falls, and also the electrical system of the modern motor car From the development of electricity came the telegraph, the cable, and the telephone, the last invented in the seventies by Bell, a Scotsman, in the United States There also Edison invented the incandescent electric light About the same time Clerk-Maxwell in Cambridge deduced theoretically that electric discharges radiated in waves through space with the speed of light A German physicist, Herz, proved experimentally the existence of such waves, and the Italian, Marconi, then devised a means for using these for the transmission of messages, sending the first message of this kind across the Atlantic in 1901 Further research made possible the transmission of music and the human voice over increasingly wide areas, so that to-day the use of the radio is universal, and television is coming into use

Thus the applications of physical science go on in an endless tale The

important invention of the steam turbine was made by Parsons in England The motor car with its internal combustion engine was developed by a German, Gottfried Daimler, in the eighties, and Ford in the United States made it a vehicle for all The aeroplane appeared with the twentieth century, when the Wright brothers made the first flight in the United States Then Blériot flew across the English Channel, and in 1919 Alcock and Brown made the first non-stop flight across the Atlantic, to be followed by Lindbergh and many more. These developments and innumerable others depended on the researches of the chemist and the metallurgist The discovery by the Englishman Bessemer in 1856 of a new and better way of making steel was followed by other discoveries in metallurgy, from which came the alloys combining strength with lightness or other qualities required for the delicate and complicated machinery of to-day A recent writer sums up the progress in this branch of science as follows

> Steel has become a word of many meanings You want a metal which will not change its dimensions with change of temperature, and the metallurgist discovers invar You want a steel which will refuse to take up any magnetism at all, and he discovers manganese steel You want a metal intensely susceptible to weak magnetic fields, with which to 'load' a telegraph cable, and he discovers permalloy You want a metal which will combine the lightness of aluminium with something of the strength and durability of mild steel, and he discovers duralumin and the Y alloy [1]

II The Biological Sciences

Not merely were physics and chemistry thus connected, but there was also a kinship between the physical sciences and those dealing with living matter, the biological sciences (Gk *bios*=life) Thus improvements in the microscope made by the physicists early in the nineteenth century were of supreme importance to the physiologist By research with the improved microscope the botanist Schleiden and the zoologist Schwann made the discovery that all plant and animal organisms are built up of microscopically small cells of living matter Then Virchow and other physiologists applied this theory to the study of the changes produced by disease in the tissues of the human body

Pasteur Louis Pasteur (1822–95) provides an outstanding example of the way in which scientific research was applied to the conquest of disease Pasteur, the son of a tanner who had fought under Napoleon, worked indefatigably to make himself a chemist In Lille he was led to the study of fermentation in the manufacture of alcohol, and discovered that it was caused not, as then believed, by a chemical change, but by the

[1] Ewing, *A Century of Invention*.

action of 'bacteria,' the name recently given to micro-organisms made visible by the microscope After much controversy his views were accepted, and therewith the science of bacteriology was founded. Pasteur went on to apply his study of bacteria to disease, at first in plants and animals, and later in man. He discovered that the disease which was killing off silkworms and so destroying an important French industry was due to bacteria, and showed how it could be avoided Then turning to the study of the deadly anthrax disease in cattle, also due to a bacillus, he applied the method of vaccination first used by Jenner for smallpox, and successfully inoculated cattle with a culture of the anthrax bacillus Pasteur then applied the principle of inoculation to the human disease of hydrophobia Having discovered by long research that he could render dogs immune by inoculation, he inoculated a human being The remedy was successful and his treatment slowly became accepted all over the world The Pasteur Institute was founded in Paris in 1888 to carry on research of the kind this great scientist had begun, and similar foundations quickly followed in other countries

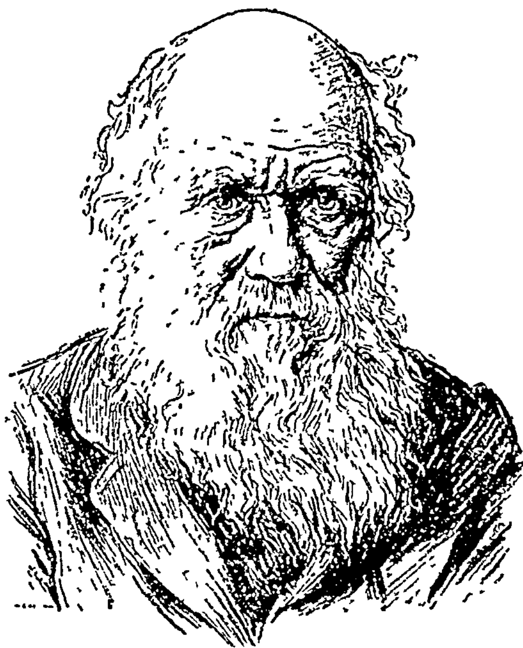


Hachette

LOUIS PASTEUR

The Successors of Pasteur. The work of Pasteur did not, of course, stand alone, for there were other scientists equally engaged in the study of bacteria and their part in causing disease But no one shows better the direct connection between scientific research and human health The 'pasteurization' of milk is an everyday example of this, and rightly bears his name Surgery owes a great debt to him, largely through the work of Lister (1827 – 1912) Surgical operations at this time often resulted in death from blood-poisoning Lister applied Pasteur's work,

deciding that infection came from the bacteria which got into the wound made by the surgeon Hence he sought to destroy these germs, and discovered an antiseptic in a solution of carbolic acid Although later discoveries were to modify Lister's methods, it was his principle of excluding poisonous germs from wounds which made possible the amazing developments of modern surgery Koch, a German doctor, succeeded in isolating the bacillus of tuberculosis, and later the germ of cholera Roux, Pasteur's assistant, discovered the diphtheria bacillus, thus leading the way to the preparation of its anti-toxin, and the dangers from typhoid were greatly decreased in the same manner In due course it was discovered that the tsetse fly carried the bacillus of sleeping sickness, and that the mosquito was the bearer of the bacilli of malaria and yellow fever. An example of the benefits resulting from these discoveries was the safe building of the Panama Canal in a zone previously infested with fever



DARWIN

Darwin and Evolution. One of the most important developments in biology during the nineteenth century was the formulation of the doctrine of evolution Whilst many men contributed to this, the outstanding name is that of Charles Darwin (1809–82), the son of an English doctor Darwin was keenly interested in natural history, and after a voyage of five years round the world settled down to pursue the close observation and study of life in all its forms Lamarck and others had already gone part way in the building up of a theory of evolution of the various forms of life Darwin also owed much to the geologist, Lyell, who opened to him the evidence available from fossils, and to the economist, Malthus, who provided the theory of the struggle for existence In his most important work, *The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection*, 1859, he essayed to show how new species were developed by a process of natural selection. Those members of a species which, in the struggle for existence, managed to develop some advantageous variation from the rest would tend to survive, and so, he argued, the evolution of life

went on in a continuous process Another great scientist, Wallace, independently arrived at similar conclusions at about the same time

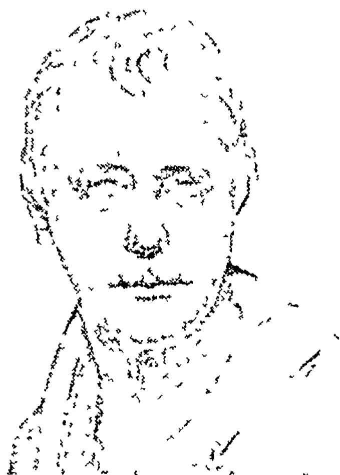
A theory of such breadth and boldness inevitably aroused great controversy, in which T. H Huxley became the champion of the new faith Yet despite such controversy, the general idea of evolution, modified and added to by a host of later workers, has become an integral part of our conception of the living world It contributed greatly to the view that mankind had progressed steadily from age to age, and also, more generally, encouraged men to take an historical or evolutionary view of political and economic problems Thus, whilst Darwinism had less obvious practical applications than other branches of science, its effects were no less deep and far-reaching

III NINETEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE AND ART

From the Classical to the Romantic Era The French revolutionary period was marked by a revival of classical influence In Germany Winckelmann rediscovered Greek art, in France the first republic turned to Roman history for inspiration, even in the matter of dress, whilst Napoleon thought of himself as a Roman Emperor, adopted the Roman eagles for his army, and created a senate and tribunate In architecture there was a return to more strictly classical forms, as many buildings in London, Paris, Berlin, and Munich showed French painting likewise became more classical under the influence of David Yet during this same period there was developing a new movement in literature and art, the Romantic movement All the art and literature of the time, as, for example, the work of Goethe and Beethoven, cannot be marked off as classical or romantic But the division is a useful one, provided we do not press it too far The Romantic writers and artists revolted against the stiffness and formality of their predecessors, against the cold common sense, however enlightened, of the eighteenth century Following Rousseau, they declared for greater individuality, and freer expression of the emotions They were lovers of nature, and of colour They rediscovered medieval Europe with its saints, its chivalry, its Gothic architecture The new movement led both to a revival of Gothic architecture, as the many Gothic churches built in nineteenth-century England attest, and to a revival of religious faith and national feeling It had also profound effects on literature and on art

The Romantic Movement in Literature. England. While the literature of most western countries showed the influence of the new movement, it was most obviously fruitful in the poetry and fiction of England and France In England the appearance of the *Lyrical Ballads* of

Wordsworth and Coleridge in 1798 marked a stage in the growth of the new spirit, although love of nature, medievalism, emotion, and greater freedom of form had already manifested themselves in earlier poets. Nor were Wordsworth and Coleridge the only Romantic poets of the time To their names must be added those of Shelley, Keats, Byron, and above all in pure Romanticism, that of Blake In fiction Sir Walter Scott founded the Romantic novel, and the influence of his long series of romances, which began with *Waverley* in 1814, was felt all over Europe



SIR WALTER SCOTT

French Romantic Literature. Rousseau was the inspirer of the new movement in French literature, which began with Chateaubriand at the beginning of the century, triumphed with the revolution of 1830, and declined before 1850 Chateaubriand (1768–1848) gave French prose a new colour and rhetoric, and new imaginative qualities. In his wake followed the Romantic poets, Lamartine (1790–1869), de Vigny, and de Musset Victor Hugo (1802–85), with his magnificent gift of expression, gave leadership to the new movement, was himself the greatest of the Romantic poets, and provided France with some of her greatest historical novels, such as *Notre-Dame* Of less general significance in literature than the giant Hugo, the novelist Alexander Dumas also produced in this period many historical romances, such as *The Three Musketeers* With the immense work of Balzac, the French novel began to mix more realism with its romance, and with Stendhal and Flaubert the transition to Realism was accomplished The French Romantic period also had its historians in Thierry and Michelet, as England had in Carlyle

French Painting. The influence of Romanticism on painting was no less marked, indeed it was with the triumph of the painters of the Romantic school in the first third of the nineteenth century that French painting secured an ascendancy which it was to retain The leading exponents of French Romantic painting were Géricault (1791–1824) and Delacroix (1799–1863), whose freedom of composition and gorgeous colouring marked the change from the classical stiffness and severity of David The great Ingres (1781–1867) at first belonged to the classical school, but long outlived it Another side of this new outburst of genius in painting in France was provided by the landscape painters of the so-called

Barbizon school, of whom Corot (1796–1875) was the outstanding figure The political and economic upheaval resulting in the French revolution of 1848 was reflected in painting by the change from Romanticism to Realism It was Courbet (1819–77), a republican of 1848, and then a communard in 1871, who most clearly heralded the change Whereas Delacroix had declared, 'What is most real in me are the illusions I create,' Courbet refused to draw angels, since, as he put it, 'what I have not seen



Louvre *Courtesy of Clichés Archives Photographiques*

THE DANCE OF THE NYMPHS
(*Corot*)

I cannot paint' Instead he painted the life of the people of France as he saw it, with magnificent skill and depth

The French Impressionists Manet (1832–83) may be said to have bridged the gap between the Realism of Courbet and the art of the Impressionists who followed, although the connection is also seen in the sculpture of his contemporary Rodin, the greatest sculptor of the century It was a picture of Claude Monet (1840–1926) called 'Impressions' which in the early seventies provided the name Impressionists The title was given to a group which in addition to Monet, and to a certain extent, Manet, also included Renoir, Pissarro, Degas, and Sisley The Impressionists, so far as one can summarize a group of painters, each of whom had an individual quality, sought to convey the impression of the whole as they saw it, or even to capture the impression of a moment They

were out-of-doors painters, and were the first to find beauty in the everyday scenes of modern life. The Impressionists were painters of light, which Monet declared was 'the principal person in the picture.' The scientists had discovered what light was, and the Impressionists used this knowledge for their art, applying their colours separately, often in the minutest touches of paint. Thus they strove to seize and fix on canvas the ever changing vibrations of light. Compared to this, form and line were often of secondary importance.



Druet

WOMAN WITH ROSARY
(*Cezanne*)

The Post-Impressionists: Cézanne. A few of the Impressionists, however, among them Cézanne, and the theorist Seurat, came to feel that this was not enough. Cézanne (1839–1906) declared that he wanted to make Impressionism 'something solid and permanent like the old masters,' a view which was to lead him and others to what has been called Post-Impressionism. Cézanne worked for a time in Paris, but failing to find recognition there, buried himself in the south of France, where he painted steadily for over thirty years. Cézanne sought to regain simplicity in his painting, he declared himself a 'primitive,' but he also strove to express the inner meaning of things by concentration on the significance of form. He was also a great colourist. With Cézanne must be numbered Gauguin (1848–1903), who sought in Tahiti the simplicity he failed to find in Europe, Van Gogh (1853–90), who wished, he said, 'to paint humanity,' and later Matisse and Picasso. With these last two we come down to the present day, judgment on which, in art at least, lies outside the province of the historian.

The English Landscape Painters. Landscape painting proper goes back to Claude Lorraine, Poussin, and the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century. The later eighteenth century brought a growing appreciation of natural beauty in England, as shown in the poetry of the time, and painters there were influenced by the earlier Dutch school. Already in the great age of English portrait painting Gainsborough was drawn to painting the countryside as well as its aristocratic owners. With the infant prodigy Morland, with the 'Norwich School' led by Crome and Cotman, with David Cox and others, came a fuller development of English landscape painting, which reached its height in the work of Turner and Constable.

Turner (1775–1851) was the son of a London barber who, encouraged by the praise of his customers for his son's sketches, sent the boy to learn to paint Turner was a most prolific and successful artist, and quite early displayed a keen interest in the colour of dawn and sunset, in stormy and unusual light effects on land and sea Although for a time he followed the accepted traditions in landscape painting, after a visit to Italy in 1819 his colouring became more brilliant, until it reached its height in



Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum

VENICE
(*J. M W Turner*)

pictures like 'The Fighting Téméraire' His contemporary Constable rivalled him neither in material success nor in brilliance of colour His best work was done in his own district in East Anglia, the soft colouring and quiet life of which he depicted again and again Although it was not until after his death that the genius of Constable found due recognition in England, long before this he achieved fame in France Indeed, through him English landscape painting exercised a material influence over the art of French Romantics like Delacroix

The Pre-Raphaelites. In the middle of the nineteenth century a little group of painters called the Pre-Raphaelites for a time cast a spell over English painting The nickname of Pre-Raphaelite was given them from their avowed intent to go behind Raphael and his contemporaries to the earliest Italian primitives, and recapture their simplicity and fervour

They professed extreme fidelity to nature, but their art had a literary quality, and in time became romantic and even sentimental Rossetti and Burne-Jones were two of the leading members of this group Whilst the painting of the Pre-Raphaelites, together with their poetry, illustrated one side of the Victorian era, in general the wealthy middle class which dominated that era was satisfied with the more conventional work of such men as Watts, Landseer, Alma-Tadema and others Before the end of the century, however, English painters were seeking fresh inspiration from the more significant movement in art in France



SCHUBERT

IV. The Romantic Period in Music

The German Romantics. The Romantic movement in music, from Weber to Wagner, is not easy to define The period thus included was a long one, it was not clearly marked off from the preceding classical age, and its outstanding figures varied greatly from each other They were influenced, especially in Germany, by the Romantic movement in literature, and sought to represent in music its greater freedom of form, its deeper imaginative and emotional qualities Opera and concert music predominated, although both Mendelssohn and Brahms wrote sacred music Weber and Schubert are commonly accounted outstanding musical Romantics Weber (1786 – 1826) first broke with the Italian operatic tradition and gave Germany the beginnings of a national opera Schubert (1797–1828), a younger contemporary of Beethoven in Vienna, was a precocious genius of amazing fertility At eighteen he wrote in one year, two symphonies, two masses, a quartet, several operas and pianoforte sonatas, and nearly one hundred and fifty songs In all Schubert wrote some six hundred songs, no other musician touches him as a song writer Yet despite this activity, and the poetic charm of his music, Schubert remained a poor man, and much of his music was unknown at his untimely death

The varied work of Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Brahms filled out and completed the Romantic period in German instrumental music The career of Mendelssohn (1809–47) was brief but far more successful than that of Schubert, for he was born in comfortable circumstances, and early received recognition both as performer and composer, not merely in Germany, but in France and England Schumann (1810–56) began as a pianist, but an injury to a finger turned him to composition and musical criticism Schumann was indeed more literary than most musical composers, and his music was marked by its poetical quality His career, however, ended in the tragedy of insanity Brahms (1833–97), the last of these great composers, matured more slowly than his predecessors His work was more classical in form, and less obviously emotional in its appeal, more complex, and less easy to understand, yet no less great



BERLIOZ

French Musicians. The new movement was likewise active in Paris Berlioz (1803–69) revolted against what he regarded as tyrannical musical traditions, and expressed in his orchestral music an emotional freedom new to the age, so that for long he was hardly appreciated Yet if Paris was thus unfriendly to her own child, she nevertheless became the home of musicians from other countries One of these, Liszt, a Hungarian, by his mastery of pianoforte technique became the most widely known pianist in Europe Another was a Pole, Chopin, whose pianoforte compositions expressed the lyrical quality of Romanticism, as did also the songs of the German, Heine At a later date Franck and Debussy were to introduce new influences in French music, the effects of which belong rather to the twentieth century

Romantic Opera. The Romantic movement in music naturally expressed itself in opera, since opera could so well express human emotion in a dramatic way In this Italy, the original home of opera, played its

part, though to a considerable extent under French influence Rossini and Donizetti were outstanding in the development of Romantic opera, but they were surpassed by Verdi (1813–1901) in both productivity and quality Verdi in the first twenty years of his musical career wrote over a score of operas, including *Rigoletto*, *Il Trovatore*, and *La Traviata*. Although the pace slackened thereafter, he continued to write, producing his last opera when nearly eighty years of age.



WAGNER

Wagner. More revolutionary and original than Verdi was the German, Wagner (1813–83), who after a turbulent youth was drawn into the revolution of 1848 in Dresden, and as a result was obliged to flee into exile. His first opera of importance was *The Flying Dutchman*, which was followed by *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*, and the music dramas of the *Nibelung Ring*, down to *Parsifal*. The strong criticism Wagner's first operas met with turned later into great and growing enthusiasm. A theatre was specially built at Bayreuth for their performance, and before his death Wagner was accepted as the greatest opera writer of his day, if not of all time Wagner was not merely a writer of operas, he was also a poet, dramatist, and teacher, who regarded music, and dramatic opera in particular, as the supreme expression of true art He drew his subjects from popular legend, believing this to be the proper basis for dramatic expression And he blended his dramas with his music, using the orchestra as the medium for the emotions which he strove to represent. Much of Wagner's theory was implicit in Romantic music from the beginning but he worked out and expressed his views more clearly, above all in his later 'music dramas,' and with unsurpassed beauty and brilliancy.

For Further Reading

Clive Bell, *Landmarks in Nineteenth Century Painting*.
P Bekker, *The Story of Music*
W H Hadow, *Studies in Modern Music*.
J B. Hart, *Makers of Science*.
C Marriott, *Modern Movements in Painting*
C Singer, *A Short History of Medicine*.
J. A Thomson, *The Outline of Science*.
R Vallery-Radot, *The Life of Pasteur*.

PART XI

WESTERN CIVILIZATION AND THE WORLD IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

IN addition to the growth of science and the development of democracy and nationalism, the nineteenth century also saw the continuation of the expansion of the western peoples Superior in war, in science and its applications, with abundant capital and the knowledge of its use, and growing in population, the west proceeded to push its trade, its rule, its political and cultural ideas, all over the world. In this process England and France had a start, for although they had both in turn lost empires in the eighteenth century, they were wealthier, more closely united within, and for a time more politically and commercially active, than their rivals in Europe But with the unification of Germany and Italy these two nations also developed a zest for colonial enterprise And meanwhile Russia and the United States were steadily pushing out east and west respectively until they reached opposite sides of the great Pacific Ocean By the close of the century the process of Western Expansion was almost completed, and the beginnings of the twentieth century saw a protest by Asia against this overwhelming western domination

Most remarkable in some ways in this process of western expansion was the growth of the modern British Empire After the loss of the American colonies Britain proceeded to build up a new empire, partly in thickly populated India, partly composed of new British settlements in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa (Chapter I)

The United States was similarly concerned during the nineteenth century with steady expansion across the North American continent By 1900 the process was practically completed, and the republic had also expanded into Central America, and across the Pacific. The development of Latin America meanwhile pursued its own course (Chapter II)

The most outstanding example of the general expansion of Europe was provided by Africa, where after two generations of exploration,

in the last quarter of the nineteenth century Europe proceeded to partition the once 'Dark Continent' By 1900 nearly all Africa was divided, labelled, and tied to its European masters, with important results for both Europe and Africa (Chapter III).

The process by which the west invaded and dominated the continent of Asia was necessarily more complicated, since that continent was already the home of established civilizations. The British had led the way with India, and the 'opening up' of China followed after 1840, with fatal results for the Manchu dynasty But although by 1900 the west was dominant in Asia, one state there, Japan, managed to adapt herself successfully to western ways, with results of the greatest significance (Chapter IV)

CHAPTER I

THE MODERN BRITISH EMPIRE

I THE GROWTH OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE AFTER 1783

It is not possible in so brief a survey to relate the complicated story of the growth of the empire in the modern period We can only indicate a few of the main developments Before the American Revolution broke out Captain James Cook had begun his three memorable voyages over the length and breadth of the Pacific (1768–80) which led directly to the colonization of Australia and, later, New Zealand, and also gave Britain a claim to the Pacific coast of North America Vancouver's survey of the western coast of North America (1792–5), together with the explorations of Mackenzie, Hearne, and others, in which Mackenzie pushed through to the Pacific coast in 1793, foreshadowed the expansion of Canada to the Pacific Britain's last long war with France, ending in 1815, enlarged the empire by Cape Colony in South Africa, Ceylon, Mauritius, Malta, and islands in the West Indies, and meanwhile the British hold on India had steadily increased The extension of British rule in Africa and Asia, save for India, can best be looked at later as part of the general European expansion in those continents Properly to fill out the story of imperial growth we must add the enterprise of individuals such as Brooke, who became Rajah of Sarawak in 1841, the acquisitions resulting from missionary effort, the securing of posts and islands of strategic or commercial importance to be links in the chain of empire encircling the globe

Apart from India, most outstanding in this expansion was the

development of the future self-governing Dominions In British North America the Loyalists from the revolted colonies created the province of New Brunswick and that later called Ontario, which was separated from Quebec in 1791 In the west, Selkirk in 1812 began the establishment of a colony on the Red River, the future Manitoba, and the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company with its fur-trading rival, the North-west



I L N.

AN EARLY PICTURE OF BOTANY BAY

Company, in 1821, shortly led to the founding of Fort Vancouver on the Pacific coast Thus the foundations were laid of the new provinces which, together with the old colonies of Nova Scotia and Quebec, were ultimately to form a Dominion stretching from Atlantic to Pacific The settlement of Australia began when the American revolution put an end to the dispatch to America of men convicted of crime in Britain under the harsh penal laws of the time Instead, a party of over seven hundred such offenders was sent out to Botany Bay in 1788, and founded Sydney, which became the capital of the colony of New South Wales The Napoleonic wars brought the beginnings of settlement in Tasmania, and the generation following the peace of 1815 saw the establishment of settlements in West Australia (1829), Queensland (1826), South Australia (1836), and Victoria (1834–5) The same period saw the firm establishment of British settlement in South Africa, and in 1839 the zeal of Gibbon Wakefield led to the beginnings of the colonization of New Zealand Thus by about 1840 the Dominions of to-day were all founded

interests, these British settlements overseas also responded to the other great force of the nineteenth century, that of nationality. Hence came a process of consolidation of separate units into, first, the Dominion of Canada (1867), then the Commonwealth of Australia (1901), and finally the Union of South Africa (1910)

The Dominion of Canada. In Canada the Union of the Upper and Lower Provinces in 1840 failed to amalgamate British and French as Durham had hoped The greater increase in the British part of the population upset the balance maintained for a time with the French, so that political life became extremely difficult. The three Maritime Provinces felt the need for closer co-operation, at all events amongst themselves To the west the Red River colony was growing steadily, but was isolated from its fellows save through the United States On the Pacific coast the gold rush of 1858 had led to the formation of British Columbia, likewise isolated. The crisis of the American Civil War showed the weakness of these divisions, and the growth of railways made a continental union seem no longer an impossibility So in 1867 the British North American Act was passed and the Dominion of Canada came into existence, to be joined shortly by Manitoba and British Columbia With the organization of the prairie provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta out of the north-west the federation was completed, the railways connecting it from Halifax to Vancouver were planned, and the Dominion created by the Fathers of Confederation, Macdonald, Brown, Cartier, Tupper, and others, was launched, with a Governor-General and federal government at Ottawa, and provincial governments supreme in certain defined fields Although the Dominion was a federation, like the United States, it differed from that republic in various ways, notably in two It was of the British, responsible type, wherein a Prime Minister governed through a majority in the House of Commons, and it left to the Dominion Government the powers not specified as belonging to the provinces

The Commonwealth of Australia The various widely scattered settlements of the Australian continent for long were content to develop separately After slow beginnings, however, the discovery of gold and the coming of the steamship and the railway quickened their growth Gold was discovered first in 1851 in New South Wales, and then in Victoria, and the steamship came just in time to carry the growing numbers of immigrants The exploration of the interior of the continent went on steadily from 1813, when Blaxland found a passage over the Blue Mountains of New South Wales, to Sturt's discovery of the Darling and Murray rivers, and Stuart's crossing of the continent from south to north in 1861 Yet despite the growth of contact between the colonies of the island

continent, there was little desire for union until towards the close of the century, when German imperialism in the Pacific, and the rise of Japan, revealed the weakness of disunion. Tariff and railway problems likewise called for settlement on a wider basis than that of the individual colony. The populations of the various colonies were remarkably homogeneous, and they were free from the racial and linguistic differences



Canadian Pacific

THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, CANBERRA

present in Canada and South Africa So, after much effort, in 1901 the Commonwealth of Australia came into existence. Its federal union differed from that of Canada in that the central authority was given powers only over certain specified subjects, as defence, trade, and immigration, other matters being left to the six states The constitution also, unlike the British North America Act of 1867, provided for its amendment by the people of Australia.

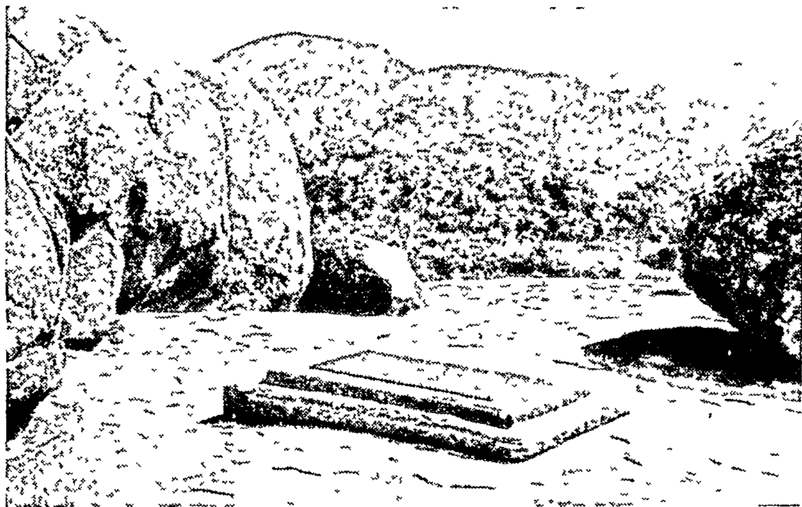
New Zealand. The beginnings of British settlement in New Zealand, over a thousand miles distant from Australia, were made in haphazard fashion by traders and whalers, missionaries, and refugees from New South Wales But in 1839 Gibbon Wakefield's New Zealand Company sent out over a thousand colonists, who settled near Wellington, just in time to prevent the seizure of the islands by the French. Apart from the difficulty of building up a colony so remote from Britain, the main

problem in settling New Zealand was that of relations with the Maoris, who, unlike the primitive aborigines of Australia, were a vigorous, warlike, and well organized people The chief credit for the establishment of good relations with the Maoris must go to Sir George Grey, under whom also representative institutions were introduced as the colony developed Self-government was granted in 1856, the status of a Dominion came in 1907 Although for a time New Zealand was organized on federal lines, in 1875 the government of the islands was reconstructed as a unit under one parliament, sitting at Auckland, the capital Aided by gold discoveries, the colony grew steadily in the latter part of the nineteenth century, preserving its own identity distinct from that of its larger neighbour, although carrying into effect schemes of social legislation not unlike those enacted in Australia

The Union of South Africa The foundation of a united South Africa was only accomplished in 1910, and after a long war The fundamental reason for this was the fact that there already existed a Dutch colony at the Cape when it passed into British hands These Dutch colonists, or Boers, provided a problem similar to that presented by the French in Canada, but they were more used to freedom, and more unyielding Further, British policy towards them was on the whole less wise The situation in South Africa was also complicated by the existence of large numbers of native Africans, some of whom, like the Zulus, were fierce and active fighters As British emigration to the Cape increased after 1815 efforts were made to amalgamate the Boer farmers The answer to this policy, however, was the Great Trek of five thousand Boer farmers out of Cape Colony across the Orange River in 1836 There they carved out the Orange Free State, and later another independent republic farther north still, the Transvaal Britain after a time recognized the independence of these republics

As the nineteenth century wore on, however, British expansion northwards from Cape Colony began to hem in the Boer settlements on both sides Natal was organized in 1843, and the lands of the Kaffirs, the Basutos and finally Zululand were successively annexed After 1870 the pace quickened as the general partition of Africa took place Bechuanaland came under British rule, and through it the British South Africa Company pushed north into the vast territory of Rhodesia, named after its founder, Cecil Rhodes The discovery of diamonds at Kimberley, on the border between British and Boer territory in 1867, and then of gold in the Transvaal in 1886, brought large numbers of British and other immigrants into the Boer Republic The Boers, under President Kruger, were quickly outnumbered by these alien 'Uitlanders' But the Boers wished to preserve their independent republic, whereas British

imperialists like Rhodes dreamt of a united British South Africa. Rhodes, indeed, thought in terms of a vast South African Dominion reaching to the centre of Africa, and connected by railway with the Nile valley, likewise under the British. It might perhaps have been possible to achieve the union of South Africa peacefully in the end, but the Boers were stiff and unreasonable, and British policy was changeable and unwise. The rash attempt of the Jameson Raid in 1896 to overthrow Boer rule in the



Canadian Pacific

THE GRAVE OF CECIL RHODES NEAR BULAWAYO

Transvaal greatly alienated the Dutch, relations grew steadily worse, and in 1899 war broke out between Britain and the Boers.

The South African War was a long and hard one despite Britain's superior strength. The peace of 1902, however, opened the way to the reorganization of South Africa after the fashion of the other self-governing dominions. The Union of South Africa which came into existence in 1910 was more complete in form than those of Canada and Australia, providing for a single responsible parliament, although its former units retained provincial councils for local affairs. A Boer general, Botha, became the first prime minister of the new Dominion, and although Boer separatist sentiment naturally continued to exist, the energy of South Africans of both British and Dutch origin found ample scope in the problems of the new nation.

IV The Change in Imperial Relations

The Revival of Imperialist Sentiment in Britain. As the empire grew in the nineteenth century, sentiment in England changed towards it

The view of the first half of the century, that colonies would inevitably separate in time from the mother country, began to be replaced by more active imperialist feeling Communications between different parts of the empire improved through steamships, cables, and newspapers The growth of democracy in Britain brought more likeness between government there and in the Dominions There was a steady movement of people from the overcrowded motherland to the wide spaces available for settlement overseas The growth of international rivalry in Europe caused Britain to give more attention to imperial organization and defence Disraeli in the seventies first gave expression to the changed feeling, but did not touch the problem of relations with the Dominions There were proposals for a federated empire, with a central parliament, and Joseph Chamberlain advocated an imperial tariff union The growth of German naval rivalry after 1900 also raised the question of naval support from the Dominions

The Growth of Dominion Nationalism On the other hand national feeling in the Dominions was also growing stronger, and began to show itself opposed to schemes of imperial federation The idea of a tariff union met with defeat in Britain itself, from fear of higher food prices In imperial defence, where there was wide variation between the needs of the different parts, attempts to provide for a unified system were unsuccesful, the navy was largely Britain's, and remained so The basis of imperial relations was in fact rapidly changing Responsible government, wisely left without definition by Act of Parliament, was growing far beyond its original application to the internal affairs of a colony Canada in 1859 extended its scope by imposing her own protective tariff, and Australia followed by asserting the right to bar Asiatic or African immigration, whether from within the British Empire or outside After the war of 1914–18 the Dominions signed the Peace Treaty for themselves, and joined the League of Nations as nations as well as in their capacity as members of the British Empire Shortly afterwards Canada introduced separate diplomatic representation in Washington and elsewhere, and made and signed, in 1923, her own fisheries treaty with the United States

The New Imperial Relationship It was the peculiar characteristic of the British Empire that it managed to adapt itself to this growth of Dominion nationality The change was aided and illustrated by the conferences of British and Dominion representatives begun in 1887, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee These began as 'Colonial' conferences, but in 1907, when it was decided to hold them every four years, they became 'Imperial' conferences During the war, in 1917, the Dominion premiers gathered in conference became, as befitted their share in

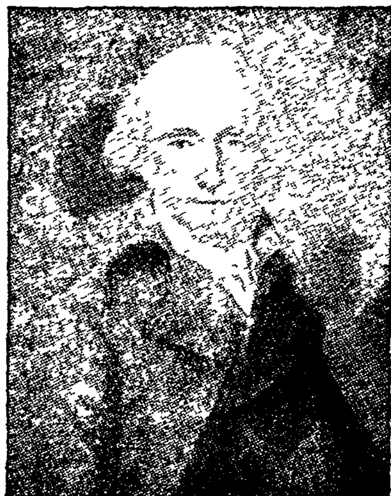
the common conflict, members of the Imperial War Cabinet The new status and relationship implied thereby manifested themselves in the peace negotiations of 1918–19, and the Imperial conference of 1926 put the new position into words It declared that the self-governing Dominions were now

> autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations

Later conferences and the Statute of Westminster of 1931 gave further expression to this change in relations, while an imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa in 1932 sought to draw the empire closer together in trade Yet at bottom the British Empire in its new form holds together not by material interest but, as Lord Balfour put it, by 'a common interest in loyalty, in freedom, in ideals—that is the bond of Empire If that is not enough, nothing else is enough'

V India

British Expansion in India. The expansion of British rule in India differed widely from the process of building up the British Dominions overseas, for India was already thickly populated, and in any case the climate was unsuitable for colonization by a northern European people When the modern period began the East India Company was in control of British interests in India, although by the India Act of 1784 it was subject to government supervision, and Burke had enunciated a new principle in the history of empires, when he declared that Britain was responsible for the welfare of her Asiatic subjects In the period which ended with the extinction of Company rule in 1858 British authority was gradually extended over three-fifths of India, and Britain also acquired supervision over the Indian princes ruling over the remainder This expansion was due to various causes, such as the putting down of disorders, the protection of existing provinces already under the British Raj, and of the vulnerable north-west frontier. It was accompanied by a large extension of British trade with India, and by the building up of a remarkable system of



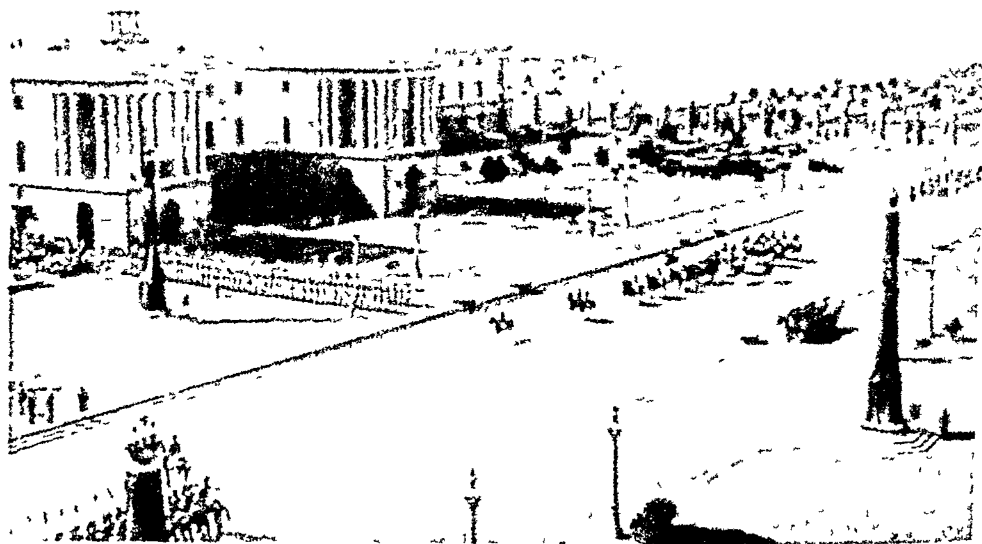
WARREN HASTINGS

government and administration Warren Hastings and his successor Cornwallis laid the foundations for this in the eighteenth century Bentinck (Governor-General 1828–35) promoted order, more humane customs, education, and the welfare of the peasantry Dalhousie (1848–56) in turn encouraged India's development by the building of railways, roads, canals, and harbours, as well as by the founding of universities The main task of administration, however, lay in the hands of a body of officials, the Indian Civil Service, with a high standard of efficiency and public service

India under the British Crown after 1858 The introduction of western rule, methods, and ideals inevitably had a disturbing effect on the Asiatic peoples of India, and in 1857 provoked an army revolt in northern India, the Indian Mutiny One result of this was to end the rule of the Company Its powers, which had already been materially restricted, now passed to the Crown, represented in India by a Viceroy In 1876 Disraeli created the title of Empress of Inda for Queen Victoria The period immediately following the transfer of authority to the Crown was one of internal peace and great material progress for India, despite the threats of Russian aggression through Afghanistan British enterprise led to the encouragement of new crops such as tea, jute, cotton, and wheat Agriculture was aided by large irrigation works in the Punjab and elsewhere, and the effects of the periodic famines resulting from the failure of the rains were diminished by relief schemes A cotton industry grew up round Bombay, bringing the problems of the factory system, and a clash of interests between manufacturers of cotton goods in England and India Medical science did much to reduce the ravages of plague and cholera, whilst higher education on British lines developed greatly

The Demand for Indian Self-Government. It was natural that this progress along western lines, aided by the increased contact with the western world, should encourage a demand by Indians to share in the government of their country In 1885 an Indian National Congress was formed which met yearly and acted as a focus for Indian opinion The rise of the new Asiatic power, Japan, and her victory over the great European power of Russia, further stimulated the demand for Swaraj or Home Rule The British met this by drawing Indians first into administrative work, and then into the Legislative Councils existing in nine of the provinces of British India But the demands of the Indian nationalists increased far faster than British concessions India played her part in the war of 1914–18, signed the treaty of peace, and entered the League of Nations The British government responded to this growth of political consciousness by a declaration of 1917 promising 'the gradual development of self-governing

institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.' An Act of two years later provided for material changes in this direction. The number of Indians in the civil service was increased. In the nine major provinces of British India the franchise was widened and the elected assemblies were given control, through ministers responsible to them, of



THE NEW DELHI
The Viceroy is here arriving at the Government buildings

matters such as education, health, agriculture, and local government. The preservation of law and order was reserved for the official authority as before. The central legislature for British India, of two elected houses, was given law-making powers, though emergency authority was left in the hands of the Viceroy. Provision was made for the revision of this system of dual control (diarchy), after ten years.

Later Developments. Nationalist agitation, however, continued to grow in India, the outstanding figure being that of the ascetic Gandhi, Mahatma, 'the holy one,' who opposed not merely British rule in India but western industrial civilization in general. He aimed to restore the spinning wheel in place of the modern factory, and adopted a policy of passive resistance to secure self-government. In 1928 the Simon Commission was appointed to inquire into the workings of diarchy. It reported in favour of a federal organization for British India, with steady development towards

Dominion status, and the inclusion if possible of the Indian princes in an all-India federation But although conferences were held to try to work out a scheme satisfactory to the many interests involved, these were unsuccessful It remained in 1934 for the British government to devise a workable scheme of federal government for India The introduction of western forms of democratic government into this enormous country, with its diversity of race and creed, whose peoples speak so many languages that English is the one common tongue, where poor and illiterate peasants form the majority of the population, and where Hindu and Muhammadan are usually in conflict, constitutes a task of enormous difficulty, not to be solved by one measure or indeed in one generation

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CHAPTER II

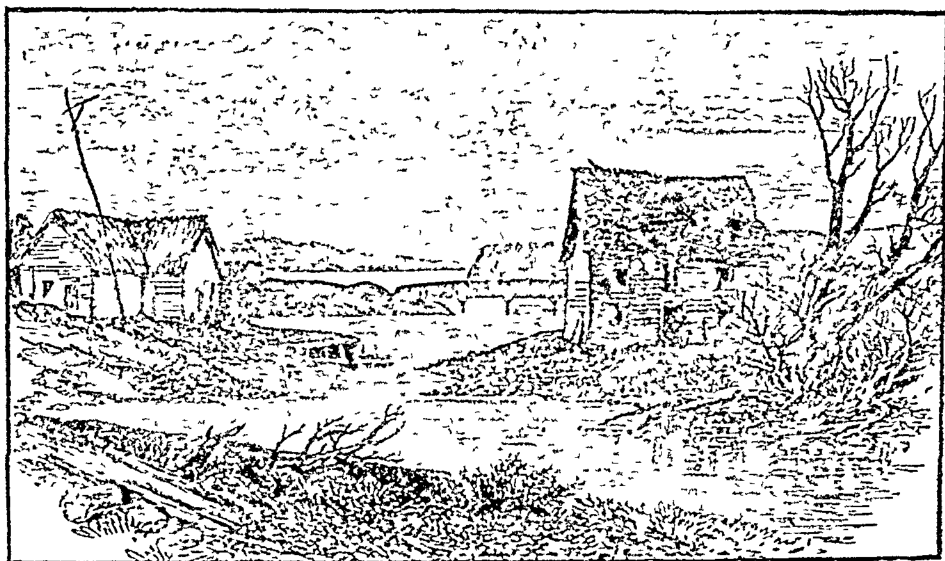
THE EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES THE LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS

I The Expansion of the United States

The United States in 1800. When the nineteenth century opened the young republic of the United States included five million people organized into sixteen states, most of them along the Atlantic seaboard, with certain territories not yet so organized To these last was added in 1803 the enormous Louisiana region purchased from Napoleon The capital was now Washington, and the republic had set up a National Bank, passed its first Tariff Act, and put down its first rebellion, in Kentucky Political parties had also appeared The Federalists, led by Hamilton, were concerned to strengthen the central authority, and were stronger in the north, the Democratic-Republicans were led by Jefferson, stood rather for the rights of the states, and drew their main support from the south Washington and his successor had been Federalists, but in 1800 Jefferson was elected President, to be followed by two other Presidents from the same party Yet these early party differences

were in fact declining Hamilton had been killed in a duel, and Monroe's period of office (1817–25) was known as the 'era of good feeling' And on one subject, that of the foreign relations of the new state, both parties were in agreement throughout

Foreign Policy: The Monroe Doctrine. Washington in his Farewell Address had declared that 'The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have



CHICAGO IN 1830
Wolf's Point at the junction of the north and south river branches

with them as little political connection as possible' Jefferson had expressed similar views But under the stress of the long struggle between Britain and revolutionary France, a trading neutral like the United States inevitably suffered, more especially from Britain as she was in command of the sea Hence, mainly, came the war of 1812, though the western desire for expansion also contributed to its coming New England opposed the war The Treaty of Ghent (1814) did not settle definitely the points at issue, but it marked a stage in the growth of the United States, as it did in that of Canada, and it led to the establishment of a peace, not since seriously disturbed, along the northern frontier The revolt of the Spanish-American colonies, with the threat of intervention by the European powers of the Holy Alliance, and aided by Russian claims to the Pacific coast, brought a further definition of policy Monroe, in a message to Congress in December 1823, declared that 'the American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future

UNITED STATES IN 1801

Scale 1:25,000,000

West from Greenwich

CANADA

OREGON COUNTRY

LOUISIANA

NEW MEXICO

TEXAS

NORTH CAROLINA

SOUTH CAROLINA

VIRGINIA

PENNSYLVANIA

GEORGIA

FLORIDA

WEST FLORIDA

ATLANTIC OCEAN

Gulf of Mexico

L. Superior

L. Huron

colonization by any European power' This famous declaration, really drawn up by the Secretary of State, Adams, was to acquire far greater importance as the United States grew in size and strength, at the time it was mainly defensive

The Expansion of the United States: To the Mississippi. The greatest factor in the history of the United States in the nineteenth century was its expansion westwards to the Pacific Ocean The movement had begun when the first colonists landed on the Atlantic shores two hundred years before, but it was in the first half of the nineteenth century that the greatest expansion took place This was aided by immigration from Europe, the bulk of it at first from Great Britain and Ireland, which made assimilation easy In the first stage expansion reached the Mississippi 'The Old North-west,' approached by the Ohio valley, was rapidly settled in the years after 1800 Ohio became a state in 1802, Indiana and Illinois followed as their populations grew to the sixty thousand required for statehood by the Ordinance of 1787 Since this ordinance did not allow slavery in this region these were 'free' states Meanwhile in the south the cotton and sugar planters pushed towards the mouth of the Mississippi, leading to the formation of the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama The securing of Florida from Spain in 1819 rounded out this stage of expansion

To the Pacific: War with Mexico. Meanwhile the vast territory of Louisiana had been explored Lewis and Clark in 1804–5 crossed the Rockies and reached the Pacific coast at the mouth of the Columbia, whilst Pike pushed into the Spanish territory in the south-west Behind these explorers came fur traders, hunters, and pioneer settlers To the north wheat farmers carved out the states of Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, whilst farther south the cotton planters filled in Mississippi and Arkansas To the west again the cattle-men ranged over a vast area from Montana to Texas But in this expansion west of Mississippi the southerners found themselves checked by the Mexican border Inevitably they spread across this border into Texas, and when Mexico abolished slavery these American-Texan slave-holders revolted and declared their independence of Mexico After nine years as 'the lone star state' Texas was admitted to the Union in 1845 Further expansion into Mexican territory brought war with that country (1846–7), resulting in the gain of California and the region east of it to Texas

The Pacific Coast Actually Frémont had already seized California The discovery of gold in the Sacramento valley brought immediately the greatest gold rush of the century From all over the world, overland, across Panama, or round Cape Horn, 'the forty-niners' flocked to the new land of promise, and California grew into a state almost over


UNITED STATES
Civil War 1861-65
UNION STATES
SECESSION STATES
NEBRASKA TERR
IOWA
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
KANSAS
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
W VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
DEL
INDIAN TERRITORY
ARKANSAS
TENNESSEE
N CAROLINA
S.CAROLINA
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
TEXAS
LOUISIANA
FLORIDA
CHICAGO
ST LOUIS
NEW YORK
PHILADELPHIA
BALTIMORE
WASHINGTON
NEW ORLEANS
Lincoln
Hastings
Council Bluffs
Des Moines
Davenport
Leavenworth City
Kansas City
Lexington
Hannibal
Springfield
Jefferson City
Tuscumbia
Pilot Knob
Dug Spring
Cairo
Wichita
Pools Prairie
Pineville
Pea Ridge
Fayetteville
Prairie Grove
Ft Smith
Little Rock
Helena
Memphis
Arkansas Post
Bolivar
Dallas
Austin
S Antonio
Galveston
Sabine Cy
Millikens Bend
Vicksburg
Champion Hill
Port Hudson
Baton Rouge
Mobile
Pensacola
Ft Pickens
Ft McRae
Ft St Philip
Meridian
Selma
Grenada
Ft Pemberton
Ripley
Corinth
Farmington
Dover
Nashville
Knoxville
Chattanooga
Chickamauga
Bowling Green
Mill Springs
Louisville
Frankfort
Indianapolis
Cincinnati
Toledo
Cleveland
Columbus
Wheeling
Guyandotte
Carnifex Ferry
Cheat Summit
Prestonburg
Pikeville
Lynchburg
Richmond
Fredericksburg
Norfolk
Elizabeth City
Plymouth
Ft Clarke
Raleigh
Kingston
New Berne
Fayetteville
Ft Fisher
Columbia
Charleston
Ft Moultrie
Ft Beauregard
Ft Walker
Ft Pulaski
Ft McAllister
Savannah
Atlanta
Augusta
Macon
Andersonville
Brunswick
St Marys
Ft Clinch
Jacksonville
St Augustine
Harrisburg
Carlisle
Gettysburg
Ball's Bluff
Manassas
Chancellorsville
Platte R
Arkansas R
Cimarron R
Washita R
Red R
Sabine R
Mississippi R
Missouri R
Illinois R
Wabash R
Ohio R
Tennessee R
Alabama R
Chattahoochee R
Savannah R
Santee R
Roanoke R
Altamaha R

When the new President made it clear that he refused to recognize the secession he was answered by the Southern cannon opening fire on Fort Sumter The Civil War had begun.

The Civil War, 1861–5. The Civil War lasted just four years and was one of the outstanding conflicts of the century In the end the North was bound to win, but the South was more united, it produced in Lee and 'Stonewall' Jackson abler generals than those of the North, and it fought not to conquer but for independence. It took the North nearly three years to win the south-west, but with this accomplished the way was open to attack the Confederacy from the rear And by this time, despite Southern victories, the Northerners were advancing under Grant through the main theatre of the fighting in Virginia to the Confederate capital, Richmond The war brought complications with foreign powers, notably Britain and France, which increased the difficulties of the President Lincoln also suffered from the failures of his generals, and only slowly won sufficient Northern confidence to be re-elected in 1864 But together with his simplicity, and his ability to learn, he showed remarkable firmness and sagacity in dealing with the issue of slavery He was concerned above all to restore the Union, but came to the conclusion that the only permanent basis for that was to be found in emancipation of the slaves So in 1862 he issued his famous Proclamation of Emancipation, which was later to be incorporated in the constitution, by amendment But although Lincoln lived to see the close of the war, he was assassinated immediately afterwards, and thus the task of binding up the nation's wounds was left to less capable and less far-sighted men



I L N

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1860)

The South after the Civil War. The Northern victory left the South ruined, and the North, instead of aiding its rebuilding on the new basis of free labour, pursued a policy of revenge and confiscation. The Reconstruction Acts organized the Confederate States as conquered provinces under Northern military governors, and there ensued an orgy of misgovernment, with unscrupulous Northern agents, Southern 'scally-wags,' and ignorant negroes in charge Meanwhile Grant, though a good

soldier, proved a bad President, under whose regime corruption throve unchecked. Southern reconstruction was to come slowly, by the efforts of the Southerners themselves. They recovered control in their states, using secret societies like the Ku Klux Klan to this end, restricted the negro vote, and organized themselves solidly under the Democratic banner. They adapted cotton growing to the new conditions, and began to develop industries after the fashion of the North. Though the negro problem remained it did not again divide North and South as in the days of slavery.

Expansion continued. With the slavery issue removed the republic was free to continue its spectacular growth. The first transcontinental railway, the Union Pacific, was completed in 1869, and others quickly followed. Later on the motor, then the aeroplane, and in a different way the radio, were likewise to bring east and west closer together. The completion in 1914 of the Panama Canal worked to the same end. The vast lands of the west were steadily absorbed by settlement, aided by an Act of 1862 which allowed a homesteader to acquire one hundred and sixty acres of government land free. The progress of settlement left little or no room for the unfortunate Indians, who were steadily dispossessed of most of their remaining lands, sometimes brutally. Population increased until it was over one hundred millions in 1920. Much of the growth was the result of immigration from Europe, but whereas earlier immigrants had come mainly from northern Europe, after 1880 increasing numbers came from Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Italy. These immigrants, many of them Jews, helped to swell the great cities of the east, until restrictions were gradually imposed, leading up to the quota system applied since 1921. On the Pacific Coast immigration from China and Japan was first restricted and then stopped altogether.

This growth resulted in the slow disappearance of the old frontier and its organization into states, from Nevada in 1864 to New Mexico in 1912, completing the total of forty-eight states. It led to a vast development of agriculture, and the exploitation of the mineral resources of the west. Thus the discovery of oil in western Pennsylvania in 1860 marked the beginning of that industry. Under the stimulus of the growing western demand, and aided by a steadily rising tariff, the manufactures of the east grew enormously. Industry also spread westward, as the growth of Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Detroit abundantly showed. The republic became a land of great cities, with all the problems that implied. The growth of 'big business' brought 'combines' and 'trusts' with men like Rockefeller and Carnegie at their head. Attempts were made to check such developments by legislation, e.g. the Sherman Anti-Trust Law of 1890, but with only partial success. Labour attempted to counter the rise of great capitalist corporations by organizing itself

in trade unions Immigrants from Europe brought socialist ideas, but although various socialist parties were founded, American socialism lagged far behind that of Europe Not until the 'New Deal' of President Franklin Roosevelt did the federal government seriously attempt to bring Capital and Labour together. Yet there was incessant effort of every kind to build up a nation out of the diverse elements now stretched across from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and with growing success

Republicans and Democrats. The party lines drawn at the time of the Civil War continued to dominate federal politics. The presidential election every four years formed the focus for the struggle between the two great parties The head of the executive was no longer chosen (save in form) by the electoral college, but by popular vote for the different candidates nominated in the national conventions of the parties Actually, in the prevailing absorption of the country in business, the 'bosses' of the party machine usually chose the presidential candidate Although new parties, like Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive party of 1912, appeared from time to time, the two great parties managed to maintain their hold on both Presidency and Congress The Republicans, victorious in the Civil War, long maintained their hold on the Presidency It was interrupted first by Cleveland's victories (1884 and 1892) and then again by Wilson's election in 1912 After the war, however, the Republicans returned to power, until the wave of economic depression and discontent swept Franklin Roosevelt into the White House, to inaugurate a new era of Democratic rule

From Republic to Empire. Save for the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867 the United States was absorbed, from the Mexican war to the close of the century, in colonizing her own wide territories That accomplished, however, and increasingly conscious of her great size, wealth and strength, she began to show a more imperialistic spirit, illustrated in the person of Theodore Roosevelt The new spirit was manifested by an increasing interest in the affairs of Latin America, and above all by the Spanish-American war of 1898. Continued revolt in the Spanish island of Cuba provoked the United States to intervene, and the war speedily brought the end of Spanish rule there By the peace Porto Rico and the distant Philippines passed into the hands of the republic The early years of the twentieth century saw further advance. Nicaragua and Haiti became Protectorates, and Roosevelt engineered the separation of Panama from Colombia in order to build the Canal there The acquisition of the Philippines, part of Samoa, and Hawaii made the United States a Pacific power, giving her new problems of colonial government akin to those of the European powers, bringing her into closer contact with Japan and China, and resulting in the building up of a navy comparable to that

of Britain Her entry in 1917 into the war which began in 1914 in Europe, and her share in the peace settlement and later international conferences, emphasized her new position as a world power. Despite her refusal to join the League of Nations the isolation advocated by Washington was no longer possible in a world which had shrunk as steadily as the United States had grown

II. The Development of Latin America

Disunion and Disorder after the Achievement of Independence. Whereas the revolted North American colonies had built up a unified state on a federal democratic basis, Latin America after the struggles for independence was divided into a large number of separate states, numbering thirteen in 1831 All of them, save Brazil, were republics, but all these republics presented scenes of great confusion and disorder, and lacked political and economic stability The causes of this are not difficult to see The Spanish colonies had had no experience in governing themselves under the colonial regime They were economically backward and in general poor The populations of the various states were greatly mixed racially, containing only one-fifth of unmixed European stock, and the mass of the coloured populations was illiterate and quite unready for republican democracy The fifteen years of war had fostered militarism and checked the growth of civil life

Whilst there was general agreement on the republican form of government, and a pathetic faith in written constitutions, there were wide differences of opinion on a number of vital issues The landholding aristocracy and the Church wished to preserve their old predominance, which liberals, radicals, and anti-clericals attacked, these objected to the clerical control of education, and desired some of the Church's wealth to be applied to the needs of government. There was great controversy between the Unitaries (in general the conservatives), who wished to create closely unified states after the French model, and the Federalists, who sought to preserve local independence, this was connected with the clash of interests between the growing cities, like Buenos Aires, and the rural hinterland areas The result of all this was that Latin America was subject for many years to almost incessant revolution, during which control fell into the hands of dictators.

The Age of Dictators The outstanding example of these dictators was Rosas of Argentina There, independence was succeeded by controversy and civil war Buenos Aires tried to dominate the La Plata region but was opposed by the Indians and cowboys (gauchos) of the interior Rosas became the champion of these 'federalists,' and

established himself as dictator, a position which he maintained from 1835 to 1852. His methods were tyrannical and brutal to a degree, he showed no mercy to any one who opposed his rule But although he was deservedly driven out in the end, he had done something to destroy the anarchical tendencies which hindered the establishment of effective government in Argentina Another example of dictatorship was provided in Paraguay, the smaller interior state where the Jesuits had long ruled over the submissive Indians There a lawyer, Dr Francia, had played a



Nelson Line

THE FALLS OF IGUAZU, WHERE BRAZIL, PARAGUAY, AND ARGENTINA MEET

leading part in the struggle for independence, and thereafter for nearly thirty years this extraordinary despot, '*El Supremo*' his subjects called him, ruled Paraguay with a mixture of benevolence and tyranny unmatched elsewhere Santa Cruz of Bolivia, and Castilla of Peru, both of mixed blood, and Santa Anna of Mexico, provide other examples of military dictators or *caudillos* in this period Quite another type was Moreno of Ecuador, a scholar, mystic, and fervent supporter of the Catholic Church, which he established in Ecuador far more strongly than ever it had been in Spanish colonial days anywhere in America

Wars between the Republics. It is easy to condemn these dictators as tyrannical despots, mainly concerned to maintain themselves in power, whether they began as 'liberators,' or not They were, in fact, the successors of the Spanish governors and captains-general, without the checks of the colonial system And the common alternative to despotic rule in this period was anarchy, the removal of one dictator was usually followed by civil disturbances ending in the rise of another, a vicious circle The situation was worsened by the wars between the various

states, fruit of boundary disputes, rival revolutionary movements, personal ambitions, and the like. Thus there was a long war in Uruguay in the forties, where the struggle between Reds and Whites was complicated by the intervention of Argentina and Brazil, with an eight years' siege of Montevideo, in which Garibaldi played a part. In the west of the continent, after an early war waged by Chile and Argentina against a Peru-Bolivia union, there arose a bitter conflict between Chile, Peru, and Bolivia, the War of the Pacific (1879–84), for possession of the valuable nitrate deposits lying along the borders of the three states. Though Chile was the victor in the war, the issue was by no means closed with the conclusion of peace, the Tacna-Arica question has persisted down to our own day.

Foreign Interests. Other difficulties arose from the interests or ambitions of foreign powers, for the United States, Britain, Spain, Portugal, and France were all concerned in the fortunes of Latin America. The United States, not including herself in the terms of the Monroe Doctrine, seized two-thirds of the territory of Mexico, and Napoleon III later attempted to establish a Habsburg Emperor, the unfortunate Maximilian, over the remainder. Spain likewise made a momentary attempt to revive her authority in Santo Domingo. At the end of the century the United States began to interfere more actively in the affairs of Latin America, as we have seen, and Theodore Roosevelt even talked of 'the international police power,' of the United States in the New World. The northern republic also sponsored a Pan-American movement, but drew only a limited response from the Latin American nations, who were fearful of the excessive power of their great neighbour.

The Slow Growth of Stability: Argentina and Brazil. Notwithstanding revolution, war, dictatorship, and outside interference, certain of the Latin American states slowly acquired a measure of stability and prosperity as the second half of the century wore on. This was chiefly the case in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (the A B C states). Argentina had managed, on the downfall of Rosas, to build a constitution which compromised between the federal and unitary claims, and with that entered a period of steady advance. She expanded to the south to take in Patagonia, and began to draw large numbers of immigrants from Europe, as well as large amounts of foreign capital, mainly English, to be invested in the railways which now began to radiate from Buenos Aires, and in agriculture and industry. Although her political troubles were not over, Argentina developed enormously in wealth, trade, population, and cultural life in the second half of the nineteenth century. Brazil had escaped most of the turmoils of the period following the gaining of independence, and under the able and beneficent rule of Dom Pedro II (1840–89) grew

steadily in wealth and strength. Thanks largely to him, the transition to a republic, which came in 1889, was far less difficult than it had been elsewhere, and the disorders which occurred as Brazil essayed to live by a constitution akin to that of the United States did not prevent the continued economic growth of the country. Slavery, which had persisted later than elsewhere, had now gone, and there was a flood of Italian and other immigration from Europe, and also some from Asia.

Chile and Mexico. Chile, smaller than the other two, was the first of the South American states to establish a permanent constitution, in 1833. This proved capable of modification as more democratic forces grew in strength, though not without strife. But nevertheless Chile steadily developed, in mining, industry, and foreign trade, aided likewise by immigration, mainly from Spain and Germany. The fortunes of Mexico were more disturbed than those of the A B C states. For long she furnished the picture of a bewildering and rapid succession of rulers, fifty in thirty years, alternately dictators and liberators, or both in one. The irrepressible Santa Anna, nine times President in twenty years, exemplifies this period. The appearance of the statesmanlike and patriotic Indian, Juarez, seemed for a time to promise sounder rule, but in addition to bitter quarrels with the Church, the invasion of Napoleon III intervened, and it was not until the old soldier Diaz succeeded to power in 1876, to retain it for thirty-five years, that Mexico entered on a period of order and economic development, with the building of railways, the exploitation of her mineral resources, and the building up of her national life as a modern state. Whilst revolution was to come again, bringing the downfall of Diaz and a decade of turbulence and civil war, it was not to last so long or to be so devastating as before, and it bore in it more promise for the future.

The Lesser States: Conclusion. The fortunes of the lesser states created out of Spanish America cannot be followed here. In general these states followed the same course as their larger and more powerful neighbours, taking rather longer to establish constitutions with any degree of finality, and to develop economic and cultural life. Whilst the number of these states remained the same in South America, seven in all, in Central America and the West Indies political changes during the century after liberation increased the number of Latin American states. The turbulent United Provinces of Central America in 1839 split up into the five republics of Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, and despite various attempts to reunite them, the separation continued, as did also the extreme instability of political life there. The separation of Cuba from Spain, and that of Panama from Colombia, added two further states, so that there are now a score

of separate states built out of the empires of Spain and Portugal in the New World These states vary greatly in size and population, from Brazil with its twenty-four million people to Salvador with under two million, and they vary in many other ways as well Yet they are all republican, all seeking to work out a stable and democratic form of government for their mixed populations, and to build up a culture which, with Latin origins and Latin speech, contains Indian, other European, and even African elements as well

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CHAPTER III

EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN AFRICA

The Exploration of Africa, 1815–80. The story of the exploration of the interior of Africa in the nineteenth century is one of extraordinary interest It was accomplished in the face of great difficulties, owing to climate, physical obstacles, and sometimes fierce opposition from the natives of the continent Men of various nationalities took part in it, actuated by different motives, some because it was unknown and therefore attractive, others from more definitely scientific interest Missionary zeal took many, Britain's crusade against the slave trade had a share, in the later stages the economic motive was increasingly evident Britain did most to explore the continent, but the journey of a Frenchman, René Caillié, in 1827, from the Gulf of Guinea overland to Morocco, and the exploration of the German, Barth, in the Sudan, must be mentioned in any record of African exploration The British share began with the explorations of Bruce in Abyssinia (1770) and of Mungo Park from the Gambia to the Niger (1795) Ten years later Park lost his life in a second exploration of the Niger River Other British explorers discovered Lake Chad, and the half-fabulous city of Timbuktu on the Niger

Livingstone. But the greatest name amongst British explorers is that of David Livingstone (1813–73), who went out to South Africa

duced large amounts of wealth available for investment, and there was increasing competition for raw materials, such as rubber and oils, which Africa might supply There were also exaggerated ideas as to the quantity of manufactured goods which Africa could absorb The growth of the population of Europe caused the demand for new colonies in Africa, since the other continents were either fully settled or pre-empted The



Canadian Pacific

A STREET IN ALGIERS

growth of tariffs encouraged countries to mark out and develop colonies of their own Further, the unification of Germany and Italy added two new powers seeking 'a place in the sun' and Africa seemed the most obvious place where this might be found. France sought compensation for her defeat and losses at the hands of Germany by further expansion in the African continent, there she looked for recruits for her army to make up for her inferiority in population to Germany Thus international rivalries in Europe between 1870 and 1914 hastened the process of African partition, which was also aided by the decline of Turkish rule in North Africa The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 provided a shorter route to East Africa, railways were pushed inland from various points on the coast, to be followed in our own day by the motor car and the aeroplane. Finally the work of medical science in combating tropical diseases also aided the modern penetration of Africa

The Course of the Partition: France. Most of the western European nations shared in the partition of Africa, though France and Britain acquired the largest portions. France in 1830 seized Algiers and began her long wars with Abd-el-Kader, the heroic Arab leader By 1867 she had won undisputed possession of Algeria From Algeria came after 1880 the extension of French authority south, east, and west. Tunis was acquired without much difficulty in 1881, but Morocco presented far greater obstacles There was opposition by the Berber people there, and there were other European powers to consider, in particular Spain, Germany, and Britain Not until 1913, and after two crises with Germany, was Morocco recognized as a French protectorate, leaving Spanish zones north and south-west of it Meanwhile France was reaching out southwards over the mountains and across the Sahara to make contacts with her long-established position on the Senegal River, with the Upper Niger, the Sudan, and the Guinea coast. The ancient capital, Timbuktu, was occupied, and by the end of the century France had linked up her West African possessions with the Mediterranean by land in one enormous empire (French West Africa). Nor was this all Largely by the efforts of the intrepid French explorer, de Brazza, France acquired further territory west and north of the Congo River (French Equatorial Africa), which was connected with French West Africa Efforts to extend this immense area eastwards to the Red Sea were unsuccessful, largely through British opposition on the Nile (1898) Off the east coast of Africa France after much difficulty established a protectorate over the island of Madagascar (1896) Of the wide extent of French Africa, only the northern portion was suitable for European settlement, and that in limited numbers

Britain. Britain was more firmly established in Africa than any other European power when the era of partition opened She had her West African trading posts, her colony at the Cape, her exploring, trading, and missionary connections, together with those made by her long crusades against the slave trade From the Cape, she pushed steadily northwards throughout the century, forming Natal in 1843, and penetrating into and through Bechuanaland into Rhodesia. The British South Africa Company was formed in 1889, and in time extended as far north as Lake Tanganyika The clash with the Boers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and the ultimate formation of the Union of South Africa, we have referred to elsewhere In West Africa she added Lagos in 1861 to her possessions on the Gambia River, the Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone, and later, aided by German and French rivalry there, rounded out British Nigeria Similar rivalry on the east coast helped to define British East Africa in 1890, and later Uganda British Somaliland became a protectorate in 1884

Egypt and the Sudan. Britain likewise became interested in Egypt and the Sudan, which, by reason of the fertility of the basin of the Nile, was the most densely populated part of the continent This interest was not merely financial, but also strategic, since Egypt lay on the route to India, and it was increased when Disraeli in 1875 purchased control of the Suez Canal, completed six years earlier by a Frenchman, de Lesseps The crash of Egyptian finances, coupled with a military revolt, brought direct intervention in Egypt in 1882 France, equally interested financially, refused to join Whilst Gladstone had no desire to remain in Egypt, unsettled conditions there postponed evacuation indefinitely, so that Britain remained, exercising control by an Agent (Lord Cromer from 1883 to 1907) under the nominal authority of the Khedive, until under the pressure of the war of 1914–18 a formal protectorate was declared But the rising Egyptian nationalism refused to accept this, and in 1922 Egypt was declared an independent state, with reservations regarding the British position there Shortly after her occupation of Egypt Britain was drawn into the Sudan Her first intervention was disastrous, and led to the death of Gordon at Khartum But in 1896 Kitchener began its reconquest, and in due course it became a joint possession of Britain and Egypt



Courtesy of 'Punch'

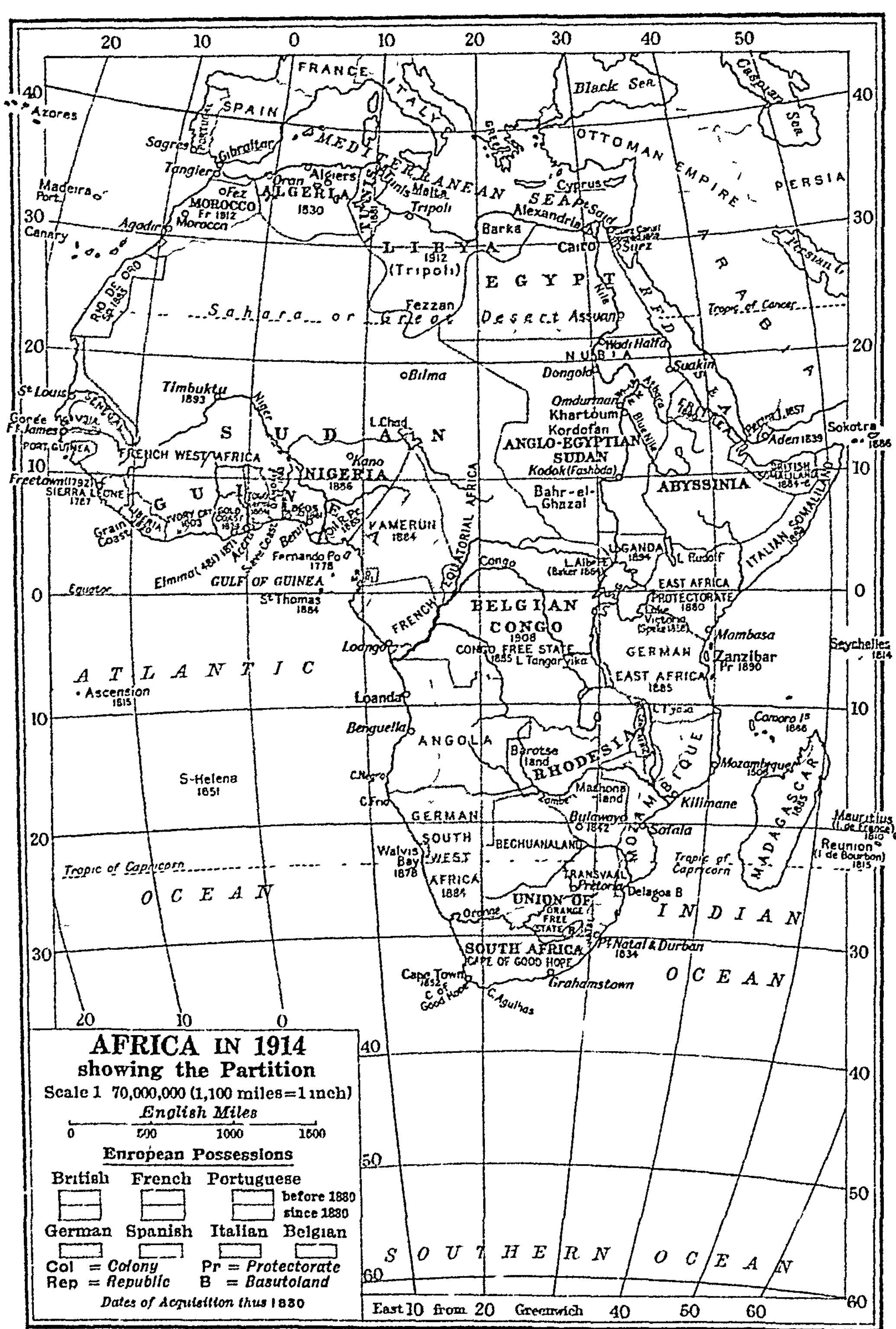
DISRAELI AND THE SUEZ CANAL

Mr Punch playfully entitled this cartoon *Mose in Egitto* ! ! !—i e Moses in Egypt

Other European Powers in Africa As late-comers to Africa the newly unified states of Germany and Italy were at a certain disadvantage Bismarck, for Germany, was at first opposed to colonial expansion, but later yielded to growing imperial aspirations, with the result that in a few years after 1884 Germany acquired Togoland, the Cameroons, and German South-west Africa on the western coast of the continent, as well as German East Africa. Italy was less ready for expansion, so that France anticipated her in Tunis. She managed, however, to secure Italian Somaliland and Eritrea along the eastern coast, but an attempt to gain Abyssinia brought heavy defeat at Adowa in 1896 Later, Italy managed to extend her holdings in Africa by the gain of Tripoli from Turkey

There other states of Europe likewise shared in the partition of Africa Spain, nearest to Africa, established her claim to part of the north-western coast, Rio de Oro Only after great difficulty, however, both with the tribes of Morocco and with the rival claims of other powers, could she secure rights over part of Morocco early in the twentieth century Portugal was already established on both the east and west coasts when the partition began in earnest, and despite the new rivalry of larger states managed to assert her claims to Angola and Mozambique Belgium owed her interest to her king, Leopold II, who in 1876 called together an international conference to consider the opening up of Africa An association was formed under Leopold which became active in the heart of Africa, the Congo basin, and in time his sovereignty over the Congo Free State was recognized Leopold later willed this vast estate to his country, which in 1908 formally took over its rule One portion of West African territory, Liberia, originated in 1822 as a settlement for freed American negroes, and the United States continued to interest herself in this negro republic

The Results of the Partition of Africa This expansion of the European states in Africa led to the partial settlement of Europeans there, and to the subjection of the peoples of Africa to European rule To these peoples of varied racial stock, Libyans (or Berbers) and Hamites in the north, Negroes in the centre, Bushmen and Hottentots in the south, the process brought both good and ill Save for the Abyssinians, the more primitive peoples of Africa were unable in the long run to withstand the superior strength of the Europeans The weaker of them were often exploited, worst of all perhaps in the Belgian Congo The natives often not merely lost their land, but were forced to labour for their white exploiters, at times under conditions hardly, if at all, better than slavery The slave trade had created a bad tradition, which proved very difficult to eradicate Yet the partition brought benefits as well Christian


AFRICA IN 1914
showing the Partition
Scale 1 70,000,000 (1,100 miles=1 inch)
English Miles
0 500 1000 1500
European Possessions
British French Portuguese
before 1880
since 1880
German Spanish Italian Belgian
Col = Colony Pr = Protectorate
Rep = Republic B = Basutoland
Dates of Acquisition thus 1880
East 10 from 20 Greenwich 40 50 60
FRANCE
SPAIN
ITALY
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
PERSIA
Azores
Sagres
Gibraltar
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tangier
Oran
Algiers
Tunis
Malta
Cyprus
Madeira Port.
Fez
MOROCCO Fr 1912
ALGERIA 1830
Tripoli
Pt Said
Alexandria
Agadir
Morocco
Canary
Barka
Suez
Cairo
LIBYA 1912 (Tripoli)
EGYPT
RIO DE ORO Sp 1885
Sahara or Great Desert
Assuan
Fezzan
Tropic of Cancer
ARABIA
Wadi Halfa
NUBIA
Suakin
Dongola
Bilma
St Louis
SENEGAL
Timbuktu 1893
Niger
Omdurman
Khartoum
Kordofan
ERITREA
Aden 1839
Sokotra 1886
Gorée
Ft James
PORT. GUINEA
L. Chad
SUDAN
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
Kano
NIGERIA 1886
Kodok (Fashoda)
BRITISH SOMALILAND
ABYSSINIA
Freetown (1792)
SIERRA LEONE 1787
GUINEA
LIBERIA
IVORY COAST
GOLD COAST
Lagos
Bahr-el-Ghazal
Grain Coast
KAMERUN 1884
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
Acra
Slave Coast
Benin
Oil R. Pc
Fernando Po 1778
UGANDA 1894
L. Albert (Baker 1864)
L. Rudolf
Elmina (481) 1871
GULF OF GUINEA
Congo
EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE 1880
Equator
St Thomas 1884
BELGIAN CONGO 1908
Lake Victoria (Speke 1858)
Loango
CONGO FREE STATE 1885
L. Tanganyika
Mombasa
Seychelles 1814
ATLANTIC
GERMAN EAST AFRICA 1885
Zanzibar Pr 1890
Ascension 1815
Loanda
L. Nyasa
Benguella
ANGOLA
Comoro Is 1886
Barotse land
RHODESIA
MOZAMBIQUE
Mozambique 1508
MADAGASCAR 1885
S-Helena 1851
C. Negro
Mashona land
Killimane
C. Frio
GERMAN SOUTH WEST AFRICA 1884
Bulawayo 1842
Sofala
Mauritius (I. de France) 1810
Walvis Bay 1878
BECHUANALAND
Reunion (I de Bourbon) 1815
Tropic of Capricorn
TRANSVAAL
Pretoria
Delagoa B
OCEAN
Orange
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
ORANGE FREE STATE
INDIAN OCEAN
Pt Natal & Durban 1834
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
Cape Town 1652
C. of Good Hope
C. Agulhas
Grahamstown
SOUTHERN OCEAN

missionaries laboured both to convert and educate the natives, who also shared in the results of medical research into tropical diseases, as they shared in the general growth of humanitarianism in the nineteenth century The continent was opened up by railways Sound and just administration, such as that of the British in Egypt and the Sudan, helped to improve living conditions, so that with the cessation of tribal wars population greatly increased Irrigation schemes gave new fertility to the Nile valley In Egypt, seat of an ancient civilization and then part of the Arab world,



Canadian Pacific

THE DAM AT ASSWAN ON THE NILE

the growth of material prosperity stimulated a feeling of nationality And at the other end of Africa a similar feeling developed in the Dutch-British Union of South Africa

The partitions also had their effect on Europe They brought large accessions of territory, with limited possibilities of settlement, new subjects, new sources of raw materials and food, new openings for commercial development The figure of Cecil Rhodes, the son of an English parson, who had gone to South Africa for his health and made a fortune in the diamond mines, is typical of the imperialism of the partition period 'I think in continents,' he declared, and he was not far from realizing his ambition of extending British influence from the Cape to Cairo The South African War, however, showed the dangers of this imperialism The partition undoubtedly increased national rivalries and jealousies in Europe in the period before the war of 1914–18, although it did not actually produce a war such as those which had marked the earlier partition of America Thus an International Congress held in Berlin in 1884–5 to discuss African questions failed to settle the issues between the rival European powers there The nineties saw fresh contentions, such as that between the French and British for the Sudan, leading to the Fashoda crisis of 1898 And in the years immediately before 1914, French

expansion in Morocco and German opposition thereto, on two occasions gravely disturbed the peace of Europe.

For Further Reading

R Brown, *The Story of African Exploration.*
R. J Campbell, *Livingstone*
H. L Hoskins, *European Imperialism in Africa*
H H Johnston, *The Opening-up of Africa*

CHAPTER IV

WESTERN CIVILIZATION AND ASIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

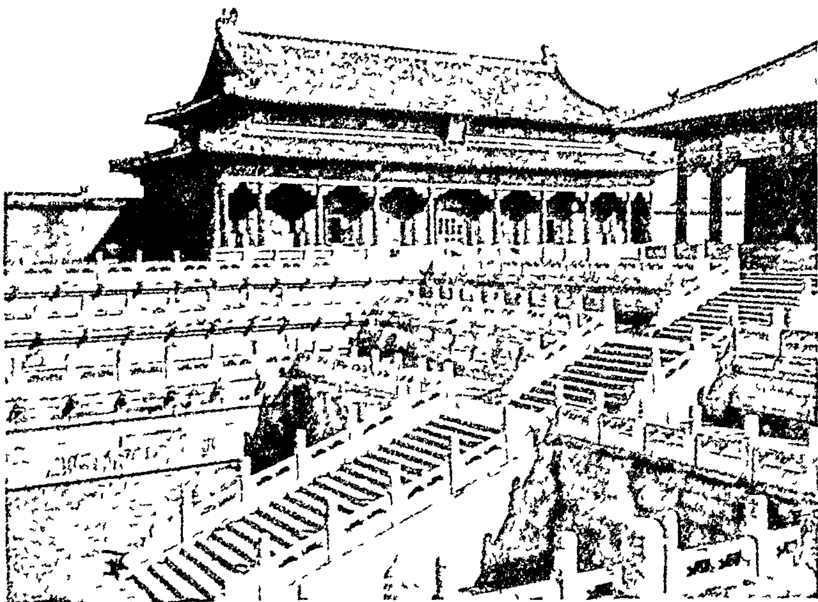
I The Relations of China with the West before the Nineteenth Century

China before 1800 To the western mind, the amazing thing about China was the way in which it remained essentially unchanged for so many centuries The rude and warlike Mongols of Jenghiz Khan in the late thirteenth century overthrew the highly civilized rule of the Sung dynasty, but were largely assimilated, and then a century later (1368) succeeded by the Chinese Ming dynasty. At first this southern dynasty ruled from Nanking, but then it made its capital at Peking It achieved excellence in the making of porcelain and in art, but in due course declined, and in the middle of the seventeenth century a new northern invader, the Manchu, descended upon the great Middle Kingdom of China and established a rule which lasted until the end of the nineteenth century

Under the Manchus not merely was Manchuria joined to China, but their empire was extended to include Mongolia, Turkestan, Tibet, Annam, and Cochin-China, making the empire larger than it had ever been Yet the Manchus, too, were assimilated by the realm they had conquered, the pigtail they imposed upon their Chinese subjects was, it has been said, their sole original contribution to Chinese civilization, which otherwise retained the features it had maintained for centuries For example, the system of selecting the officials for imperial administration by stereotyped examination in the Chinese classics, remained unchanged from the close of the fourteenth century to early in the twentieth And

this unchanging quality was likewise reflected in the whole political and social system, as in religion, and in economic life

China's Relations with the West. The relations of the Chinese Empire with the western world before the nineteenth century were almost entirely confined to trade, and that was conducted under very limited conditions The overland trade in silk was of course very ancient When



Canadian Pacific

THE THRONE ROOM IN THE FORBIDDEN CITY, PEKING

Europe by smuggling silkworms from China began to make its own silk, the emphasis in Europe's eastern trade came to be placed on the spices which the west, lacking vegetables, required for its food India and the East Indian Islands, rather than China, formed the centre of this trade, which after the discovery of the sea route to the east fell into the hands of the western peoples But the Portuguese quickly pushed on to the coast of China, and in 1557 secured a trading post at Macao, close to Canton They were shortly followed by other western trading nations The British managed to get a foothold in Canton in 1669, and that port became the centre through which the Europeans carried on a large and growing trade with China The Manchu emperors refused, however, to open other ports for foreign trade Nor would they engage in ordinary diplomatic relations with western nations They had, it is true, made a

treaty with Russia in 1689, but when in 1793 Britain sent a special envoy to negotiate for wider trade and intercourse this mission was entirely unsuccessful The emperor's reply revealed the Manchu attitude to the west

> I have read your memorial the earnest terms in which it is cast reveal a respectful humility on your part which is highly praiseworthy
>
> Swaying the wide world, I have but one aim in view, namely to maintain a perfect governance and to fulfil the duties of the State .
>
> I have no use for your country's manufactures I do not forget the lonely remoteness of your island, cut off from the world by intervening wastes of sea, nor do I overlook your excusable ignorance of the usages of our Celestial Empire
>
> My capital is the hub and centre about which all quarters of the globe revolve

By law, foreigners were not allowed to enter China without special permission One exception to this had been made. The Jesuit missionary, St Francis Xavier, had died while attempting to enter China in 1552, but Matteo Ricci a generation later managed to gain entrance for the Jesuits, who by their learning, their knowledge of science, and their conciliatory attitude towards Confucianism, for a time exercised considerable influence in Peking But later Catholic missionaries were less conciliatory and incurred the hostility of the emperors, so that the effects of Christian mission work in China before the nineteenth century were quite limited Thus when the nineteenth century opened China remained without formal relations with the west, her ancient civilization practically untouched by western influence, and this continued almost unchanged until 1840 Japan, after some early contacts, remained practically closed to the west for even longer

II THE OPENING-UP OF CHINA AND THE DOWNFALL OF THE MANCHU EMPIRE

The Conflict of the West with China The increasing strength and desire for trade of the western nations before the middle of the nineteenth century broke through the barriers set up by China and opened the empire to a flood of western influences, with results still being worked out The immediate cause of this irruption was the difficulty foreign merchants experienced in carrying on their growing trade through the one port of Canton It was difficult to settle disputes which arose in this trade, for the imperial authorities refused to discuss matters of trade with foreign nations, and foreign merchants found Chinese law barbarous and local Chinese officials corrupt Although by 1840 no less than thirteen countries had trading factories at Canton the British had the largest share of the trade Difficulties arose when the British government appointed a direct representative at Canton, as the Chinese refused him recognition

A crisis followed shortly afterwards over the opium traffic, which was illegal in China, but highly profitable to foreign merchants, as to Chinese officials and smugglers Partly owing to the lack of proper means of intercourse the crisis developed into a war, with Britain as the protagonist of the western traders in the unhallowed product. Out of this opium war (1839–42), in which unwarlike China was inevitably defeated, came the opening of China to the West

The Opening of China to the West. By the treaty ending this first war China agreed to open five ports for foreign trade, and the British gained the island of Hong Kong In addition, China shortly agreed that foreign offenders against Chinese laws should be tried and punished in accordance with their own legal systems This privilege of extra-territoriality was soon extended by a treaty made with the United States to include civil disputes Areas for foreign settlement were granted in Shanghai, and Christian missions were henceforth to be tolerated These concessions were enlarged as the result of further conflict during the T'ai P'ing rebellion, which distracted the Chinese Empire for a decade after 1850 By the treaties signed at Peking in 1860 the western nations secured the right to diplomatic representation at the Chinese capital, the opening of the interior to foreigners, and of the Yangtze River to foreign shipping More ports were opened, extra-territoriality was further defined, Christian missions were given more protection, and China was to pay indemnities for damage The collection of Chinese customs duties, fixed by treaty, was placed in the hands of foreigners Thus China was opened up to western penetration, which continued steadily without further war to the close of the century, on the basis of these treaty arrangements

The Threatened Break-up of China In addition to the economic penetration of China, the western nations also began to carve off portions of the vast empire of the Manchus France had become interested in Indo-China in the eighteenth century, and under Napoleon III this interest increased until in 1862 France took possession of Cochin-China From there French influence was extended over Cambodia, Annam, and Tongking, to make the large province of French Indo-China In the north Russia began to seek an outlet to the Pacific from Siberia In 1858 she secured by treaty a considerable slice of the Pacific coast south of the Amur river, and at its southern extremity founded the port of Vladivostok The design of a Trans-Siberian railway caused Russia to cast covetous eyes on Manchuria, across which lay the direct route to this port And since Vladivostok was ice-bound in winter she also desired to obtain a terminus farther south The war between China and Japan in 1894–5 opened a way to the fulfilment of these ambitions

Together with France and Germany, Russia interfered on China's behalf, and as a reward secured permission to build her railway across Manchuria, and later won the ice-free terminus of Port Arthur Japan was forced to content herself for a time with Korea and Formosa France secured boundary concessions for Indo-China, Germany used the murder of two of her missionaries as a lever to gain the lease of Kiaochow and economic control of Shantung, and Britain leased the port of Wei-hai-wei



Courtesy of 'Punch'

THE 'BREAK-UP' OF CHINA (1898)

The Decline of the Manchu Empire. Under the joint pressure of internal revolt, such as the T'ai P'ing rebellion, foreign penetration, losses of territory, and finally defeat in war by Japan, the power of the Manchu dynasty steadily declined Before the end of the century it looked as if the 'opening-up' of China would be followed by its 'break-up' There was a succession of weak or child emperors, so that power fell into the hands of the Empress Dowager, '*the old Buddha*,' Yehonala, an able but unscrupulous woman of reactionary tendencies The old, loosely organized system of provincial administration threatened to give way and so bring about the dissolution of the empire The western nations and Japan began to apportion China among themselves for

economic development and exploitation, although Britain and the United States stood more for the policy of the 'open door'

The Boxer Rising and Attempts at Reform Yet China was not to break up, though she was to undergo revolution and civil war After an abortive attempt at internal reform on western lines there broke out in the north the Boxer Rising of 1900, so called after a secret society, 'the Fists of Public Peace,' which had physical training as the apparent reason for existence The rising was supported by the Empress Dowager, and after attacking Christians and missionaries, besieged the foreigners in Peking until they were relieved by western troops But although the rising was put down, and punishment and reparations exacted by the western nations, it marked the beginning of a protest against the western penetration and exploitation of China It also showed the need for wide internal change on western lines if China was to survive So, in 1905, the old system of civil service examinations was abolished, and western educational methods were introduced, whereby the missionary schools and colleges acquired great influence in the training of the future leaders of China. Increasing numbers of Chinese youths went abroad to study, chiefly to the United States, which wisely applied its Boxer reparations to this purpose Wide changes were projected, including the introduction of representative government, and reforms of the financial, legal, and administrative systems Opium smoking was to be abolished in ten years, and new encouragement was given to the building of railways.



Topical Press

SUN YAT-SEN

The End of the Manchus. Such revolutionary changes were too much for the Manchu empire The death in 1908 of the old Empress Dowager, a belated convert to reform, left China under a child at a moment when leadership was most urgently needed Divisions appeared amongst the reformers The south, with Canton as the centre, was more radical

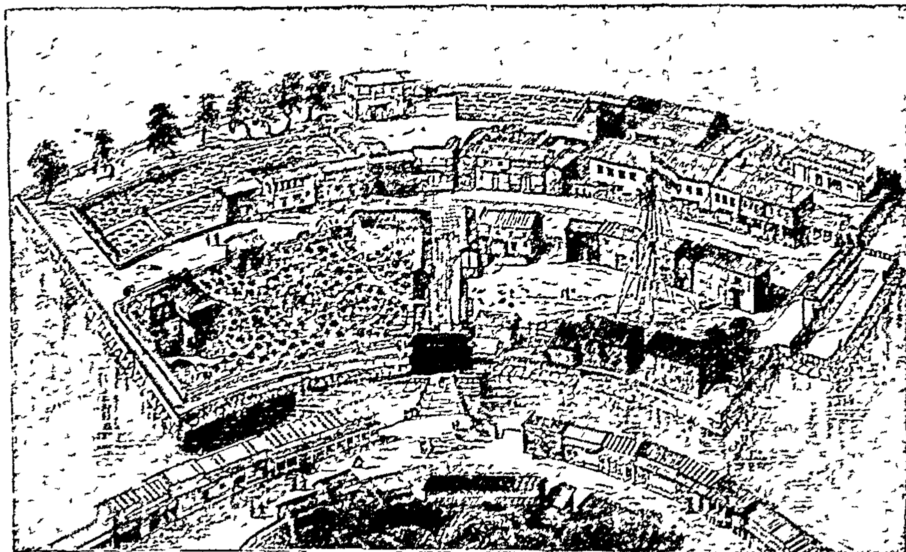
than the north, and demanded more speedily fulfilment of the pledge to set up parliamentary government Revolutionary societies, hostile to the Manchu dynasty, appeared, one of the most powerful of these organizations being headed by Sun Yat-sen, a Christian Cantonese revolutionary of long standing A National Assembly was called to Peking in 1910, but before it had progressed very far in its work revolution broke out The southern provinces declared themselves independent, and set up a republic with Sun Yat-sen as president In February 1912 came the abdication of the last of the Manchus and the proclamation of the republic over the whole of China Sun Yat-sen resigned as president to make way for Yuan Shih-k'ai, who held supreme authority until his death in 1916

In China, as elsewhere, however, it proved easier to destroy than to build up The task was indeed an extremely difficult and complicated one The creation of an alien western form of government in this vast and ill-organized country, with wide differences between its provinces, with the great majority of its population of about three hundred and fifty million made up of illiterate peasants, lacking even a language in common, required both superhuman energy, devotion, and time Neither the French nor the Russian revolution was comparable in difficulty to this And no sooner was the task begun than China was drawn into the world conflict of 1914–18 For a time the revolution appeared to degenerate into a mere struggle for power between contending war lords

III THE WESTERNIZATION OF JAPAN

The Closed Empire of Japan Whilst the vast empire of China was thus being revolutionized by western influences, a parallel revolution was taking place in Japan, but in a different manner. The islands of Japan, stretching in a wide curve from Sakhalin to the strait dividing them from the peninsula of Korea, had developed over many centuries a civilization of their own Although culturally indebted to China, whence they added both the ethics of Confucius and Buddhism to their religion of Shintoism, they differed markedly from their neighbours in that they were far more warlike, and were administered not by a literary class trained in the classics but by a feudal nobility, the Samurai So powerful did this nobility become that in the twelfth century it wrested the power of ruling from the emperor, the Mikado, and set up its own authority in the Shogunate This system of rule by noble houses was to last until the revolution of 1868 Japan had successfully resisted the effort of the great Mongol, Kublai Khan, to invade her, and indeed was not to be conquered by any foreign power

Japan was first made known to Europe by the account of Marco Polo Then, in the age of maritime discovery, Portuguese traders first reached Japan, and they were shortly followed by Jesuit missionaries, led by St Francis Xavier Although missionaries and traders from the west continued for a time to visit and reside in Japan, about 1640 a sudden check was given to this intercourse The missionaries and all foreign



I L N

THE ISLAND OF DECIMA, IN THE BAY OF NAGASAKI, WHERE THE DUTCH TRADED

traders were expelled, save that the Dutch were permitted to carry on a limited trade through a single port, Nagasaki The Japanese were forbidden to leave their country on pain of death

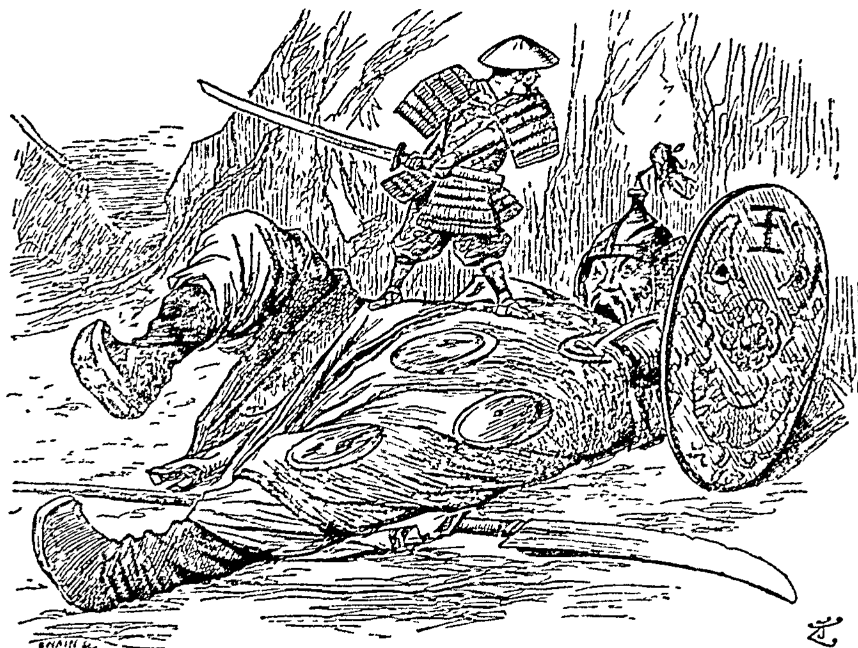
The Reopening of Japan to the West This voluntary seclusion of Japan lasted just over two hundred years In 1853, however, an expedition from the United States demanded the opening of trade relations, and after some hesitation this was granted and Japan opened her ports to western traders In the years immediately following this violent reversal of policy there were crises which threatened war between Japan and the intruders from the west These arose in part from the curious division of authority between the Mikado and the Shogun, which westerners did not understand, and also from the incidents almost inevitable when East and West met thus suddenly As with China, it was clear that if Japan was to withstand the impact of western civilization, backed by its warships and cannon, it must reorganize itself

after the western pattern This she proceeded to do, a generation before China embarked on the same course, and with infinitely greater speed and success

The Revolution of 1868 and After. Japan was fortunate in that in 1867 there succeeded to the throne a Mikado of singular capacity and wisdom The Emperor Mutsuhito (1867–1912) was to rule over the country through the whole period of its transformation In the first year of his reign the Shogunate was abolished and the imperial authority restored after a lapse of nearly eight hundred years Japan was again ruled over by a god-king, in accordance with the ancient beliefs of Shintoism. His authority was increased by the abolition of feudalism and of the privileges of the Samurai To remake Japan on western lines a constitution was drawn up on the model of that of Prussia, with a parliament of two houses, and a cabinet of ministers responsible to the emperor This was put into force in 1889, and the franchise was gradually broadened until in 1925 manhood suffrage was introduced The legal system was remade, largely on the model of the Code Napoléon, after which the extra-territoriality granted to foreigners by the first trading treaties disappeared Great attention was paid to education, from universities down to primary schools. Primary education was made compulsory, and missionary efforts in education were encouraged The army was reorganized on German lines, a modern navy was created after the British pattern Banks and other financial machinery of the western kind were created Japan equipped herself with railways, telegraphs, posts, newspapers, harbours, and steamships Machines and factories transformed industry In short, Japan before the close of the century became a modernized, westernized state in many essential respects, an amazing transformation in so short a time

The Sino-Japanese War, 1894–5. The effects of this astonishing revolution were to show themselves on every side of Japanese life Inevitably they affected her relations with the outside world, leading her into war first with China, and then a decade later with Russia The first war arose over China's vassal state of Korea, into which the newly awakened Japan now sought to expand. The complete victory of Japan over her gigantic neighbour showed how successfully the island power had learnt the military methods of the west By the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) Japan gained a free hand in Korea, and possession of the island of Formosa She also claimed the projecting southern tip of Manchuria, the Liao-tung peninsula, but Russia, Germany, and France intervened Japan was forced to withdraw her demand, only to see Russia secure the coveted territory from China for the naval base of Port Arthur

The Russo-Japanese War, 1904–5. The advance of Japan into Korea brought her face to face with Russia, now in control of Manchuria, indeed, Russia sought to supplant Japan in Korea itself Out of this rivalry came the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–5 The Japanese defeated the Russian fleet at Tsushima, captured Port Arthur, and drove the Russians out of both Korea and Manchuria By the Peace of Portsmouth, signed through the mediation of President Roosevelt, Japan



Courtesy of 'Punch'

JAP THE GIANT KILLER (1894)

finally won Korea, which she shortly afterwards annexed The Russians evacuated Manchuria, where Japan secured Port Arthur, and she also acquired the southern half of Sakhalin Island The victory of Japan had results of the utmost importance in world history An Asiatic power had decisively defeated one of the largest and most powerful European states, a triumph which encouraged the rise of feeling elsewhere in Asia against western domination Japan, with an alliance with England made in 1902, now became one of the great states of the world She was encouraged to further advance at the expense of her weaker neighbour, China, and became a great Pacific power, which brought a certain cooling of her relations with the United States In Europe the effects were no less significant Russia's defeat decidedly weakened the position of the Tsars, made her more ready to form the entente of

1907 with Britain, and encouraged Austria to annex Bosnia in 1908, with dangerous results to international peace.

IV. European Expansion in Central and Western Asia

Russian Expansion in Asia. The Russian penetration of Manchuria was but a continuation of her expansion across Siberia. Just as the United States pushed westwards to the Pacific throughout the nineteenth century, so did Russia push eastwards towards the same ocean. The colonization of the wide plains of Siberia was carried out by pioneer farmers, fur traders, Cossack soldiers, and prisoners and exiles, whether ordinary criminals, religious heretics, or political offenders. The flow of the thin trickle of population across this vast area was stimulated towards the end of the century by the building of the Trans-Siberian railway. In addition to this movement across Siberia Russia was also pushing south-east into the desert and mountain area beyond the Caspian Sea. In 1865 the province of Turkestan was created, and this was shortly followed by the addition of Bokhara, Khiva, and Khokand. This later process was aided by the construction of the Trans-Caspian railway to Samarkand.

Anglo-Russian Rivalry. The advance of Russia in central Asia, which was paralleled by her advance in the Caucasus region, brought her not merely to the northern borders of Persia, but also to the edge of Afghanistan. This seriously affected Anglo-Russian relations, since Britain feared Russian aggression against the vulnerable north-west frontier of India, and was also concerned for her communications with India across Persia. There followed a number of severe crises, such as that of 1885, before the Afghanistan frontier was successfully defined. Tension between the two powers also became acute over their rivalry in Persia in the early years of the twentieth century. But the entente of 1907 relieved the pressure by a convention regarding Persia, which had become a prey to revolution in the preceding year. Russian influence was recognized as supreme in northern Persia, and British in the south, leaving a neutral zone between the two powers. One cause of western interest in Persia was the discovery of large oil fields, just at the time when oil was becoming important as a fuel for transportation.

European Interests in Asiatic Turkey. The south-western portion of Asia formed part in the nineteenth century of the wide Ottoman Empire, ruled from Constantinople by the Sultan, the head of Islam. But the rule of Turkey was on the decline, not merely in the Balkans but generally, and the Turkish dominions in western Asia, like Turkey proper, were beginning to feel the influence of European nationalism. Yet before the war of 1914–18 this influence was overshadowed by the imperialism of the great European powers. Until the close of the nineteenth century the three European

states most interested in Asiatic Turkey were Russia, Britain, and France, and the Crimean War arose in part out of the clash of their interests Although Russia was defeated in that war she continued to advance at Turkey's expense in the Caucasus France was interested in Syria, where Napoleon III sent an expedition in 1860, and was the traditional protector of Roman Catholic missions in the Ottoman Empire Britain had her commercial interests in the Levant, she had millions of Muhammadan subjects to whom the Sultan of Turkey was the Caliph or successor of Muhammad, she had her communications with India, including her interest in the Suez Canal, she acquired Cyprus in 1878, and occupied Egypt four years later To these powers was added before the end of the century the new empire of Germany, cultivating friendly relations with Turkey, and sponsoring a railway to connect Constantinople with the Persian Gulf

The Berlin-Baghdad Railway Railways in Asiatic Turkey were largely conspicuous by their absence, but a beginning had been made, and Germany had the approval of Sultan Abdul Hamid for the new project Unfortunately, what should have been an economic development became entangled in acute political conflicts and rivalries The prospect of Germany allied with Turkey, extending her influence, and that of the Triple Alliance, from Berlin to Baghdad, alarmed the powers with interests in the Near East, and helped the other causes now dividing Europe into two armed camps Yet the rivalries of the four powers there proved capable of adjustment in the years just before the war of 1914–18, though at the expense of Turkish rule Germany and Russia in 1910 defined their respective spheres of influence to the east of Asia Minor, France secured recognition by Germany of her interests in Syria, and Britain made agreements with Turkey and Germany which secured her position on the Persian Gulf, whilst recognizing Germany's interest in Mesopotamia. Thus European penetration of Asiatic Turkey seemed peacefully provided for But war came in 1914, involving all the parties concerned, including Turkey, and the political map of the Near East was radically and, it would seem, permanently changed The Baghdad railway remained unfinished, and to-day motor cars and aeroplanes do much of the work for which it was designed

For Further Reading

H A Giles, *The Civilization of China*
G. F Hudson, *Europe and China*
D E Owen, *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Far East*
R P Porter, *Japan The Rise of a Modern Power.*
P J Treat, *The Far East*

PART XII

THE WAR OF 1914-18 AND AFTER

INTRODUCTION

DESPITE their wealth, their science, their control over nature, and their growing humanitarianism, the western peoples as they crystallized into nations had one primary defect in their civilization: they had devised no effective means of settling disputes with each other without recourse to war. The victory of nationalism in overcrowded Europe brought such disputes, and then the very triumphs of their civilization, its scientific knowledge, its capacity for organization, its mechanical skill, all contributed to make the resultant conflicts far more deadly than ever wars had been before. As in some old fairy tale, it seemed as if the western world had been endowed with every gift save one, the gift of peace, so that the lack of this was capable of turning all the rest to irreparable hurt.

In the period following the completion of German unity by Bismarck's triumph over France there was peace in Europe for a generation, but it was an armed peace. First Bismarck created the Triple Alliance with Austria and Italy, and then France and Russia, and finally Britain, drew together in opposition. The possession of Alsace-Lorraine remained a live issue, nationalism developed into imperialism in Africa and Asia, and Balkan rivalries provided further material for controversy, until finally in 1914 Europe was plunged into war (Chapter I).

The war lasted over four years, involving first of all Germany and Austria against France, Russia, the British Empire, and Japan, and then drew in most of the other states of Europe, and finally the United States. It was a conflict without precedent in its intensity and destructive force, fought mainly along a more or less fixed Western Front in France and Belgium, and a more changing Eastern Front in Austria, Russia, the Balkans, and western Asia. The withdrawal of Russia in 1917 was balanced by the entry of the United States, with whose aid the Allies finally secured victory in November 1918 (Chapter II).

As a world war, the conflict had results of world-wide importance. The peace settlement registered the defeat of Germany and her allies, and the break-up of the Austrian Empire, with the loss by Russia of her

western borderlands, created a new map of eastern Europe The war also resulted in most serious economic and political problems, both for Europe and the world Outside Europe it brought an increase in the relative importance of both the United States and Japan, the rise of opposition to western domination, the loss to Germany of her African colonies, and the break-up of Turkey's Asiatic empire (Chapter III)

The period after the war also saw the attempt to create a new organization to preserve peace among nations, the League of Nations, it witnessed nationalist revolutions setting up dictatorships in Italy and Germany, the Communist revolution of 1917 triumphed in Russia, and in the Far East the Chinese revolution ran its course, interrupted by Japan's policy of expansion in Manchuria (Chapter IV)

CHAPTER I

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1870–1914 THE COMING OF THE WAR OF 1914–18

Bismarck's Policy towards France after 1870. Bismarck after 1870 wanted peace, since Germany was, he declared, 'a satiated power' But it was, of course, peace on the terms of his victories, and France was not prepared to accept as final the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and permanent inferiority to Germany Bismarck aimed to keep France isolated in Europe Yet as France rapidly recovered from her defeat, paying off her indemnity in two years instead of four, he saw the wisdom of providing distraction for her outside Europe. He suggested in 1879 that France should acquire Tunis She did so, and for some time found an outlet for her energies in building up her empire overseas Relations with Germany improved, and Bismarck hoped that France might accept the change in their relative positions—a vain hope Yet he did not confine his activities to France He had, he once confessed, a nightmare of a coalition against Germany, despite his proud boast that 'we Germans fear God and nothing else in the world,' and he displayed amazing energy, skill, and lack of scruple, in building up a whole system of alliances

Bismarck's Alliance with Austria. Bismarck desired to be on good terms with both Russia and Austria German interests did not conflict with those of Russia, and once Austria had been expelled from Germany Bismarck wished to win back the old friendship So he took the lead and got the three emperors to meet in 1872 to confirm their accord It proved impossible, however, for this 'honest broker,' as Bismarck called

himself, to maintain such friendly relations between his two clients because of their rivalry in the Balkans After the Russian victory over Turkey in 1878 Bismarck was forced to choose whether he would accept Russia's treaty of San Stefano, or support Austria's demand for its revision. He decided to support Austria, and did so in the Congress



Courtesy of 'Punch

BISMARCK'S ALLIANCE WITH AUSTRIA (1879)

Bismarck 'Come, Andrassy, we know each other's "form" You and I together against the lot!' Russia (to France) 'I think, madame, WE might be a match for them!' France 'Thanks! I prefer to sit out at present!' England (to Italy) 'Nobody asks us!!'

of Berlin over which he presided In the next year, 1879, he went further, and through Andrassy, the Austrian foreign minister, made a definite alliance with that country By this treaty, which was kept secret, each of the two powers bound itself to support the other in case of an attack by Russia, or another power (i e France) aided by Russia

The Triple Alliance: Russian Reinsurance. This alliance of Bismarck with Austria was of great importance, for it was the first of a series of alliances, made first by Germany, and then against her, dividing Europe into two armed camps Bismarck spoke of 'the nightmare of coalitions' but his alliances inevitably helped to bring about such coalitions The alliance with Austria meant sooner or later, a breach with Russia, it

was aimed against France, and it ultimately allowed Austria to drag Germany into a war fatal to them both In 1882 the addition of Italy made the alliance a triple one Italy joined largely because of the French seizure of Tunis a year before, but she never was an entirely trusted member of the alliance, since she still had a grievance against Austria. Bismarck also drew in Rumania and Serbia. Yet notwithstanding the alliance with Austria, Bismarck strove to maintain a measure of the old friendship with Russia He secured a secret defensive treaty between the three eastern European emperors in 1881, and three years later the emperors met in amicable conference Then in 1887, when the treaty ran out, he made a separate 'Reinsurance' treaty with the Tsar, unknown to Austria Thus down to his fall in 1890 Bismarck managed to keep the peace, to protect Germany with alliances, and to maintain her predominance in Europe It was marvellously good juggling, but despite the success, the German army was steadily enlarged The peace was an armed peace

The Alliance of France with Russia. Once the centre of Europe had been joined in alliances, the extremes, France and Russia, tended to gravitate towards each other No sooner had Bismarck fallen out of favour than the young William II dropped the alliance with Russia, and in reply the Tsar slowly overcame his distrust of a revolutionized and republican France, opposed to Germany as Russia was rival of Austria Russia had stood up for France against a threatening German bullying in 1875, France showed herself readier than Germany to loan money, she began to manufacture arms for Russia, and finally in 1894 a military convention was signed between them If either of the two states was attacked, the other was to come to her assistance. The treaty was to last so long as the Triple Alliance continued, and its terms were similarly to be secret Thus France escaped from the quarantine in which Bismarck had placed her

For a time the new alliance appeared to help the attainment of equilibrium and so preserve peace But actually the old differences remained, rather strengthened than diminished by the alliance system It was a German who in 1914 rightly declared the system of alliances to be the curse of Europe For with them came a definite increase of militarism in Europe The conscription of all able-bodied men for military training of one, two, or even three years, originating in France during the revolution, and developed by Prussia, became the rule with all the great powers save Britain, and Britain shortly found herself driven to come to terms with the alliance system

Britain and Europe. The formation of these rival alliances in Europe threw into relief the special position of Britain Part European and part

oceanic, she was drawn into continental affairs in a crisis such as the French revolution, but withdrew again from European entanglements after the downfall of Napoleon. Similarly, though Britain was drawn under Disraeli into the Near Eastern crisis of 1875–8, the successor of Disraeli, Salisbury, defined British policy as one of 'splendid isolation.' Yet a change in the balance of power on the continent, such as that which occurred in 1870, inevitably concerned Britain. She was a party to international settlements such as that guaranteeing Belgian neutrality. The control of the Mediterranean and the Near East affected her imperial interests, and in the expansion of Europe over Asia and Africa Britain found herself in rivalry with her European neighbours, above all Russia in Asia, and France in Africa. There was an acute crisis with France at Fashoda in 1898 over the Sudan, and the South African War which opened in the next year revealed the unfriendly feeling in Europe towards Britain. The alliance system left her, all too plainly, out in the cold. The time for splendid isolation had gone by for the moment, and Britain therefore proceeded to modify her policy.



Courtesy of 'Punch'

FRANCE'S ALLIANCE WITH RUSSIA (1892)

M. le Président (breathlessly). 'J'em — brasse — la Russie!!'

The Formation of the Triple Entente. Since her causes of controversy were less with Germany and Austria than with France and Russia Britain first approached Germany. In 1898 and later Chamberlain proposed an alliance with Germany, but William II and Bulow failed to see the advantage of such an alliance and the opportunity passed. For Britain, having failed with Germany, turned to France, and aided by

After a severe international crisis, the conference was duly held in Algeciras, but with little result so far as Morocco was concerned. The crisis had, however, the effect of strengthening Britain's entente with France After further negotiation between France and Germany over Morocco, a new crisis broke out in 1910–11, and although the Moroccan issue was settled by German recognition of the French position there, in return



Courtesy of 'Punch'

THE EMPEROR WILLIAM II SHAKING THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

Chorus in the stern 'Don't go on like that—or you 'll upset us all!'

(*This Cartoon appeared in* 1890)

for 'compensation' in the Congo area, again there was talk of war in Europe Italy took advantage of the situation at this time to assert a claim to Tripoli, and in her war with Turkey took this province from the decaying Moslem Empire

The Balkan Crises of 1908 and 1914 During the decade before 1908 the old rivalry of Austria and Russia in the Balkans cooled, the issue was, as the phrase went, 'put on ice' But after her defeat in the Far East by Japan, Russia began to take more interest in the nearer Balkan area, just as Austria-Hungary likewise developed a more active policy there The Young Turk Revolution of July 1908 caused Austria to decide on full annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which she had occupied since 1878, and after a half-agreement with Russia, she did so in October

1908, disregarding the Treaty of Berlin The result was a severe international crisis, for not merely was Russia angered, but Serbia, seeing in this the end of her hopes of a greater Serbia, prepared for war. Germany, however, made it clear that she stood by Austria 'in shining armour,' as William II later put it, and since Russia was not prepared for war, both she and Serbia were forced to recognize the Austrian coup Yet the enmities aroused by the crisis remained The powers of Europe armed themselves yet more heavily, and the Balkans continued to be a centre of unrest In 1912–13 came the conflagration of the Balkan Wars, in which the Balkan States fought first against Turkey, and then against each other Although these wars were brought to a close without armed intervention by the greater powers of Europe the effort put a great strain on their 'will to peace' And the Balkan Wars were shortly followed, on June 28th 1914, by the assassination in Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria The Serbian government was aware of plottings by the secret Black Hand society, but failed to warn Austria

Many volumes have been written on the events of the month between the murder at Sarajevo and the opening of the war Looking back, we can see how, in the existing state of affairs, such an incident, in the Balkans above all, could easily produce war Yet war might have been avoided had not the military party which was in control in Austria-Hungary determined to use the murder to crush Serbia, and had not Germany, or its emperor, promised to support Austria, with the approval of the military party in Germany. Austria drew up an ultimatum to Serbia, excessive in its demands, which it was not intended that Serbia should accept But as Austria should have realized, Russia would not stand by and see Serbia crushed, and as Germany had promised aid to Austria, so would France be drawn in with Russia The issue could not be localized Grey, Britain's foreign minister, urged an international conference, but Germany refused to put pressure on Austria until it was too late Austria declared war on Serbia, and with that the die was cast. Russia began to mobilize to save Serbia, and Germany and France fell into line Britain hesitated for a moment, but when Germany refused to respect the neutrality of Belgium, she too became a combatant, and with her the British Empire

The world war which thus opened was not merely the result of a schoolboy shooting a prince in a remote corner of Europe Nor did it imply that the peoples of Europe longed to destroy each other Actually, international co-operation of every kind was increasing every year, the peoples of Europe, as of the shrunken world as a whole, were growing increasingly dependent upon each other But they were all caught in

a net of circumstance, the culmination of a series of events going back a generation at least. Bismarck's smashing victory over France, the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine, and France's determination not to accept it as final, the building up of alliances and the militarism which accompanied them, the rivalry in imperialism and trade, the Anglo-German naval rivalry, individual ambition, errors and weakness, the lack of responsible governments over much of Europe, the racial struggle in Austria and the Balkans, the economic strength of nationalism, and the fear of socialism, the decline of the existing systems in Turkey and Russia, and finally the lack of an effective international organization to preserve peace—all these contributed to bring about the war of 1914–18.

For Further Reading

Lord Grey, *Twenty-five Years*
B Schmitt, *Triple Alliance and Triple Entente*
J A Spender, *Fifty Years of Europe*

CHAPTER II

THE WAR OF 1914–18

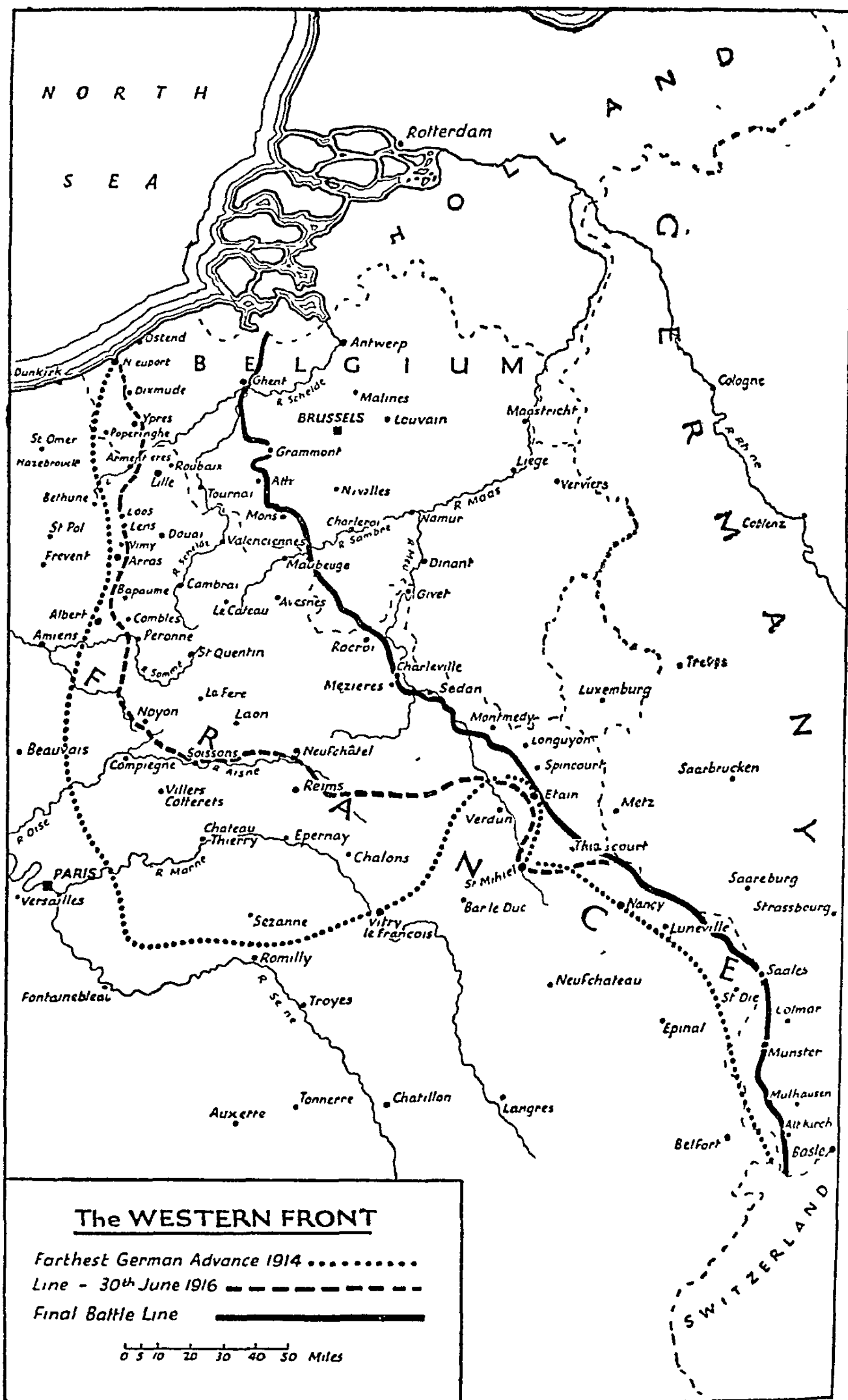
Introductory: The Rival Forces Never before had the resources for war been so stupendous as they were in 1914, and never had war been waged on such a scale Germany and Austria, or the Central Powers, had the advantage of greater geographical compactness, and they fought on interior lines, they had in the German army the finest military machine in existence, and greater unity of command Italy had refused to join them They had, however, Turkey on their side, which cut off Russia from her allies The addition of Bulgaria in 1915 opened the Balkans and the Near East to them The Entente Powers, or the Allies, lacked the physical unity and the unity of command of the Central Powers Russia was lacking in railways as well as munitions, which her allies were never able to supply in sufficient quantites Under the stress of war her internal weakness increased and finally led to her collapse But Austria-Hungary, too, showed signs of breaking up For a long war the Allies had definite advantages Britain's army was small but in time could be enlarged The Allies had, in general, command of the sea, and, while drawing resources for themselves from all over the world, could cut off supplies from their enemies They had the advantage in numbers and

wealth, and they drew steadily increasing support from all parts of the world Thus the British Dominions and India immediately entered the war with Britain Japan remembered Germany's earlier hostility and joined the Allies in 1914 Italy did the same in 1915, Rumania and Portugal in 1916, and the United States in 1917 Despite the loss of Russia there could be in the end but one issue of the conflict

Once the war had broken out the whole life of the nations involved was organized to carry it on It was not merely a question of raising, equipping, and training millions of men for war service, though that was an immense task, especially in countries which, like Britain and the Dominions, had never had conscription. For Britain there was the task of gathering troops from all over the world, shipping them safely by sea to France or the other theatres of the war, and transporting supplies and food in the same way without cessation to the front. The war was one of science and mechanized industry as never before, of railways, aeroplanes, submarines, tanks, and a hundred other machines, of guns of every size and in countless numbers, of shells by the million To supply these machines and munitions the whole industrial resources of the nations were organized under government control Women were mobilized for almost every kind of work except the actual fighting After a time the news and needs of the war made everything else seem unimportant and almost unreal

I 1914–15

The German Advance on Paris and its Failure The German plan of war, long prepared, was first to crush France by a swift march on Paris and then to deal with the slower-moving Russian army The quickest and easiest route to Paris lay across Belgium, and so Germany poured her vast legions into the little state, overwhelmed her fortresses with heavy artillery, and swept on triumphantly across the French border The French, with the small British army, were far outnumbered and forced to swing back, like an opening door, on the vital hinge of Verdun. The French Government was moved to Bordeaux, and for a moment it looked as if the capital were lost But the German drive failed just short of Paris In the Battle of the Marne (September 5th–10th 1914) they were first halted and then driven back, though the war had just begun this was its most decisive engagement Now it was the turn of the German right wing to retreat, pushing north towards the Channel ports, with French and British trying to outpace them By the end of 1914 a line of entrenchments stretched from the North Sea, close to the Belgian border, down to Switzerland, and was to remain largely unchanged until 1918


NORTH SEA
HOLLAND
GERMANY
BELGIUM
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
Rotterdam
Antwerp
Ostend
Dunkirk
Nieuport
Dixmude
Ypres
Poperinghe
Armentieres
St Omer
Hazebrouck
Ghent
R Schelde
Malines
BRUSSELS
Louvain
Maastricht
Liege
Verviers
Cologne
R Rhine
Coblenz
Grammont
Roubaix
Lille
Tournai
Ath
Nivelles
Bethune
Loos
Lens
St Pol
Douai
Vimy
Arras
Frevent
Mons
Valenciennes
Charleroi
R Sambre
Namur
R Maas
Dinant
Givet
Maubeuge
Cambrai
Bapaume
Le Cateau
Avesnes
Albert
Combles
Amiens
Peronne
St Quentin
R Somme
Rocroi
Charleville
Mezieres
Sedan
La Fere
Laon
Noyon
Montmedy
Longuyon
Luxemburg
Treves
Beauvais
Soissons
Neufchâtel
Compiegne
R Aisne
Spincourt
Saarbrucken
Villers Cotterets
Reims
Etain
Metz
Verdun
R Oise
Chateau Thierry
Epernay
Chalons
Thiaucourt
PARIS
R Marne
St Mihiel
Saareburg
Versailles
Bar le Duc
Nancy
Strassbourg
Sezanne
Vitry le Francois
Luneville
Romilly
Saales
Fontainebleau
Neufchateau
St Die
Colmar
Troyes
R Seine
Epinal
Munster
Mulhausen
Altkirch
Auxerre
Tonnerre
Chatillon
Langres
Belfort
Basle
The WESTERN FRONT
Farthest German Advance 1914
Line - 30th June 1916
Final Battle Line
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 Miles

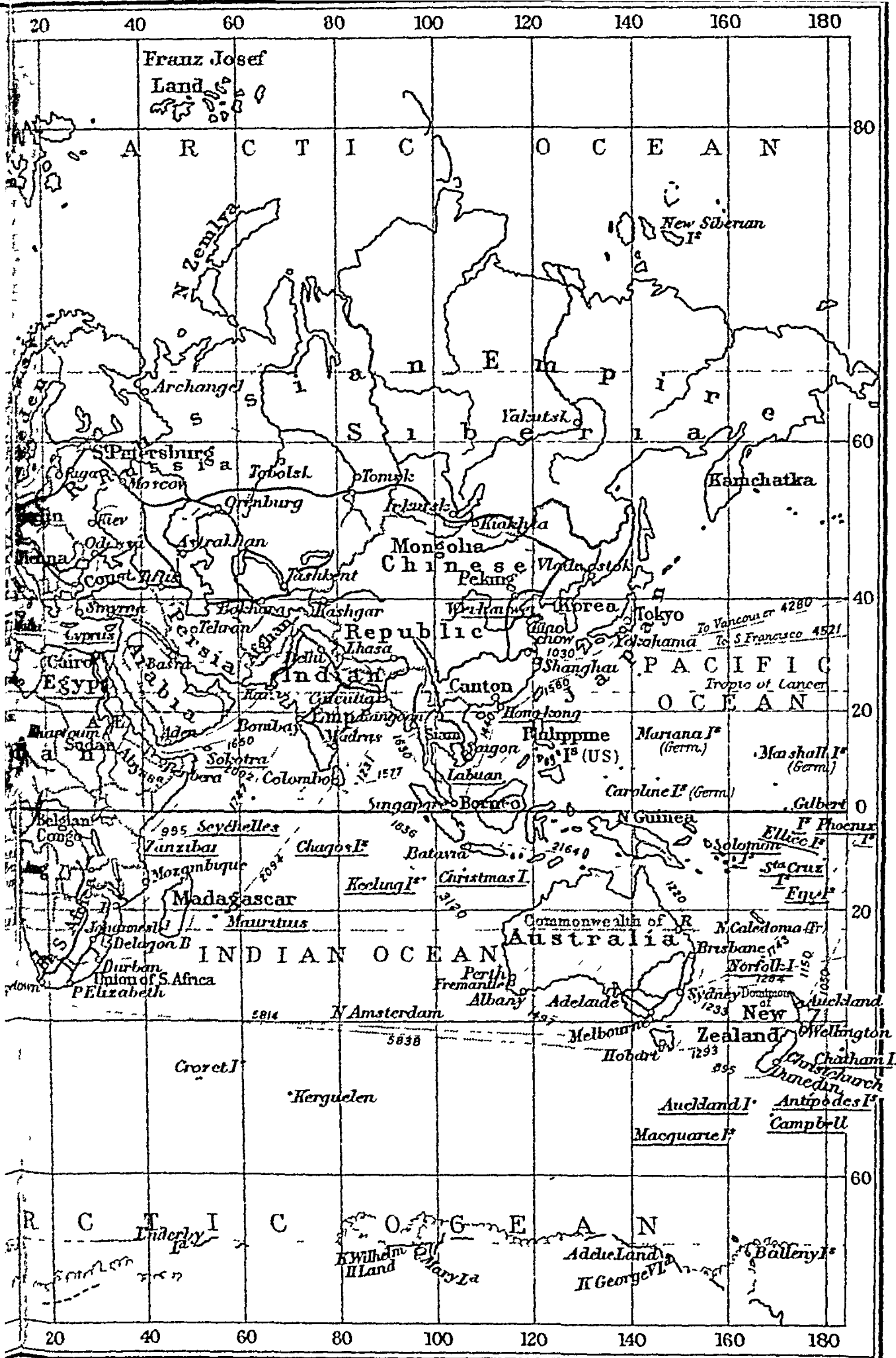
THE WORLD IN 1914

Mean Equatorial Scale
1 : 175,000,000
Mercators Projection

——— Principal Railways
– 957 – Shipping Routes (Distances in Sea Miles)

British Possessions
French
Dutch
German
Portuguese
Spanish
Italian
Turkish

ARCTIC OCEAN
Ellesmere I.
Greenland (To Denmark)
Spitsbergen
Iceland
Arctic Circle
Alaska
Dawson
Dominion of Canada
Prince Rupert
Vancouver
Winnipeg
Montreal
Toronto
Halifax
St Johns
Newfoundland
To Glasgow 2693
To Lpool 2760
To Lpool 3043
S'hampton 3091
British Isles
London
Paris
Madrid
Lisbon
Gibraltar
Azores (Port)
Madeira (Port)
Morocco
Algeria
Canary Is (Sp)
To Yokohama 4280
To Yokohama 4521
Seattle
Chicago
New York
Philadelphia
United States
S. Francisco
Los Angeles
New Orleans
Mexico
Bermudas
Bahama Is
Havana
Hawaii (US)
Acapulco
Central America
Jamaica
West Indies
Trinidad
Guiana
Cape Verde Is (Port)
Bathurst
Freetown
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Palmyra
Panama Canal
Col
Ven
Equator
Ecuador
Para
Pern.
Ascension
Manihiki Is
Marquesas (Fr)
Tuamotu Is (Fr)
Cook Is
Society Is (Fr)
Peru
Lima
Brazil
Bahia
Bolivia
St Helena
Rio de Janeiro
Tropic of Capricorn
Easter I
Valparaiso
Chile
Argentina
Montevideo
Buenos Aires
Tristan da Cunha
From Wellington 7283
Falkland Is
S. Georgia
South Shetlands
South Orkneys
ANTARCTIC

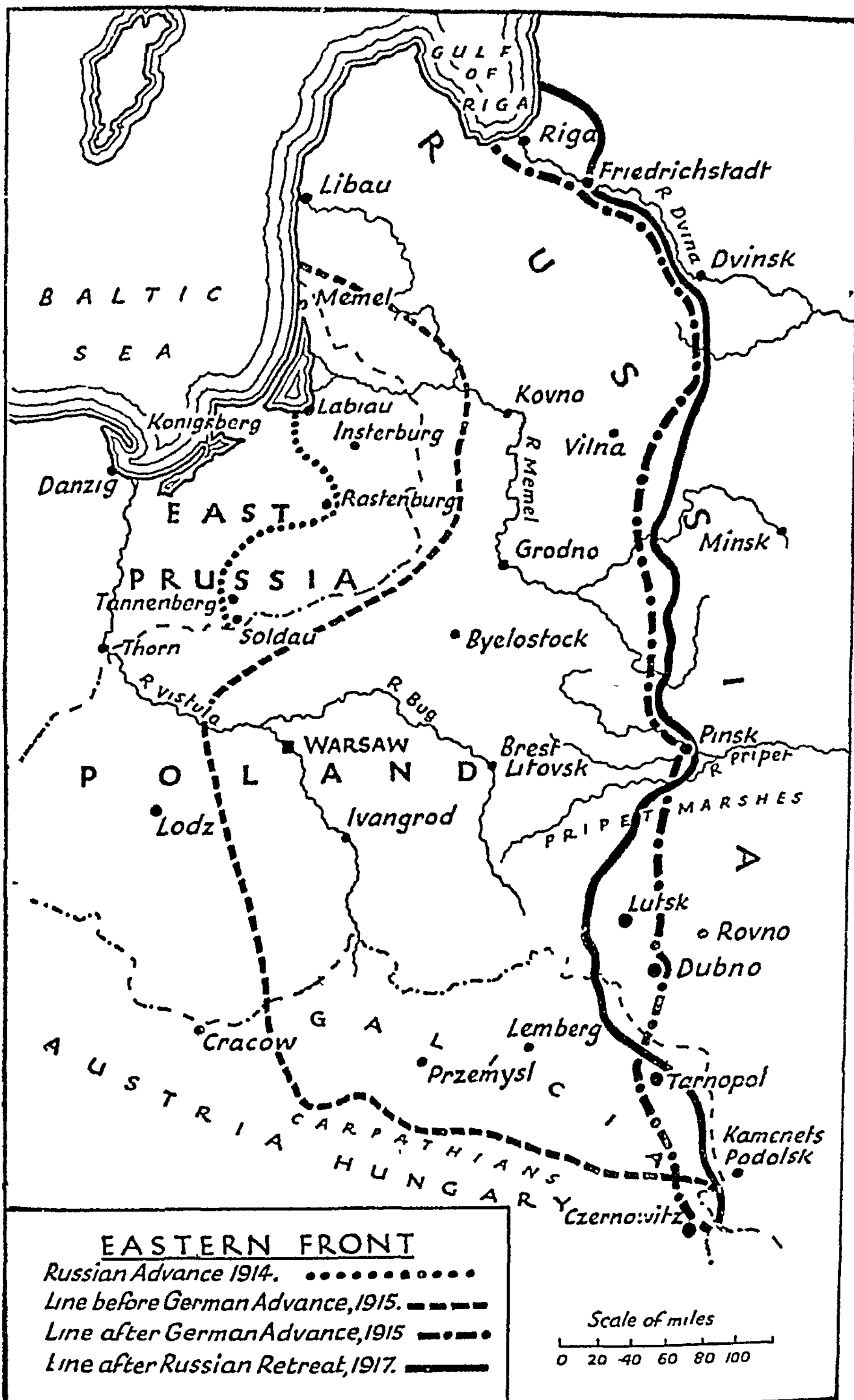

Franz Josef Land
ARCTIC OCEAN
N. Zemlya
New Siberian Is
Archangel
Russian Empire
Siberia
Yakutsk
St Petersburg
Riga
Moscow
Tobolsk
Tomsk
Kamchatka
Orenburg
Irkutsk
Kiev
Kiakhta
Odessa
Astrakhan
Mongolia
Chinese
Vienna
Const.
Tiflis
Tashkent
Peking
Vladivostok
Smyrna
Bokhara
Kashgar
Korea
Tokyo
Cyprus
Teheran
Republic
Yokohama
To Vancouver 4280
To S Francisco 4521
Cairo
Persia
Lhasa
Egypt
Basra
Delhi
Shanghai
PACIFIC
Arabia
Indian
Calcutta
Canton
Tropic of Cancer
OCEAN
Aden
Bombay
Rangoon
Hong-kong
Sudan
Madras
Siam
Philippine Is (US)
Mariana Is (Germ.)
Marshall Is (Germ.)
Sokotra
Saigon
Colombo
Labuan
Caroline Is (Germ.)
Singapore
Borneo
Gilbert
Belgian Congo
Seychelles
N Guinea
Is Phoenix Is
Zanzibar
Chagos Is
Batavia
Solomon Is
Ellice Is
Mozambique
Sta Cruz Is
Keeling Is
Christmas I.
Madagascar
Mauritius
Commonwealth of Australia
N. Caledonia (Fr.)
INDIAN OCEAN
Delagoa B
Brisbane
Durban
Union of S. Africa
Norfolk I.
Perth
Fremantle
P Elizabeth
Albany
Adelaide
Sydney
Dominion of New Zealand
Auckland
N Amsterdam
Melbourne
Wellington
Hobart
Chatham I.
Christchurch
Dunedin
Crozet I.
Kerguelen
Auckland Is
Antipodes Is
Campbell
Macquarie I.
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
K. Wilhelm II Land
Mary La
Adelie Land
K George V La
Balleny Is
George Philip & Son, Ltd

Germany held most of Belgium and the industrial north-east of France, with its coal and its excellent railways. Ostend and Zeebrugge served as submarine bases

The Stalemate of Trench Warfare. In the low-lying plain of Flanders, where the British held the Ypres salient against many German attempts to drive through to the Channel ports, the warfare was partly amphibious since the trenches filled with water in the wet winter weather At times, by day, there was hardly a sign of life above the ground, behind the barbed wire which protected the two lines of hostile trenches, with a No Man's Land of varying width between Even the many rats kept their holes At night, however, these muddy trenches became alive with armed figures in steel helmets, with gas-masks and mud-coloured uniforms Back from the front line stretched the communication trenches, the support lines, the batteries of artillery, the miles of horse lines, the dressing stations for the wounded, the 'dumps' of ammunition and supplies of every kind, the aerodromes, the camps of relieving or attacking troops This, for most men of the Western Front, was 'the war,' which stretched on interminably for weeks, months, and years, broken by raids and attacks from either side, but unchanged in essence until shortly before it came to an end. It was truly described as 'a war of attrition'

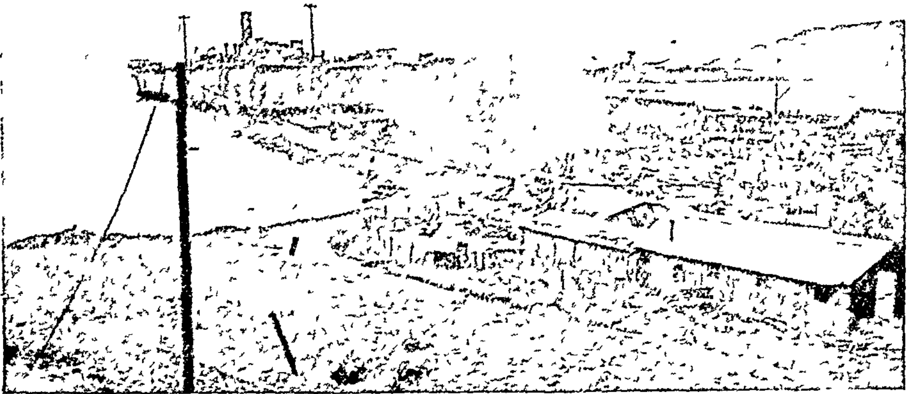
The year 1915 was the quietest of all on the Western Front, for the Germans were mainly on the defensive there whilst dealing with Russia, and the British were busy training their newly raised armies and were still greatly inferior in guns and ammunition Yet there were engagements which in any other war would have counted as major battles, from Neuve-Chapelle to Loos, as well as in the Ypres salient, where the Germans made use of a new weapon, poison gas, and nearly, but not quite, made a break in the allied line.

The Eastern Front, 1914–15. The Eastern Front was the scene of more decisive operations. Russia was engaged on two fronts, that of East Prussia against Germany, and that of Galicia against Austria To the north the Grand Duke Nicholas advanced with unexpected speed, until Hindenburg caught the Russians at Tannenberg (August 28th–31st 1914) and inflicted a decisive defeat In Galicia, however, the Russians, after a victory at Lemberg, were able to occupy most of the province and to threaten advance into Austria proper But 1915 saw a change, since Germany decided to concentrate against Russia First Mackensen with two million men drove the Russians back from Cracow and nearly out of Galicia Then a German attack farther north drove them clean out of Poland with the loss of Warsaw and the central fortress of Brest-Litovsk Russia's losses were enormous, and she had to remake her front on a line running almost due south from Riga to the Carpathians



GULF OF RIGA
Riga
Friedrichstadt
R Dvina
Dvinsk
Libau
BALTIC SEA
Memel
RUSSIA
Kovno
Vilna
R Memel
Labiau
Insterburg
Konigsberg
Danzig
Rastenburg
EAST PRUSSIA
Minsk
Grodno
Tannenberg
Soldau
Thorn
Byelostock
R Vistula
R Bug
WARSAW
Brest Litovsk
Pinsk
R Pripet
PRIPET MARSHES
POLAND
Lodz
Ivangrod
Lutsk
Rovno
Dubno
GALICIA
Cracow
Lemberg
Przemysl
Tarnopol
AUSTRIA
CARPATHIANS
HUNGARY
Kamenets Podolsk
Czernowitz
EASTERN FRONT
Russian Advance 1914.
Line before German Advance, 1915.
Line after German Advance, 1915
Line after Russian Retreat, 1917.
Scale of miles
0 20 40 60 80 100

She ceased to be a direct menace to Germany On the Balkan Front Austria's attempts in 1914 to chastise Serbia had ended for the time in a defeat which drove her army headlong from the country But here, too, 1915 saw a change Germany first secured the alliance of the crafty King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, and then in October 1915 Mackensen invaded Serbia from the north whilst Bulgaria attacked from the east



Imperial War Museum

THE SCENE OF THE LANDING, CAPE HELLES

The picture shows a Turkish shell bursting near the steamer *River Clyde*, which was run ashore for the troops to disembark

As Greece refused to honour her treaty of alliance with Serbia, and the Allies were unable to give any effective help, the little country was overwhelmed

The Dardanelles and Gallipoli, 1915 In this same year the British made an attempt to force the Dardanelles Had the attempt succeeded it would have shortened the whole war, since the Allies could have supplied Russia with munitions, Turkey probably would have made peace, and the balance in the Balkans would have swung decisively in favour of the Allies But partly from lack of proper co-operation the enterprise was badly managed Naval bombardment failed to open the straits, and by the time troops were landed to capture the peninsula of Gallipoli it had been strongly fortified Despite the heroic efforts of the British, Australian, and New Zealand forces the attempt failed, and troops had to be withdrawn in December The Allies had to content themselves with holding Salonika, on the Aegean, as a base for future

operations Another allied failure of this year took place in Mesopotamia, where a British and Indian advance tried to reach Baghdad Its commander, Townsend, was besieged in Kut on the Tigris and later forced to surrender

Italy joins the Allies, 1915. Thus the year closed with successes for the Central Powers all along the Eastern Front, marking indeed the zenith of German success Yet one event of this year was a decided blow to them Italy had refused to join the Central Powers in what she declared was not a defensive war covered by her treaty with them Opinion there was undecided, and Allies and Central Powers strove for her alliance In the end the Allies succeeded in winning Italy's support with the promise, by the Treaty of London (April 26th 1915), of the Trentino and Trieste So in May Italy declared war on her old enemy Austria Whilst the difficulties of the mountain frontier precluded any immediate large-scale offensive against Austria, the threat to this weaker member of the Central Powers was a serious one, and Italy's entry into the war materially increased the man-power and the resources of the Allies

II 1916

Germany's Attack on Verdun, 1916. Secure on the Eastern Front, Germany decided to try to end the deadlock in the west by a blow at the French before the British could take the offensive on a large scale. They chose as the point of attack the well-fortified salient of Verdun, a vital point in the French line of defence The attack was begun on February 21st 1916, and went on from winter to spring, and spring to summer, with the most fierce and concentrated fighting of the whole war But despite the winning of some ground, and terrific loss of life, the Germans were unable to capture Verdun 'They shall not get through' was the pledge, and General Pétain saw that it was kept The failure was a turning point in the war, though this was hard to realize at the time

The Battle of the Somme, 1916. The reply of the Allies to Verdun came in their offensive on the rolling uplands north of the river Somme, which began on July 1st, and went on in a whole series of battles until mid-November. Apart from isolated attacks earlier in the year this was the first offensive effort of the new volunteer armies of Britain and the Empire Like the German attack on Verdun, though on a wider field, the Somme battle had a limited objective which was nearly reached when offensive operations stopped The cost in human life was enormous to both sides the British lost well over four hundred thousand men, the French about half that number, and the Germans

about as many as the Allies. The Somme, however, brought an end to attack at Verdun, it gave the Allies the offensive, and helped to bring about the German retreat in 1917, which set free a thousand square miles of French territory

Elsewhere on the Western Front the year 1916 also saw operations which, although large in themselves, did not seem to bring the end of the war any nearer On the Italian front first the Austrians launched an attack, and then the Italians, but neither had decisive results More spectacular was the astonishing advance of the Russians under Brussilov, who overran Bukowina and regained much of Galicia But Russia was no longer strong enough to exploit such a success The entry of Rumania into the war was of no immediate avail, for she was quickly overwhelmed by the Central Powers, who by this time badly needed her oil and grain Thus in the East at all events the year ended with a success for the Central Powers, and Germany thought to capitalize this by throwing out feelers for peace But to negotiate peace with a Germany holding so much Allied territory and basing her offers thereon, when the Allies were confident of ultimate victory, was scarcely possible, and so the war continued

III 1917

The Entry of the United States Opinion in the United States about the war was divided Some sympathized with the Allies, others with the Central Powers, and many preferred to keep out of European conflicts So for a time the republic remained neutral, ready to trade with both sides But although such trade was profitable it was attended with difficulties Britain was trying to maintain a blockade of Germany, and German submarines sometimes killed American citizens Yet President Wilson, deeply pacific, sought not merely to avoid entering the war but also to bring it to a close At the beginning of 1917, however, just when he was engaged in attempts to get both sides to define their aims, the German general staff decided for the pursuance of unrestricted submarine warfare on all shipping round the British Isles In view of earlier happenings, such as the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915, this was a direct challenge to the United States, which accepted it and declared war on Germany Although military aid on the Western Front was slow in coming, the republic immediately gave naval aid, and helped with supplies and money loans In the long run the entry of the United States into the war more than balanced the loss of Russia

The Withdrawal of Russia Russia had entered the war with no lack of enthusiasm, but as defeat followed the early victories, and her inferiority to Germany became manifest, there was much discontent

in the armies and the country Disorders arose in the army and many soldiers deserted The lack of food and fuel caused much hardship during the winter of 1916–17 After the first revolution of March 1917, the provisional government declared for a continuance of the war, but this became increasingly difficult as Russia



Imperial War Museum

MACHINE-GUNNERS ENTRENCHED IN SHELL-HOLES AT PASSCHENDAELE, 1917

fell into confusion When the Bolshevists acquired power in November they repudiated Tsarist treaties and declared for a cessation of fighting and the establishment of peace Yet peace negotiations were difficult since Germany, knowing the weakness of the new regime, stiffened her proposals The treaty ultimately signed at Brest-Litovsk on March 3rd 1918 registered Russia's complete defeat By it she was to give up Poland and Lithuania, evacuate Finland, Esthonia, and the Ukraine, surrender Caucasian territory to Turkey, and promise not to carry on Bolshevist propaganda against the Central Powers By a later treaty she was to pay Germany an indemnity and make economic concessions Thus Russia passed out of the war

The War in the West in 1917 On the Western Front the British

and French maintained the initiative during 1917 They made a number of major attacks, with a degree of local success, but failed to break the German line, and the losses on both sides were colossal On April 9th the British began an attack, north and south of Arras The capture of the dominating Vimy Ridge, north of Arras, by the Canadian Corps, formed an outstanding feat in this terrific onslaught A week later the French opened an offensive, farther south on the Aisne, but Nivelle's ambitious drive failed to win through and entailed enormous losses, which for a moment caused acute despondency in France The British took up the attack again east of Ypres, first at Messines, June 7th, and then all round the salient, in a series of attacks which culminated in November in the Canadian capture of the low ridge of Passchendaele ·A more limited attack at Cambrai, making use of a new weapon, the caterpillar tank, opened a momentary breach in the German line of defence, but the gap was quickly closed To offset these moderate and dearly-bought gains in France the Allies suffered one outstanding defeat in 1917, that of Caporetto on the Italian front Relieved of the Russian danger, the German higher command decided to concentrate on a smashing blow against Italy The Italian line was pierced and her armies were driven back nearly to Venice The British and French were obliged to send troops to the aid of their ally.

Mesopotamia and Palestine. Whilst events in the West were thus indecisive the Allies were making more positive and permanent gains in the Near East The British under Maude redeemed their earlier failure in Mesopotamia by driving the Turks and Germans out of Baghdad The Turkish power was likewise on the decline in Arabia The Sherif of Mecca had already proclaimed his independence of the Sultan, and thanks partly to the extraordinary influence obtained over the Arabs by the young Englishman, Lawrence, there was a widespread revolt of the Arabs against their Turkish overlords The British, after repelling earlier Turkish attempts to strike at the Suez Canal, now began to push north into Palestine On December 11th 1917 Allenby's force entered Jerusalem, by this latest crusade putting an end to Turkish rule over the Holy Land of Christendom The union of Greece with the Allies in July 1917 had also shown which way the wind was blowing

IV 1918

The Last German Offensive: March–April 1918. Yet when the year 1918 opened there was little sign of any immediate ending of the terrific conflict, despite the hardships, suffering, and loss without precedent

on both sides Millions of children might go underfed, but there was always food for the guns, which roared incessantly along both sides of the Western Front The Allies felt that they were bound to win in the end Germany, on the other hand, relieved from the pressure on the east, believed that with the superior numbers now available in the west she might force a decision there before the troops from the United States



Imperial War Museum

BRITISH TROOPS MARCHING INTO MONS, 11TH NOVEMBER 1918

could arrive in unlimited numbers Ludendorff, in command with Hindenburg, decided to attack on a wide front south of Arras, where the British and French lines joined, and drive a wedge between them The attack opened with overwhelming forces on March 21st and for a time met with considerable success But the line was not completely broken, and although Ludendorff attacked again farther north in April, he was unable to win Ypres, or break through to reach the Channel ports A third and final attack against the French, towards Paris, created a deep salient in the line but nothing more And by this time it was July, and the Allies were ready to strike back

The Allied Offensive and the End of the War. The Allied losses in this last German offensive brought one good result They revealed the danger resulting from division of command, and led to the appointing of the French general, Foch, as supreme commander Further, the

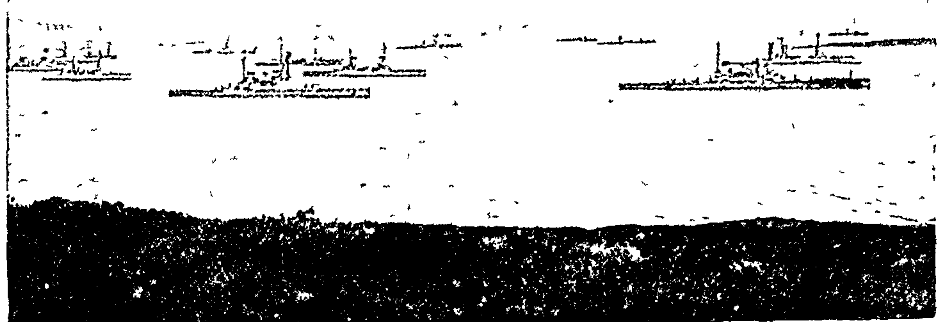
flow of American troops across the Atlantic immensely increased. With British and French reinforcements they now helped to give Foch a superiority in numbers which enabled him to take the offensive at successive points along the western battle line Despite stiff German resistance the Allies pushed steadily forward in a series of attacks from July 18th to the end of the war On August 8th the British penetrated deep into the German lines in what Ludendorff described as 'the blackest day of the German army in the war' Then the Americans straightened out the St Mihiel salient, and the British did the same at Ypres In a great attack on September 26th–28th the Allies so battered the strong Hindenburg line that Ludendorff told the Kaiser that the war was lost, and insisted on a request for peace By the middle of October the Germans were in full retreat and the war of trenches was over Germany had no option but to accept the armistice terms of the Allies, and on November 11th the war came to an end To the millions of men in the armies it was almost as if the world, and not merely the war, had stopped

The Defeat of Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey. Although the war ended on the Western Front, where it began, developments elsewhere had prepared for that end Austria, which was steadily growing weaker, made a last effort against Italy in support of Ludendorff's offensive but was driven back with heavy losses The Habsburgs, at their last gasp, issued an appeal for peace (September 15th) But before an armistice with them was signed on November 3rd the Austrian front had crumbled and the empire was in dissolution In the Balkans an Allied offensive against Bulgaria broke her resistance and took her out of the war by the end of September This was followed by a general sweep to the north by the Allies Serbia and Rumania were freed, and Austrians and Germans were driven out of the peninsula Meanwhile the Turkish power in Asia was collapsing British and Arab cavalry swept north from Palestine into Syria, while the British in Mesopotamia likewise drove the Turks before them, capturing their army On October 30th the Turks surrendered and the Ottoman Empire virtually disappeared

V The War at Sea

Sea Power in the War Whilst the war was won and lost on land, sea-power was of great importance, as in Napoleonic times The British navy, far the largest of the allied naval forces, had to protect Britain from invasion, to bottle up or defeat the German navy, to keep open

communications for the armies across the English Channel, to bring troops, food, and supplies from all parts of the world, to clear the seas of German raiders and submarines, and to blockade Germany as far as possible From Scapa Flow in the Orkneys, the main base, it guarded the passage between the British Isles and Norway, protected the British coast, and scoured the North Sea A smaller naval force closed the vital English Channel for the ceaseless traffic between Britain and the front in France Naval squadrons early in the war dealt with isolated German cruisers and raiders, and the capture of German colonies was clearly dependent



Imperial War Museum

THE SURRENDERED GERMAN FLEET AT SCAPA FLOW

on command of the seas The Japanese accounted for Kiaochow, and the German island possessions in the Pacific were quickly seized Of her four African colonies Togoland and the Cameroons were taken without much trouble, and German South-west Africa was invaded and reduced from South Africa German East Africa made the stoutest resistance, holding out until 1917

The Battle of Jutland. While there were naval raids on both sides there was only one major engagement during the war, between the British and German fleets, and that was indecisive Yet so enormous were the forces arrayed that the Battle of Jutland ranks as the greatest naval encounter of modern times After long waiting, in May 1916 the German fleet emerged from its base But although the two fleets met, the approach of darkness enabled the German admiral, von Scheer, to escape from the superior British strength The Germans claimed a victory, since they had lost fewer ships actually sunk in the fighting

The British, however, retained their superiority at sea, and if the German fleet was not destroyed, its active role was ended, for it did not again venture out

The Submarine Campaign. Yet where battleships and cruisers dared not venture, a new craft, scarcely tested in war before, found its way, the invisible submarine Germany made increasing use of this weapon against the Allied shipping, most of which was British In February 1915 Germany proclaimed a war zone round the British Isles, within which both British and neutral merchant ships were liable to be destroyed Such a threat went far beyond the practice of maritime warfare since it necessarily involved the destruction of non-combatants and neutrals The sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7th 1915 with a loss of twelve hundred lives, including over one hundred Americans, brought protests from the United States, and some modification of German tactics When, early in 1917, unrestricted submarine sinkings recommenced, they brought the United States into the war, but for a time they inflicted enormous losses on Allied and neutral shipping The peril was surmounted, however, by redoubled efforts against German submarines, including the blocking of the Zeebrugge Canal, by building new ships faster than ever before, and by adopting the old device of making ships sail in convoys By the summer of 1917 the crisis was over and did not recur Thus the submarine weapon falsified the hopes of its champions who argued that it would be effective enough to risk bringing the United States into the war

The close of this terrific conflict brought a hush as of death over Europe In it some sixty-four million men had been mobilized by the many nations involved, and no less than eight million men, the young and physically fittest, had been killed In addition, over twenty million had been wounded A large part of north-eastern France and Belgium, some of it thickly populated, had been reduced almost to pulp, its cities and industries destroyed, some of its villages entirely wiped out, and other scenes of conflict presented a similar if less concentrated spectacle of destruction And beyond the direct loss of life in battle, the losses by disease and famine in eastern Europe, and by hardship and lack of food or nourishment for children everywhere, were incalculable So too the cost in money of the war was astronomical in its scale Large numbers of ships had been destroyed, trade had been dislocated, and the normal course of production and economic life had been entirely disorganized in the supreme effort required to carry on the war European civilization, fruit of so many centuries of development, had done its best for four years to destroy itself, and thanks to

the efficiency of its machinery of destruction, had achieved a considerable degree of success

For Further Reading

G V. Carey and H S Scott, *An Outline History of the Great War*

C R M Crutwell, *A History of the Great War*

T E Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert*

CHAPTER III

THE RESULTS OF THE WAR OF 1914–18

I The Peace Settlement

The Peace Conference. The immediate necessity at the end of the war was to settle terms of peace with Germany and her allies, and for this purpose there met in Paris in January 1919 over one thousand delegates of every degree of importance from some thirty-odd countries, for this greatest conference in history. The Conference was in fact too big The great powers were already committed in various directions by treaties made during the pressure of the war, e g that with Italy of 1915 The enemy states were not represented, and the terms of the treaties were drawn up piecemeal, with frequent crises and under great pressure of time

The business of peace-making was mainly, and inevitably, carried on by the great powers, at first by a Council of Ten, consisting of two delegates each from France, Great Britain, the United States, Italy, and Japan, and then by a Council of Four, composed of Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson, and Orlando, the last not always present since Italy withdrew for a time Clemenceau, 'the Tiger,' was the oldest and strongest of the four, a disillusioned realist who remembered 1870, and wanted above all security for France Wilson provided a strong contrast, worlds apart in his views, a scholar rather than a politician, an idealist, but rather doctrinaire, knowing little of the complexity of European issues, and steadily losing support at home, in part from his inability to co-operate with others Lloyd George, the vivacious and energetic Welsh radical, stood between the other two His views were on the whole more reasonable, but he was hampered by the facts that he had just given rash election pledges to make Germany pay for the war, and

depended at home upon a coalition After infinite labours, innumerable committees and commissions, a treaty was drawn up and signed, under protest, by German delegates in the famous Hall of Mirrors in Versailles, on June 28th 1919 Treaties with the other defeated powers, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, followed

The Treaties of Peace. By the Treaty of Versailles Germany gave up territory all round, part of the gains of 1815, 1864, and 1870 On the



THE SIGNING OF THE PEACE TREATY AT VERSAILLES *Topical Press*

west she lost Alsace-Lorraine, the Saar valley, and a strip to Belgium. The Saar valley was handed over to be administered under the League of Nations, its coal mines went to France in compensation for French mines destroyed by Germany. A plebiscite was to decide in fifteen years whether the Saar people wished to return to Germany, and in 1935 this plebiscite resulted in the return of the Saar to Germany. To the north, part of Schleswig was to vote for or against return to Denmark, and the vote restored to Denmark some of the territory lost in 1864 To the east Germany lost Prussian Poland, Memel, part of West Prussia for a Polish Corridor to the Baltic, and Danzig. This city was made a free city under the League of Nations To the south-east, the ownership of the tip of Silesia, with its valuable coal, lead, and zinc mines, was likewise to be determined by plebiscite. By this means, after much

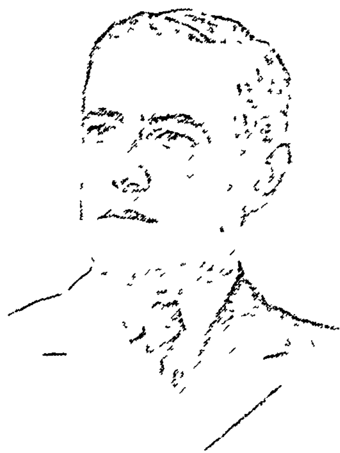
difficulty, the territory was divided between Germany and Poland. A strip along the Rhine was demilitarized, and part of it was occupied by allied forces. Germany had surrendered her fleet, sinking it at Scapa Flow, and was not to build a new one of any considerable size. Her army was limited to one hundred thousand men, and conscription was abolished. She lost her colonies, was declared guilty of having caused the war, and was sentenced to pay reparation for damage done to civilians, and war pensions. As the total amount could not be agreed upon, a reparations commission was appointed to work it out.

The treaties with Austria and Hungary registered the break-up of the Habsburg realm and defined the narrowed boundaries of these two states. Austria lost the southern Tyrol, Trentino, Istria, and Trieste to Italy, and also Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, Bukowina, Bosnia and Herzegovina—the gains of three centuries. She was not to unite with Germany. Hungary lost Slovakia, Transylvania, and Croatia-Slovenia. Both Austria and Hungary lost their direct access to the sea. The Adriatic port of Fiume, disputed by Jugoslavia and Italy, was eventually seized by force for the latter by d'Annunzio. Bulgaria lost her territory on the Aegean, and became one of the smallest of the Balkan states. Turkey lost most of the remains of her territory in Europe, her Aegean islands, and much of her dominions in Asia. It looked as if she too, like her old enemy Austria, was finished, both in Europe and in Asia. Though she was to retain Constantinople, the Straits were internationalized and demilitarized. Greece occupied Smyrna in Asia Minor. But the new nationalist revival in Turkey led by Mustapha Kemal refused to accept such humiliating terms. Having driven intruding Greece out of Asia Minor, Turkey ultimately secured terms by the Treaty of Lausanne in July 1923 which restored her European boundary of 1914, though the Straits were demilitarized and she accepted most of her losses in Asia. These treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey included provisions for the protection of racial minorities, and similar Minorities' Treaties were also signed by Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Jugoslavia. Finally, all the treaties were preceded by a Covenant for a League of Nations.

The treaties, especially that imposed on Germany, were too harsh as the basis of future peace. The loss of all her colonies, the immense bill of reparations, and some of the European territorial arrangements, were evidence of this. Similarly the boundaries of Austria and Hungary were drawn too much in favour of their enemy neighbours. Yet it is safe to say that no treaty which could possibly have been made in 1919 would have satisfied all the rival and hostile interests concerned. The problem of nationalities in eastern Europe was in fact almost insoluble.

The treaty-makers were for the most part honestly following the accepted nationalist principle, and they produced a map of Europe which, despite its defects, was on the whole better than that of 1914 Much, too much, was hoped from the infant League of Nations, which was given some powers of treaty revision by Article XIX of the Covenant The unexpected withdrawal of the United States from European affairs, and her refusal to join the League of Nations, greatly increased treaty difficulties

The Covenant of the League of Nations The sincerity of the treaty-makers may in part be judged from the efforts they made to construct a framework for peace among nations There had been tentative proposals to this end long before, but neither these efforts nor the growing international co-operation of all kinds had in the least availed to prevent the catastrophe of 1914 Hence many men, like Lord Robert Cecil, President Wilson, and General Smuts, conceived of including in the treaties of peace machinery for the prevention of future war A special League of Nations Commission was appointed, with President Wilson as Chairman, and the Covenant of the League of Nations was the result The League was to consist of a permanent secretariat, established at Geneva, a Council made up of representatives of the five chief allied powers, with additional elected members, and an Assembly composed of representatives from all members of the League The Council was to act in part as an executive Cabinet, and the Assembly, which came to meet yearly, was to act as legislature for the League, and was to concern itself with, 'any matters affecting the peace of the world' (Article III) To aid in improving the conditions of Labour throughout the world, an International Labour Organization was set up alongside the League, similarly representative, and likewise housed in Geneva Thus an agency of a new kind appeared in the political life of Europe and the world It remained to be seen what the world would make of it



PRESIDENT WILSON

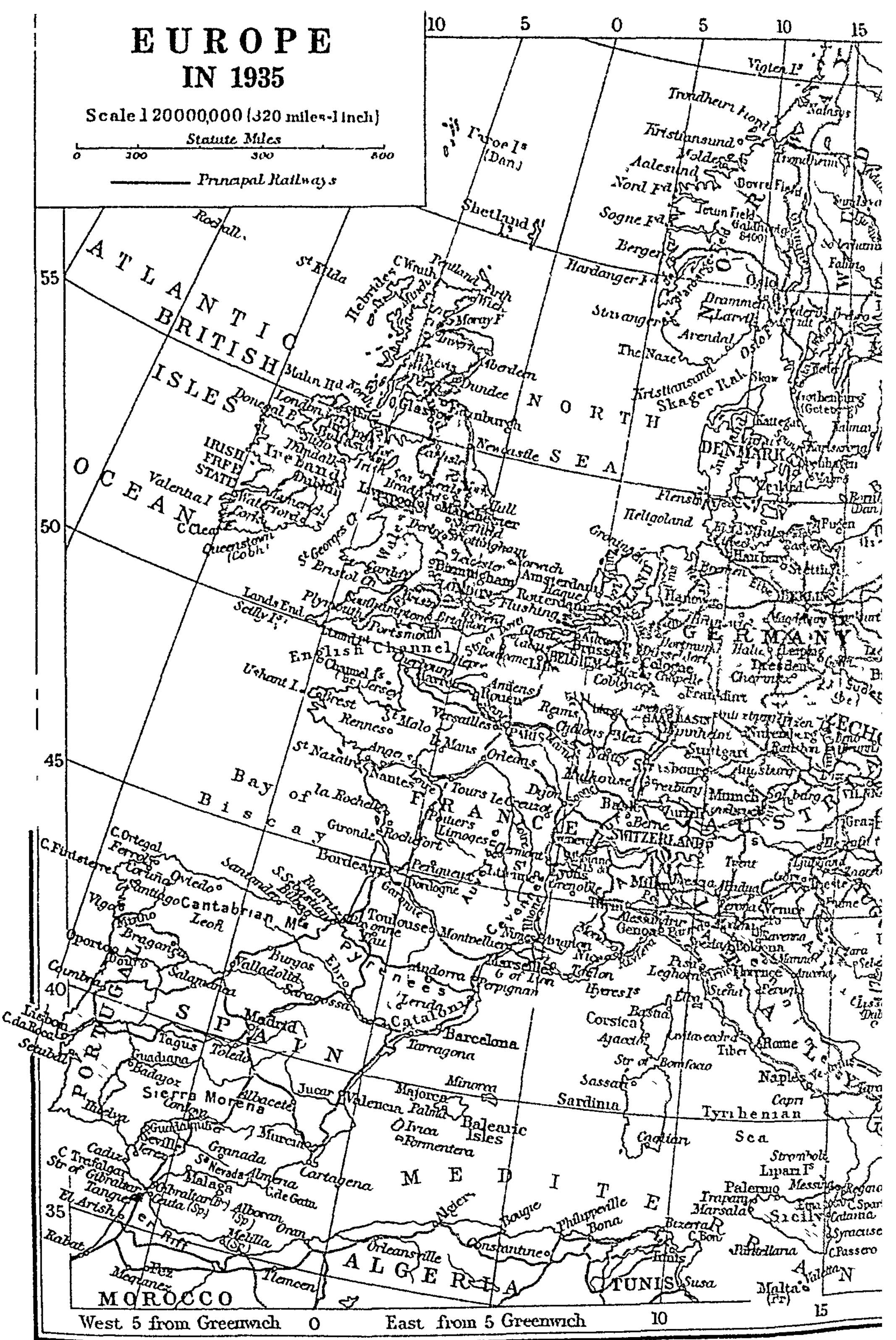
II Changes in Europe

The New Map of Europe The outstanding changes in the political map of Europe were not caused by the German losses of territory, but by the

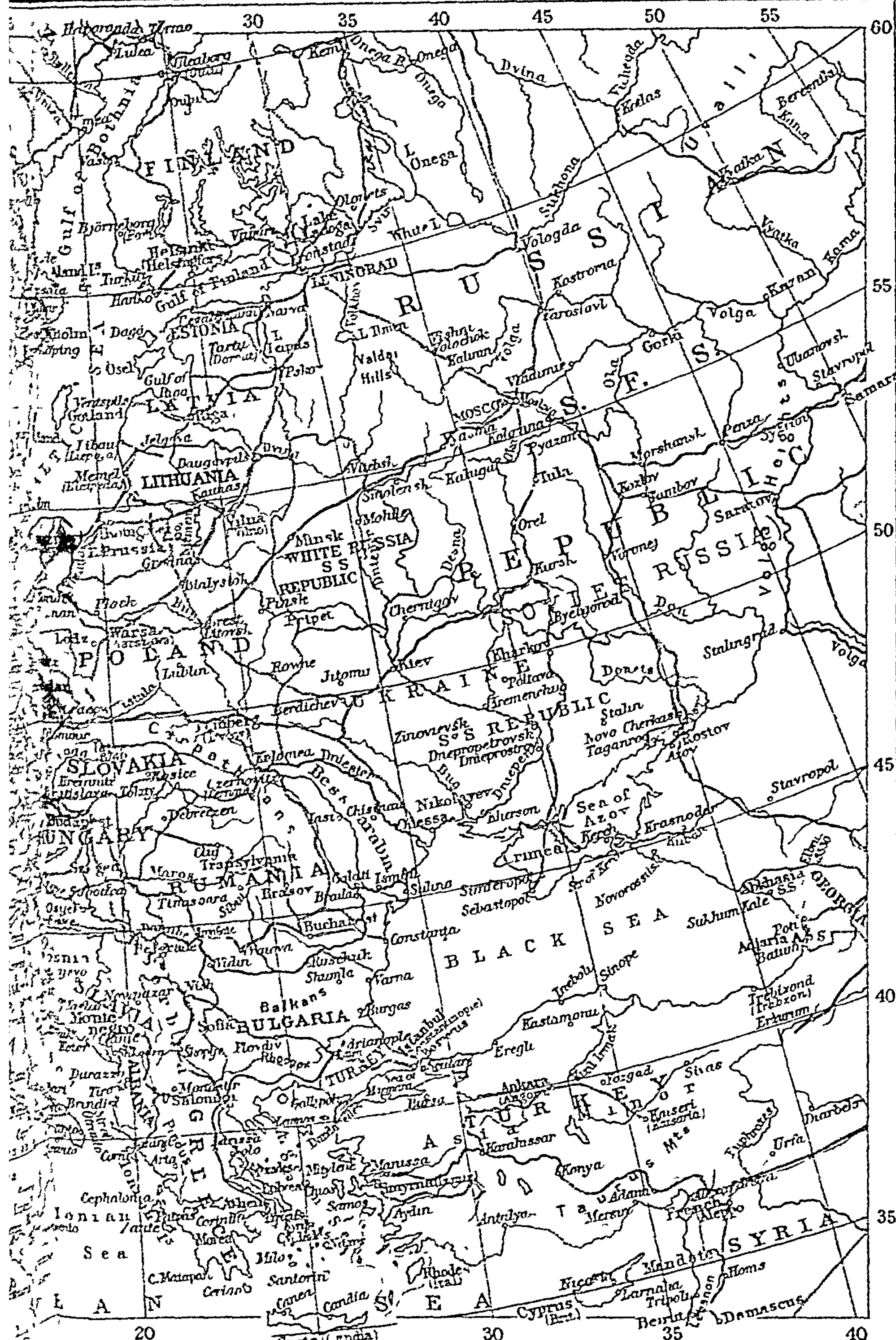
breaking off from Russia of the western borderlands added by Peter the Great and his successors, and also by the break-up of the Habsburg Empire. By the treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany, Russia surrendered the Baltic regions, out of which emerged the states of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania Poland arose again, partly from this treaty, and also from the later defeat of Germany and Austria Czechoslovakia resulted from the war-time efforts of Czech patriots like the philosopher Masaryk, and Beneš, and was proclaimed an independent republic a few days after the Allied armistice with Austria At the same moment the south Slavs in the Habsburg realm declared for union with Serbia, and thereby, with the addition of Montenegro, made up Jugoslavia. The Rumanians of Transylvania also declared for union with their fellows in Rumania Hungary broke away from her partner, and what remained of Austria promptly declared for a republic: the Habsburg empire disappeared. Thus there were now seven new or reborn states in eastern Europe and two more (Serbia and Rumania) greatly enlarged A dozen independent nations now stretched from the eastern Baltic to the Aegean, a veritable mosaic of states formed from the empires of Germany, Russia, Austria, and Turkey.

The Change in Political Balance. As a result of the war and these changes, not merely did the old system of alliances which had dominated European international relations for a generation and more come to an end, but the great powers themselves lost some of their supremacy Austria had disappeared, Russia was absorbed in the revolution, Germany was defeated and isolated There was also a material increase in the number and strength of the middle-sized states The new Poland had nearly thirty million people; Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Jugoslavia all had populations of well over ten million. Some of these nations quickly formed alliances of their own, as for example the Little Entente formed between Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Jugoslavia Further, the League of Nations provided an organization through which the smaller states of Europe could make their voices heard as never before. Thus the dominance of the great states of Europe was decidedly shaken

The Triumph of Nationalism. The new state system completed the long process by which Europe was organized into independent nation states. Yet the close intermingling of peoples in eastern Europe made it impossible to adjust boundaries on purely nationalist lines, even had the attempt been made calmly in times of peace, instead of through war In the event, a quarter to a third of the inhabitants of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania belonged to nationalities or racial groups other than Poles, Czechoslovaks, and Rumans respectively National or



EUROPE
IN 1935
Scale 1 20000,000 (320 miles-1 inch)
Statute Miles
0
100
300
500
Principal Railways
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
BRITISH
ISLES
NORTH
SEA
Bay of Biscay
English Channel
FRANCE
GERMANY
DENMARK
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
SWITZERLAND
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MEDITE
ALGERIA
MOROCCO
TUNIS
Sardinia
Corsica
Sicily
Balearic Isles
Tyrrhenian
Sea
Shetland I.s
Faroe I.s (Dan.)
Hebrides
St Kilda
Rockall
IRISH FREE STATE
Ireland
Dublin
Belfast
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Aberdeen
Dundee
Newcastle
Carlisle
Liverpool
Manchester
Hull
Birmingham
Leicester
Nottingham
Norwich
Cardiff
Bristol Ch.
Plymouth
Portsmouth
Southampton
Brighton
Lands End
Scilly I.s
Valentia I.
Cork
C. Clear
Queenstown (Cobh)
St Georges Ch.
Channel I.s
Ushant I.
Brest
Renness
St Malo
St Nazaire
Nantes
Angers
Le Mans
Tours
Orleans
Paris
Versailles
Rouen
Amiens
Dieppe
Havre
Cherbourg
Calais
Lille
Boulogne
Rheims
Dijon
Limoges
La Rochelle
Rochefort
Gironde
Bordeaux
Perigueux
Dordogne
Toulouse
Montpellier
Nimes
Marseilles
G. of Lion
Perpignan
Lyons
Grenoble
Avignon
Toulon
Hyeres I.s
Nancy
Metz
Strasbourg
Mulhouse
Basle
Berne
Zurich
Munich
Stuttgart
Augsburg
Frankfurt
Cologne
Coblence
Dusseldorf
Dortmund
Hanover
Bremen
Hamburg
Stettin
Kiel
Flensburg
Heligoland
Leipzig
Dresden
Halle
Magdeburg
Chemnitz
Nuremberg
Rotterdam
Amsterdam
Hague
Flushing
Antwerp
Brussels
Groningen
Copenhagen
Zealand
Kattegat
Skager Rak
Skaw
Gothenburg
Kristiansand
Arendal
Oslo
Drammen
Stavanger
Bergen
Hardanger Fd
Sogne Fd
Nord Fd
Aalesund
Molde
Kristiansund
Trondheim Fiord
Trondheim
Dovre Field
Vigten I.s
The Naze
Turin
Milan
Genoa
Leghorn
Pisa
Florence
Venice
Verona
Padua
Rome
Tiber
Naples
Capri
Elba
Bastia
Ajaccio
Sassari
Cagliari
Str. of Bonifacio
Palermo
Messina
Catania
Syracuse
Marsala
Lipari I.s
Stromboli
Pantellaria
Malta
Valetta
C. Passero
Bizerta
C. Bon
Tunis
Susa
Bona
Philippeville
Constantine
Bougie
Algiers
Orleansville
Tlemcen
Oran
Melilla
Fez
Mequinez
Rabat
Tangier
Ceuta (Sp.)
Gibraltar (Br.)
Str. of Gibraltar
C. Trafalgar
Cadiz
Jerez
Seville
Huelva
Cordova
Granada
Malaga
Almeria
C. de Gata
Alboran (Sp.)
Cartagena
Murcia
Albacete
Valencia
Jucar
Majorca
Minorca
Palma
Iviza
Formentera
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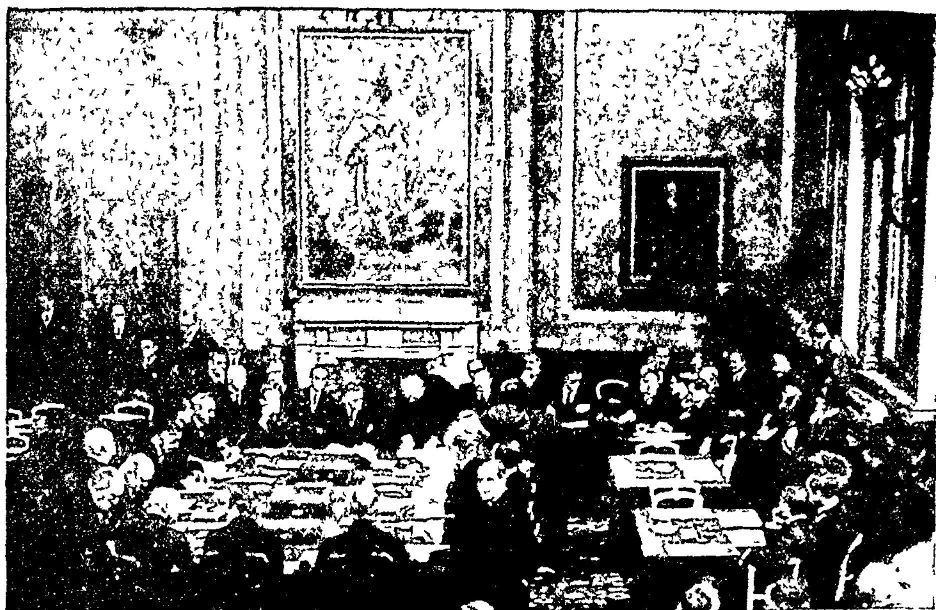


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Volga
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Gorki
Ulianovsk
Stavropol
Samara
Gulf of Riga
LATVIA
Riga
Gotland
Libau
Jelgava
Daugavpils
MOSCOW
Ryazan
Morshansk
Penza
Syzran
Memel
LITHUANIA
Kaunas
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Kaluga
Tula
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Tambov
Saratov
Vilna
E. Prussia
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WHITE RUSSIA
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Mohilev
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Byelgorod
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Warsaw
Lodz
POLAND
Lublin
Brest Litovsk
Rowne
Jitomir
Kiev
Kharkov
Poltava
Kremenchug
Donets
Stalingrad
Volga
UKRAINE
SS REPUBLIC
Berdichev
Lemberg
Zinovievsk
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Novo Cherkask
Taganrog
Rostov
Azov
SLOVAKIA
Kosice
Bratislava
Tokay
Czernowitz
Kolomea
Dniester
Bessarabia
Bug
Dnieper
Nikolayev
Odessa
Kherson
Sea of Azov
Kerch
Krasnodar
Kuban
Stavropol
Budapest
HUNGARY
Debreczen
Jassy
Chisinau
Crimea
Cluj
Transylvania
Maros
RUMANIA
Szeged
Subotica
Timisoara
Brasov
Galatz
Ismail
Braila
Sulina
Simferopol
Sebastopol
Novorossisk
Abkhasia
GEORGIA
Osyek
Bucharest
Constanta
BLACK SEA
Sukhum Kale
Poti
Adjaria
Batum
Vidin
Rustchuk
Shumla
Varna
Sinope
Trebizond
(Trebzon)
Erzurum
Balkans
Burgas
BULGARIA
Sofia
Plovdiv
Montenegro
ALBANIA
Durazzo
Brindisi
Istanbul
Bosporus
Eregli
Kastamonu
Kizil Irmak
Yozgad
Sivas
Adrianople
TURKEY
Salonika
Gallipoli
Brusa
Ankara
(Angora)
Kaiseri
(Caesarea)
Diarbekr
Larissa
Volo
Mitylene
Manissa
Karahissar
Euphrates
Urfa
Arta
Chios
Smyrna
Konya
Cephalonia
Athens
Samos
Aydin
Adana
Mersina
Aleppo
Ionian Sea
Patras
Corinth
Morea
Antalya
SYRIA
Milos
Santorini
Rhodes
C. Matapan
Canea
Candia
Cyprus
Larnaka
Tripoli
Homs
Beirut
Damascus
Crete (Candia)

racial division was also accompanied in Poland and Jugoslavia by religious differences In Austria there were acute differences between the urban proletariat of Vienna, which was Socialist, and the rural farmers, who were Catholic-Conservative In Hungary there was a Communist rising in 1919, followed by a military and conservative reaction, which essayed to restore the old monarchy Poland, struggling to restore a unity lost for well over a century, and never firmly established, had acute border problems with Russia, Germany, and Lithuania In Jugoslavia the Croats objected to Serb domination, as in Czechoslovakia the Slovaks protested against Czech control The new states jostled each other too closely, and were over-conscious of their national identity Fear of their old masters, and jealousy of each other, caused them to build up and maintain large military forces In the attempt to make themselves economically independent, they set up high tariffs, which diverted trade from its old channels, strangled it, and delayed economic recovery Hence with the final triumph of nationality came not, as men had hoped, greater peace and harmony in Europe, but rather, for a time at least, renewed dissension

The Triumph of Democracy. The other great force of the nineteenth century, democracy, likewise appeared to triumph as a result of the war and its accompanying crash of empires The democratic western nations remained unchanged, but the Romanovs, the Habsburgs, the Hohenzollerns and their lesser fellow-rulers in Germany, all disappeared, and their places were taken by democratic republics Monarchy, which had been the normal thing in Europe, now became rather the exception, and where it survived, as in Britain, Italy, Belgium, and a few other states, it was democratic in character And in the years following the peace both Greece (in 1924) and Spain (in 1931) likewise turned from monarchy to republic, as Turkey had already done The new post-war republics varied in character, from the Soviet republic of Russia to the aristocratic republic of Hungary Yet whether socialistically inclined or not, they professed to rest on the will of the people, and organized themselves in democratic fashion with presidents and sovereign parliaments With political democracy came also social democracy, and social changes often of a radical kind, partly under the influence of the experiment in Russia As with nationalism, however, the complete and sudden triumph of democracy revealed the difficulties of its universal application, especially to peoples unused to governing themselves, and faced with the many difficulties of the post-war period Hence there arose dictatorships, military or otherwise The development of Communism in Russia, Fascism in Italy, and Nazism in Germany, calls, however, for separate treatment

Post-War Problems The reconstruction of Europe, and the firm establishment of these new states, were greatly complicated by the many issues and problems left by the war All Europe had been in arms, and now had to go back to civil life National debts had risen enormously, as had also the cost of living Much of Europe had been devastated, and Europe, once rich, was now poor Before, she had loaned capital, now, she had to borrow it There was immense unrest, and little security



Topical Press

SIGNING THE TREATY OF LOCARNO AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE, LONDON

Men looked back to 'pre-war' days as to a paradise from which they had been ejected One of the most vexed questions which delayed the economic reconstruction of Europe was that of reparations. Discussion as to what Germany, impoverished by her gigantic struggle, could pay, went on for years. When Germany in 1922 failed to pay what had been provisionally agreed upon, France and Belgium occupied the industrial Ruhr area east of the Rhine, which plunged Germany into a frightful internal crisis, during which the value of the mark sank almost to zero In 1924 the Dawes Plan was adopted for reparations, which freed the Ruhr, and aided reconstruction for a time Then in 1928 came the further settlement of the Young Plan, and in 1932 a Lausanne Conference on the subject virtually wrote 'finis' to German reparations

But reparations were bound up with the question of war debts, which affected not merely Europe, but also America To finance the war the

Allies borrowed vast sums, Britain and the United States providing most of the money Britain had borrowed much from the United States on behalf of her allies It would have been better, all things considered, if the debts had been cancelled, as representing a common war effort Britain, who was owed most, cancelled most of hers, save what she needed to make yearly payments to the United States, whom she had somewhat rashly agreed to pay in full The United States, however, was unwilling to go so far, and the issue long hindered economic recovery, especially as the high tariff of the United States made it difficult for Europe to pay debts by exporting goods there

There was a general feeling of insecurity, both political and economic, resulting in part from the fact that Germany and Russia, essential and integral parts of Europe, were isolated and not incorporated in the general life of the continent, or members of the new League of Nations Efforts were made, not without some success, to lessen this by international treaties Thus at Locarno, in 1925, France and Germany agreed to accept the post-war Rhine frontier, and Britain and Italy pledged their support to this end There were also arrangements for arbitration in international disputes In 1928 the Pact of Paris, fruit of negotiations between Briand and Kellogg, was signed by over sixty states, who pledged themselves to outlaw war But in the question of disarmament, to which Europe was pledged by the treaties of peace, less progress was made A naval congress held at Washington in 1921 secured agreement on the ratio to be maintained in the size of the navies of Britain and the United States, Japan, France, and Italy, but later efforts to widen this failed With regard to land armaments, there was even less progress, despite the efforts of a Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations, and a Conference on that subject in 1932

III Changes outside Europe

General. Since the war was a 'world war,' its effects were naturally not confined to Europe In general, it weakened both materially and morally the supremacy which the nineteenth century had given Europe in the world. The spectacle of the nations which claimed to represent the highest civilization in the world using all the resources of their vast material power to destroy each other lessened European prestige And the resultant loss of material strength encouraged the growth of opposition to European and western domination Inevitably, the war increased the importance of the two great world states outside Europe, the United States and Japan Both these had, it is true, been engaged in the war,

but not nearly to the same devastating extent as the European powers Japan had already shown her consciousness of greater strength by making in 1915 a series of demands on China for special privileges there The United States, before the war indebted to Europe for the loan of capital, repaid her debt during the war, and was now a creditor rather than a debtor nation. As the wealthiest and strongest nation in the world the American republic exercised an increasing influence in world affairs, including those of Europe. The change was also reflected in naval power. Whilst German naval power had disappeared for the time, the United States and Japan both increased in naval strength At the naval conference held in Washington in 1921 Britain perforce accepted the naval parity of the United States, and a decade later Japan also raised the demand for parity with both the United States and Britain.

Territorial Changes. Of particular territorial changes outside Europe the war saw the change in ownership of the German colonies and overseas possessions, and the break-up of Asiatic Turkey. The German colonies came under the Mandatory system by which the successors to Germany there were declared responsible to the League of Nations for their rule Subject to this, in Africa France took over the Cameroons, and most of Togoland, Britain took German East Africa, and a strip of Togoland, the Union of South Africa took over German West Africa Germany's Pacific island possessions were handed over to Australia, New Zealand, Britain, and Japan, Japan also succeeded Germany in Shantung.

Asiatic Turkey. In Asia the most direct and immediate changes occurred in the domains of the Ottoman Empire Turkey had already lost her North African possessions, now she lost the bulk of her loosely joined Asiatic possessions as well The Turks, as we have seen, made a remarkable recovery after the war, and secured their rights to all Asia Minor, as well as to Constantinople. They established their capital at Angora, and after establishing a republican form of government, proceeded, under the energetic Mustapha Kemal, to abolish the ancient Caliphate, and to reorganize their state in a western way, breaking with Moslem tradition in education, law, civil and social life But they accepted the loss of their other Asiatic possessions, and these the Allies proceeded to organize in accordance with agreements made between themselves during the war To overcome the Arab nationalist opposition to partition under European rule, they created 'mandates,' to be held in trust under the League of Nations Thus France secured the mandate for Syria, Britain that for Palestine, which by a pledge of 1917 was to be a national home for the Jews, and those for Transjordania and Mesopotamia (Iraq) The kingdom of Hejaz in Arabia was declared

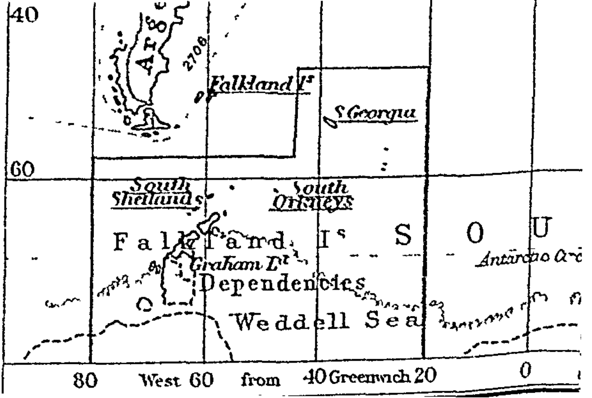
THE WORLD TO-DAY

Mean Equatorial Scale 1 175,000,000
(Mercator's Projection)

— *Principal Railway Routes*

4711 *Principal Shipping Routes*
(Distances in Sea Miles)

British	*Dutch*
„ Mandates	*Spanish*
French	*Portuguese*
„ Mandates	*United States*
Belgian	*Turkey*
„ Mandate	*Egypt (Indep 1922)*
Italian	



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Fridt Nansen Land

ARCTIC OCEAN

Lenin Land

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New Siberian Is

N. Zemlya

Murmansk

Finland

Sweden

Archangel

Union of S. S. Republics

Yakutsk

Siberia

Leningrad

Russia

(Soviet Russia)

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Riga

Moscow

Tobolsk

Tomsk

Kamchatka

Berlin

Orenburg

Irkutsk

Kiakhta

Novo Sibirsk

Odessa

Astrakhan

Mongolia

Manchuria

Vienna

Tashkent

Vladivostok

Istanbul

Tiflis

Peking (Peiping)

Korea

Bokhara

Kashgar

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Izmir

Wei-hai-wei

Tokyo

Malta

Cyprus

Tehran

Persia (Iran)

Afghan

Lhasa

China

Yokohama

To Vancouver 4280

To S. Francisco 4521

Libya

Cairo

Egypt

Basra

Delhi

India

Nanking

Shanghai

Arabia

PACIFIC OCEAN

Karachi

Calcutta

Canton

Tropic of Cancer

A. E. Sudan

Bombay

Rangoon

Hong-kong

20

Khartoum

Aden

Madras

Siam

Philippine Is (U.S.)

Mariana Is

Marshall Is

(Japanese Mand.)

Sokotra

Ethiopia

Berbera

Colombo

Saigon

Caroline Is

Kenya

Labuan

Singapore

Borneo

Gilbert Is

Belgian Congo

Tang. Ter.

Seychelles

N. Guinea

Phoenix Is

Ellice Is

Zanzibar

Chagos Is

Batavia

Solomon Is

Mozambique

Christmas I.

Sta Cruz Is

Samoa Is

Keeling Is

Darwin

Madagascar

Fiji Is

Tonga Is

Mauritius

Commonwealth of Australia

N. Caledonia

Johannesburg

Delagoa B.

INDIAN OCEAN

Brisbane

Norfolk I.

Durban

Union of S. Africa

Perth

Fremantle

Canberra

Capetown

P. Elizabeth

Albany

Adelaide

Sydney

Auckland

N. Amsterdam

Dominion of New Zealand

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Melbourne

Wellington

Hobart

Chatham I.

Christchurch

Crozet Is

Dunedin

Kerguelen

Auckland I.

Antipodes Is

Campbell

Macquarie Is

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SOUTHERN OCEAN

Enderby Ld.

K. William II Land

Queen Mary Ld.

Adelie Land

Balleny Is

K. George V Ld.

Ross Dependency

Australian Dependency

Ross Sea

East 20 from 40 Greenwich 60 80 100 120 140 160

George Philip & Son Ltd.

independent These arrangements were not put into effect without much difficulty: there were rebellions in Syria and Iraq, and Arab protests against Jewish immigration into Palestine Iraq, where Emir Feisal was made king, was later to secure recognition as an almost independent state But the break-up of Asiatic Turkey seems to be permanent, and western Asia seems destined to be the home of a number of national states, after the dominant European pattern

For Further Reading

F L Benns, *Europe since 1914*
Ramsay Muir, *Political Consequences of the Great War*
F Morley, *The Society of Nations*
H Nicolson, *Peacemaking*

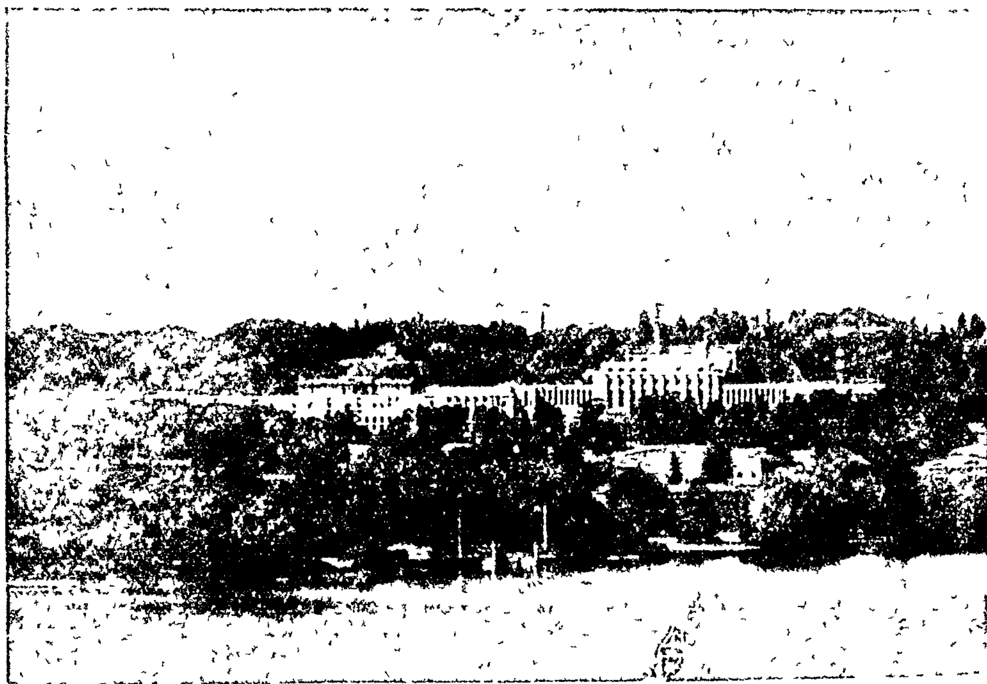
CHAPTER IV

THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR

Introductory. The preceding chapter has shown the extraordinary complexity of the development which followed the war of 1914–18 Further, some of these developments have continued to the present time, and this makes it difficult to see them in a proper historical perspective A number of post-war developments have already been dealt with in previous chapters since they formed part of a long evolution, as, for example, the changes which occurred in the British Empire, or the rise of Labour to power in Britain In addition, however, a number of other post-war movements call for attention, since they were undoubtedly of world-wide importance The activities of the League of Nations, although less successful than had been hoped in bringing about world peace, were nevertheless of considerable significance In two major countries of Europe, first Italy and then Germany, nationalist revolutions took place which destroyed democratic government and set up the leaders of Fascist and National-Socialist parties respectively as Dictators Meanwhile to the east of Europe the Russian Communist party likewise established a dictatorship, but professed instead of nationalism the creed of international socialism Finally in Eastern Asia the Chinese revolution continued its course, reflecting both nationalist and communist influences, and Japan embarked on an imperial adventure in Manchuria

I THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Nature of the League. The League of Nations was an organization of a new kind in world affairs, and opinion differed widely as to its nature Was it to be a super-state, whose existence would imperil the freedom of its members, or a 'mere international letter-box,' through which communications between nations might pass? Together with much hope, there was much doubt, scepticism, and even fear The



André Jullien

THE PALACE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT GENEVA

interpretation of certain articles of the Covenant, e g Article X, which committed members of the League to 'respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League,' provided difficulty for a time The United States, as it withdrew from European affairs, refused to join the League, fearing lest membership should impair her jealously guarded national sovereignty, or involve her in disputes with which she had no concern. Germany and Russia were long outside the League Only time could reveal what the nature and strength of this new organism was to be, and make plain the implications in the brief articles of its Covenant It had taken over a thousand years, if we reckon from the

downfall of the Empire of Charles the Great in the ninth century, to build up the nation states of Europe The evolution of a higher and wider organization in law and politics clearly could not be accomplished in a day

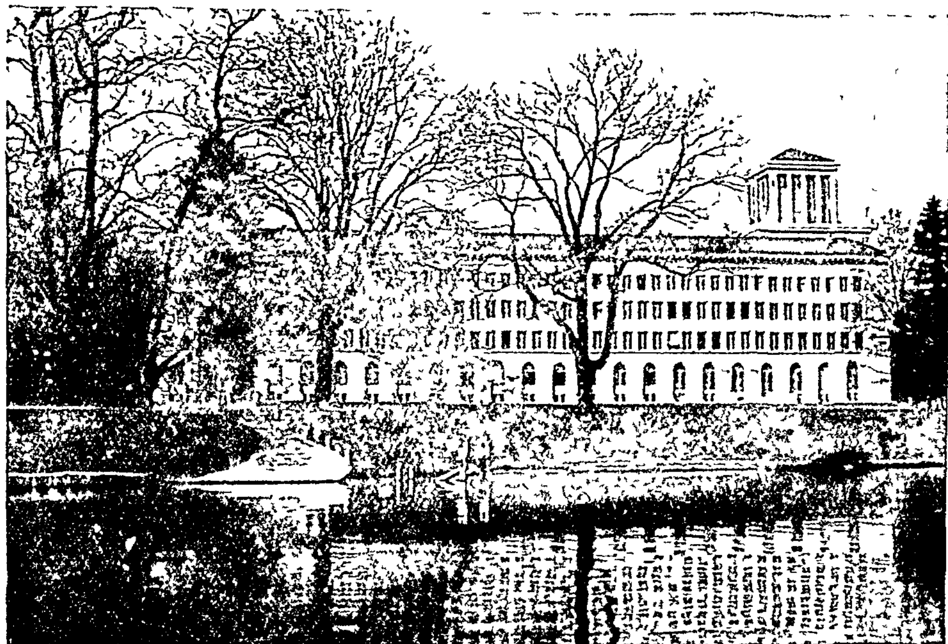
The Political Activities of the League For a brief summary we may classify the varied activities of the League into the settlement of disputes between nations, the carrying out of special duties committed to it by the terms of peace or arising out of the war or treaties, and international co-operation in matters of a humanitarian or general kind A number of political issues were left by the Peace Conference, and were dealt with by the League, with varying success The League settled the ownership of the Aaland Islands, claimed by both Finland and Sweden, but it was unable to prevent Poland from keeping Vilna, which it had seized from Lithuania It delimited as best it could the line of partition in the vexed question of Upper Silesia It appointed commissioners for the government of the Saar area, maintained impartiality between French and German there, and ultimately handed the area back to Germany after the vote of January 1935. It appointed a High Commissioner for Danzig, and there too strove to mediate between rival nationalities of German and Pole It intervened in Balkan crises with success on several occasions, notably in 1925 to prevent war between Greece and Bulgaria Further afield, it found a solution for the disputed Mosul boundary between Turkey and Iraq It was less successful, however, in the case of the long-drawn-out dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay over the Chaco district, and it proved incapable of dealing with the major crisis created by Japan's seizure of Manchuria

Special Tasks The special tasks committed to the League by the peace treaties included the supervision of the new system of 'mandates' Nations holding mandates to former German of Turkish territory were obliged to report annually to the League's Mandates Commission Thus international opinion concerned itself with the government of these mandated areas, and the League more than once investigated conditions in such areas The League also was responsible for supervising the treatment of racial minorities in Europe, an almost impossible task The League aided materially in the economic reconstruction of Europe, raising loans and carrying through stabilizing measures which saved first Austria, and then Hungary, from financial chaos

International Co-operation In accord with the Covenant, the League also set itself to further international co-operation in many spheres, such as health, the protection of women and children, the restriction of the sale of opium, and all kinds of educational work It dealt with an endless variety of economic questions, took a leading part in

the World Economic Conference of 1933, and aided in the establishment of the Bank for International Settlement. Its affiliated International Labour Organization investigated conditions of Labour, drew up schemes for the limitation of hours, the protection of women and children in industry, factory and health inspection, and strove to get them ratified by the members of the League.

The World Court. The League also organized, as required by its



League of Nations Union

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE, GENEVA

Covenant, a Permanent Court of International Justice. This was established at The Hague, the seat of the earlier Court of Arbitration established by the Hague Conference. Its fifteen judges were drawn from many countries, and many cases found their way to the court. For a time, some of the great powers hesitated to place themselves under the jurisdiction of the this court for international disputes. But in 1929 Great Britain and the Dominions, France, and Italy accepted its compulsory jurisdiction. The United States, however, after much deliberation, in 1935 refused its adhesion to this World Court.

Summary. Thus the League of Nations by its manifold and varied activities made a place for itself in the life of Europe and the world. Most of the states of the world became members, making some sixty members in all. And the United States, although not a member,

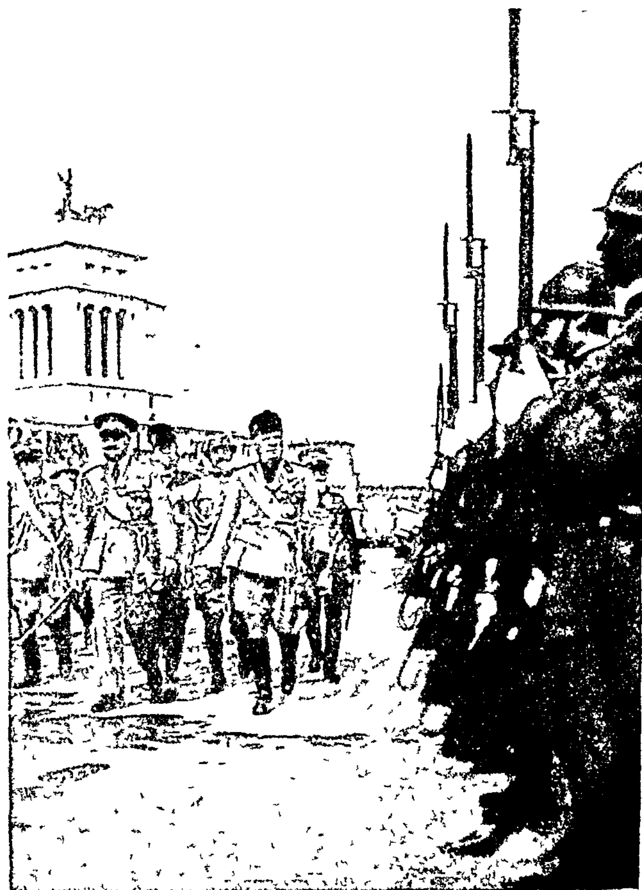
co-operated in many League activities, and in 1935 became a member of the I L O. Germany entered the League in 1926, and Russia eight years later. Inevitably the League was subject to criticism on various grounds It suffered from being the child of its parent, the Peace Treaties, the defects of which became plainer as time went on Although given powers to revise treaties, the League was unable or unwilling to revise the Treaty of Versailles In disputes affecting larger states, the League was not strong enough to interfere with great effect Some of the greater powers, e g Italy, complained that their influence was not sufficiently strong in the League, and proposals were made for a revision of the Covenant States continued to make alliances of their own, sometimes at variance with the spirit of the League And several states, falling out with the League over particular issues, as Japan over Manchuria, gave notice of withdrawal; first Brazil and Costa Rica, and then in 1933 Japan and Germany Yet despite criticism and losses, the League of Nations, infant as it was, amply justified its existence in the first decade or so of its life, and gave promise of fuller achievement in its hard task of encouraging international co-operation and furthering international peace and security

II THE FASCIST REVOLUTION IN ITALY

The Rise of Fascism. Before 1914 Italy was backward economically, with a parliamentary system justly open to criticism, increasing social unrest, and growing national ambitions Opinion was divided about joining in the war, and although she joined the winning side in it, and secured important gains of territory at its close, Italy felt she was insufficiently requited for her efforts, in view of the gains of France and England in Africa She was poorer than before, and her socialists, now finding example in Russia, fostered such revolutionary activities as strikes and the seizure of factories The war, and those who fought in it, were attacked, the government, under Nitti and then Giolitti, failed to perform its primary function of governing

It was at this moment in March 1919 that there appeared the first *Fascio di Combattimento* (Union of Combat) in Milan The *fascio* or bundle implied strength from unity, and was also reminiscent of the bundle of rods carried by the lictor in Roman days to express the authority of the Roman state From Rome, too, came the Fascist salutation, the raising of the right arm The uniform shirt came from Garibaldi with the memory of the great struggle for unity, but it was black, since the Garibaldian red was now the communist colour The leader of this new movement was an ex-socialist, Benito Mussolini (*b.* 1883), son

of a village blacksmith in the Romagna, a schoolmaster, journalist, editor before the war of *Avanti* the socialist paper, imprisoned a dozen times for supporting strikes of violence But 1914 showed that his patriotism was stronger than his socialism He broke with the Socialists, supported and fought in the war, and now, after its close, came forward as the leader of this new movement The fight with Communism was a bitter one, but Fascism steadily gained support from property owners large and small, capitalists, conservatives, and nationalists By 1922 its victory over Communism was assured, and after the famous march on Rome in October 1922 of fifty thousand Fascists, the king accepted the situation, and called upon Mussolini to form a government Fascism had triumphed



Associated Press

MUSSOLINI REVIEWING TROOPS IN ROME

The Fascist Organization of Italy. Fascism had risen largely in opposition to Communism, and took some time to formulate its creed and policy It was, of course, nationalist, and drew upon the whole past of Italy, the *Risorgimento*, the Renaissance, the glory and strength of Rome It glorified the State, as 'the highest and most potent form of personality, a spiritual force, the only true expression of the individual' Freedom of speech, of the press, of education, toleration, had no place in this new scheme of things Opponents of Fascism were imprisoned, punished, or forced to fly the country The new state was to be organized not through Parliament, which now sank lower

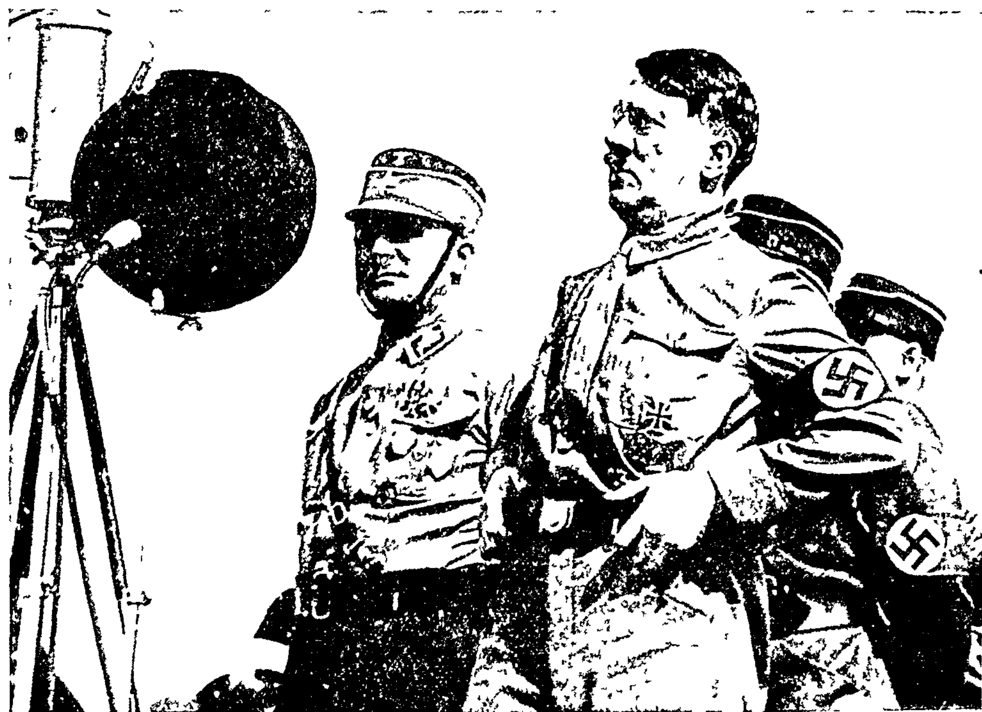
and lower until it virtually disappeared, but through the authority of Mussolini, as head of the government, and the Grand Council of the Fascist party The Fascist state was to be a corporate one, in which individuals were grouped in Syndicates or Guilds according to their occupations, as outlined in the Labour Charter of 1927 and subsequent legislation Above the local Syndicates rose the Corporations, culminating in the National Council of Corporations, which was to take the place of the earlier Chamber of Deputies

The Achievements of Fascism. Whilst only time can reveal the possibilities of the Corporate State, Fascism under Mussolini wrought great changes in Italy, and in an amazingly short time It purged the administration and introduced higher ideals of public service It stabilized the currency and balanced the budget It fostered agriculture in the attempt to make Italy more self-sufficient in her food supply It provided employment by a vast system of public works, making new roads, electrifying railways, developing hydro-electric power, draining regions like the Campagna and building new towns there, excavating Roman remains, building new schools, developing the colonies It emphasized physical training, maintained a large army, and encouraged a high birth rate One of its outstanding achievements was the settlement of the old issue with the Papacy. Fascism saw in religion a valuable aid to authority and a force against social upheaval, and in 1929 Mussolini secured a treaty with the Papacy which declared the Roman question to be 'finally and irrevocably settled,' to the mutual advantage of the Papacy and the Fascist State

Fasism and the Outside World. Fascism was concerned to raise the position of Italy amongst other nations Its relations with its immediate neighbours, Austria and Jugoslavia, were for some time clouded by the issues left by the war, such as the question of Fiume, and the Fascist policy of Italianizing the Southern Tyrol, with its two hundred thousand German-speaking subjects Later, relations with both these states improved, and Dollfuss, the Austrian Chancellor, turned to Mussolini for both aid and example in his struggle with Socialism and Nazism. Like nationalism everywhere, Fascism had its imperialist side, for which the steady increase of Italy's population provided a basis This was the more obvious since the large prewar emigration to the United States had been cut off, and Italy's colonies in Africa—Libya, Somaliland, and Eritrea—could only absorb a limited number of colonists The year 1935 saw Italy attempt to enlarge her African empire by the invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia), a step which provoked a severe international crisis But it is too soon to predict the results of this venture.

III The Post-War Revolutions in Germany

The Revolution of November, 1918. With the failure in the war there was a vacancy of power in Germany, as in France in 1870 For the emperor no longer counted, and recognizing the fact, he fled the country The armies were dissolving, the navy was in mutiny, and Bolshevism threatened in Berlin and elsewhere The moderate wing of the Social



Associated Press

HITLER ADDRESSING A NAZI DEMONSTRATION

Democratic party under Ebert and Scheidemann took command, proclaimed the republic, fought the stiff battle with the Communists, and called a National Assembly to Weimar, to draw up a constitution They also signed the hateful peace treaty with the Allies The Weimar Assembly met in February 1919, under the black-red-gold colours of 1848, in place of the imperial black-white-red, and it reflected the earlier National Assembly of Frankfurt in various ways Thus in addition to making a democratic constitution for Germany, with an elected president, and a sovereign parliament, it elaborated the Fundamental Rights and Duties of German Citizens, providing freedom of speech, meetings, the press, religion, and edu-

cation Ebert, a saddler, was elected first president, and the Social Democrats shared control of the Weimar Republic with the Catholic Centre, though the system of election adopted encouraged the splitting up of parties until there were more than a score, and governments had to be formed, as in France, by coalitions, and were consequently rather unstable

The Weimar Republic Stability, political and economic, was indeed the great problem of the Weimar Republic The fearful wastage and losses of the war, the defeat, the wide and acute party divisions from Prussian Junker to Communist, the suddenness of the revolution, bringing the complete overthrow of a long-accepted regime, the severity of the peace treaty, the widespread poverty and lack of trade, the fears of communist Russia, all helped to prevent Germany from settling down as a democratic republic The French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 to force the payment of reparations brought on a severe internal crisis, during which the mark sank to zero and thousands of the solid middle class were ruined With the advent to power in the same year of Stresemann, an able statesman of moderate views, the situation improved, however, both within and without Foreign capital flowed into Germany to start industry, the reparations question took a step forward, Locarno eased the international situation, Germany entered the League of Nations, and Hindenburg, a national hero, was elected president But much of the economic recovery was illusory, and the depression of 1929 hit Germany with terrific force The numbers of unemployed rose to unprecedented heights, Communism began to increase again, and, at the other extreme, nationalism and monarchism began to raise their heads Yet it was to be a new party, with the double title of National-Socialism, which was to be victorious in the struggle for power

The Rise of National-Socialism. National-Socialism, or Nazism, was in the first place another manifestation of the prevailing nationalist creed It was partly inspired by Fascism, and represented a violent reaction against Russian Communism Its leader, Hitler (*b* 1889), was the son of an Austrian customs collector, who migrated to Germany, and fought through the war Hitler hated communists, Marxists and Jews, he had a romantic faith in the proud 'Aryan' origin and quality of the German people and culture, he despised democratic, parliamentary government, and believed in military discipline and inspired personal leadership, such as his own

In the prevailing depression and uncertainty after the war, the party grew steadily. It gained financial support from big industrialists, who approved of its hostility to Marxism It adopted as a sign the swastika, borrowed its salute, its uniform, and some of its methods from Fascism, built up its 'cells' all over Germany, trained its Storm Troops,

presided over by Lenin, and including Rykov, Stalin, and Trotsky, had carried on the revolution, their power based on the Soviets or Councils of workers, soldiers, and peasants, established in Petrograd, and then extended thoughout Russia. In 1918 a congress of Soviets formally adopted a constitution for the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics (R.S.F.S.R.), providing for the election



Topical Press

LENIN ADDRESSING A MEETING

of a Union Congress of Soviets. But the main function of the large and unwieldy Congress of Soviets was to elect a Central Executive Committee, which then chose the Council of Peoples' Commissars, in whom executive power was concentrated. Further, the members of this executive, and all important positions in the new state, were filled from the Communist party, the real rulers of Russia. Lenin was the head of the Politbureau, the central organ of the Communist party. In December 1922 the R.S.F.S.R. was incorporated in a wider union, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U.S.S.R.), including in addition to Russia the federated republics of the Ukraine, White Russia, Transcaucasia, and after 1925, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan in Central Asia. The Union also included besides its seven states, many other republics and 'regions,' a total of forty-two units in all for the hundred and eighty-five peoples, speaking nearly a hundred and fifty languages, of the vast Soviet Union.

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MODERN ASIA

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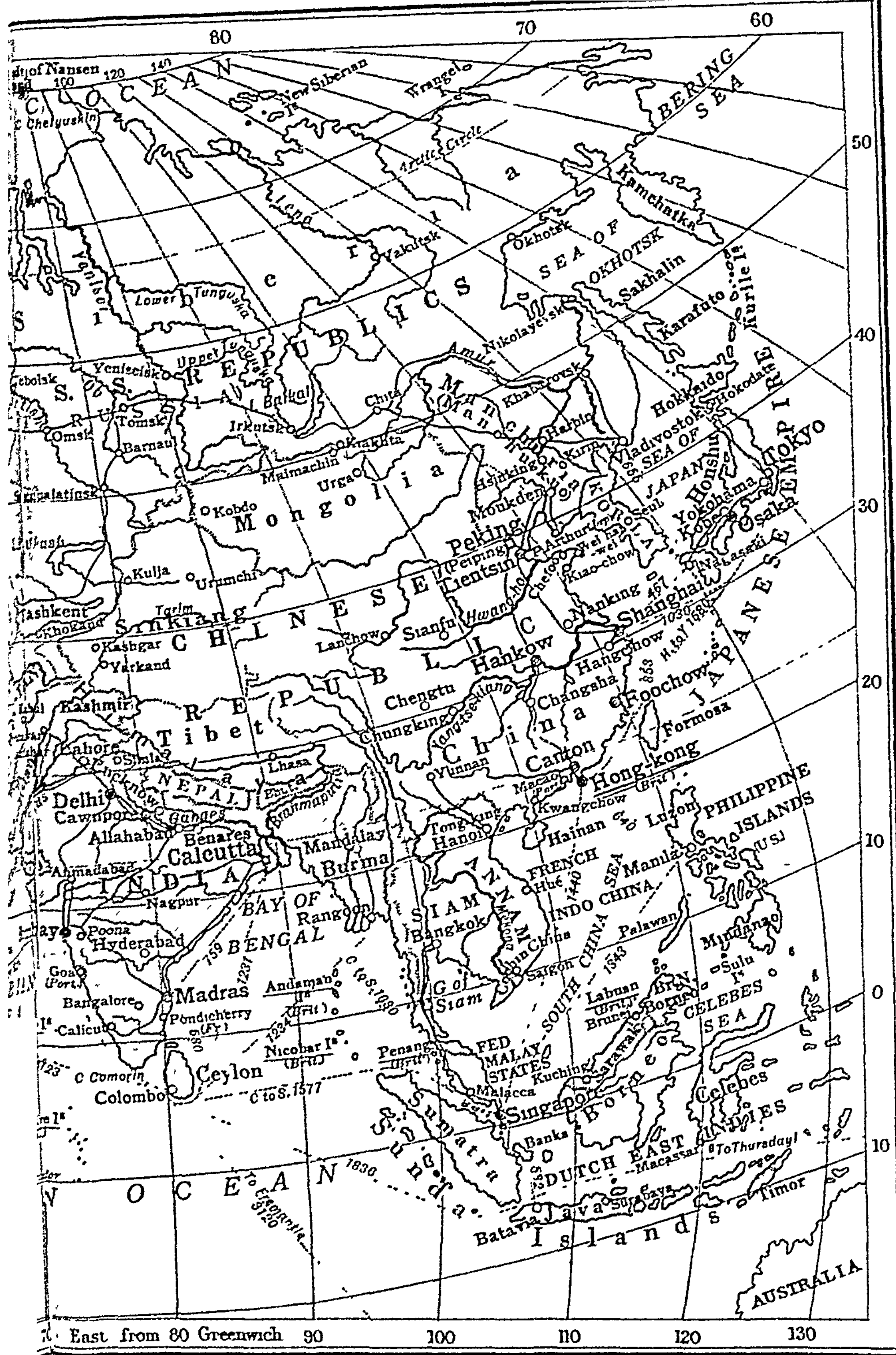
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Shipping Routes 1720 (Sea Miles)

British French Dutch

Projection Bonne's



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Soviet Economic Policy. Communist theory demanded the socialization of the land and all means of production, of industry, trade, transportation, and banking in Russia The land was at once nationalized, and industries, banks, and trade were successively taken over by the new State in the two years following the revolution The result was chaos. Russian industry and trade were already in a serious condition after the strain of the war, and the currency was hopelessly inflated Marx had developed his views from a study of industrialized states like Britain, and their application to a community mainly composed of peasants, and by men who, however zealous, were unacquainted with the running of a large and complicated economic system, presented enormous difficulties The peasantry saw no reason why they should not own both the land and the crops they produced from it, and replied to nationalization by reducing their crops The result was that in 1921 there was a severe famine, in which millions perished The Soviet government was obliged to compromise with its theories, and for the next seven years, under the New Economic Policy (N E P), the peasant was given much more freedom, small industries were also given certain concessions, and foreign capital was invited to develop Russian industry with guarantees that it would not be confiscated, as earlier foreign investment had been. The result was a considerable development in Russian economic life, with a consequent access of strength to the new regime.



STALIN

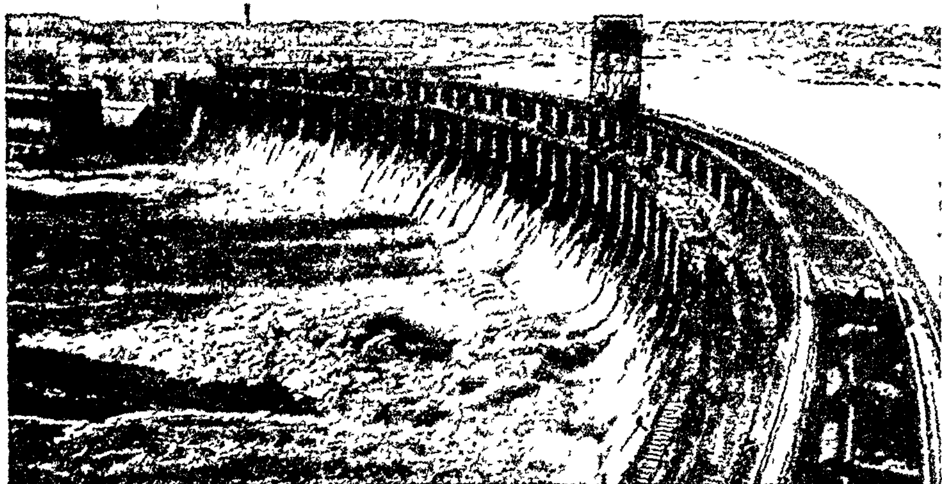
Stalin and Trotsky. The death of Lenin in 1924 removed the greatest figure in the Bolshevist revolution He had made the party, disciplined it, overcome violent internal divisions, broadened its base to take in the peasantry, displayed infinite sagacity and courage, together with ruthlessness in the class struggle, and finally led the Bolshevists to victory. He came to be regarded as the very soul of Russian Communism, the capital of Soviet Russia was named after him, and his broad, short figure dominated the new-old capital, Moscow After his death a bitter struggle

ensued as to who was to be his successor, resolving itself into a contest between Stalin and Trotsky. Stalin (Dzhugashvili), a Georgian, was a scarred veteran of the party, who had escaped from Siberia five times, was devoted to Lenin, and was Secretary-General of the Communist party He had gained the name of Stalin (man of steel) from his character Trotsky (Bronstein) was a Jew from near Odessa, a later convert, a brilliant and fiery journalist The contest was partly personal, partly one of principle Trotsky stood for the pursuance of the ideal of world revolution, Stalin had come to the conclusion that it was advisable first to complete and consolidate the Communist revolution in Russia. After a struggle, he drove his rival from office, expelled him from the party, with two other rivals, Kamenev and Zinoviev, and finally in 1929 exiled Trotsky from Russia

The Five-Year Plan. Stalin's victory left the Soviet government free to concentrate on its ambitious Five-Year Plan for a vast expansion of Russian industry, by which the peasant was to be revolutionized into an industrial proletariat through large-scale collectivist farming, and Russia was 'to catch up and surpass the capitalist countries' The plan, which began in October 1928, was started off with great enthusiasm and much propaganda With the aid of foreign capital and foreign technical advisers, hydro-electric power was developed at Dnieprostroy, vast steel works were built at Magnitogorsk in the Urals, a tractor industry was established at Stalingrad. Collective farming was greatly developed, and the production of oil, coal, and iron rose enormously Yet the plan was less successful in its later stages than had been hoped, and all sorts of difficulties developed, both with the peasants, and from the lack of trained and responsible technical workers. The general standard of living fell rather than rose, agriculture suffered, and in 1933 there was a severe famine in the Ukraine and North Caucasia To industrialize and collectivize a vast country like Russia in so short a period as five years was indeed beyond human possibility It remained to be seen what a further Five-Year Plan, begun in 1932, could accomplish, using the lessons drawn from the experience of the first

Social and Cultural Changes. The Bolshevists undertook to create a new Russian man and woman, as well as a new Russia. At first they were mainly concerned to destroy the old Tsarist regime Thus as disciples of a new religion they persecuted severely the Greek Orthodox Church, the servant of the Tsardom, although for a time they allowed more freedom to Protestant sects For long there was great confusion, amounting almost to anarchy, in the Soviet pursuit of its new ideals. But then came more positive steps in the building up of the new world Since the majority of the inhabitants of the old Russia could neither read

nor write the government set about educating its citizens in schools. In 1930 a measure of compulsory education was introduced, and stress was laid on technical education to train young Russia for its task in the new machine industry. The education of Soviet Russia went on not merely in schools but in the many Communist organizations, in workshops and on collective farms, through film, radio, theatre, and Red Army, at an astonishing rate. But human minds cannot be scrapped



THE DAM AT DNIEPROSTROY

and remade in a factory like a machine, and it is too soon to dogmatize about the effect of all these changes on the average Russian. In cultural life, as in the political and economic spheres, there was little room for freedom; all must subserve the one ideal of Communism.

Communism and the Outside World. Communism claimed to be a universal faith, in contradistinction to capitalist, *bourgeois*, nationalism. Its revolution was to be a world revolution. To this end the Communist party in 1919 organized the Third or Communist International, closely associated with the Soviet government. It quickly engaged in vigorous Communist propaganda in all the countries of Europe, in Asia, and to some extent in America. Communist parties affiliated with Moscow appeared in many countries and the movement had some success immediately after the war in Hungary, Bavaria, and elsewhere in Europe, and for a longer period in China. But, in general, its attempts to incite

revolution failed throughout the western world, and foreign nations naturally regarded the International, and its parent the Soviet government, with suspicion and dislike, strengthened in some cases by the Soviet repudiation of the large foreign debt of Tsarist Russia Thus although most of the western states by 1924 formally recognized the Soviet government, and some of them, like Britain, made trade treaties with Russia, distrust and friction still continued

The triumph of Stalin, however, and the ensuing concentration on Russia's internal development, coupled with the growth of Japanese imperialism, and the rise of Nazism in Germany, brought a change in Soviet policy It became more plainly nationalistic, and laid less stress on international propaganda Thus although Russia continued to build up a large army, she gave up aggressive propaganda abroad, and sought instead to cultivate foreign relations which might be of use to her as a nation state She signed the Briand-Kellogg Pact, made non-aggression agreements with France and Italy, and in July 1933 signed an Eastern Peace Pact with all her neighbours from Finland to Afghanistan, disavowing aggression of every kind in the most specific way In 1934 she at length secured recognition from the United States, and in the same year joined the League of Nations, which she had earlier condemned as a capitalist organization Thus for a time, at least, Soviet Russia made a partial return to the comity of western nations

V Developments in Eastern Asia

The Chinese Revolution. The task of organizing a settled and stable government in revolutionary China was inevitably made more difficult by the war, which encouraged Japanese attempts at penetration in China Disappointed at her attempts to secure redress against Japan at the Peace Conference, China refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles Meanwhile she became the prey of civil war between the various Tuchuns or war lords Chang Tso-lin, ex-bandit chief, the war-lord of Manchuria, contested with Wu P'ei-fu for control of the north of the vast country, with Feng Yu-hsiang, the so-called 'Christian General,' changing sides in mid-conflict as if to show how little of principle there was at stake in the fighting Meanwhile the nominal head of the Chinese republic was reduced to a mere puppet, and the unfortunate common people in the war areas and beyond saw their food supplies ravaged or seized, so that they were left to face famine and starvation

In the south, however, after the war Sun Yat-sen raised the standard of a new nationalist party, and in 1921 members of the old parliament elected him president of the republic, at Canton. Although he was unable before his death in 1925 to extend his rule to the northern provinces, Sun Yat-sen's programme of national independence, democratic government, and radical social reform was increasingly accepted. The organization of the Kuomintang or nationalist party, based on 'Young China,' the generation educated in the missionary schools and colleges, or abroad, and reflecting western democratic views, became far the most active and strongest in China. For a time it was influenced by Bolshevist agents, and was violently anti-foreign, which led to clashes with foreign interests and settlements in Shanghai, Canton, and elsewhere. But the emergence of Chiang Kai-shek as leader marked the adoption of more moderate views. The nationalist government broke with the Third International and concentrated on the urgent task of securing control of Peking and the north. In the summer of 1926 the nationalist army began to move northwards, capturing Hankow, then Nanking and Shanghai. In 1928 the advance was continued, and with the entry into Peking the work of Sun Yat-sen seemed on the way to success.

The Nanking Government. In April 1928 the nationalist government established itself at Nanking, changed the name of Peking (Northern Capital) to Peiping (Northern Peace), and promulgated a constitution for the country, with Chiang Kai-shek at its head. Foreign nations recognized the new government, and financial aid was assured by the support of the powerful bankers of Shanghai, and by the handing over by the foreign powers of control over the customs of China. Yet the new government experienced the greatest difficulty in establishing its rule over the length and breadth of China. The nationalist party was itself divided, Communism continued to exist in the southern provinces, and separatist tendencies and rebellions continued. Banditry and piracy could not be stamped out, and flood and famine, the poverty and illiteracy of the bulk of the people, made the establishment of anything approaching democratic republican government almost impossible. Despite changes of office, real control rested with Chiang Kai-shek and the army.

One unifying factor was provided by the growing opposition to foreign privilege in China, notably extra-territoriality, which gave foreigners in China exemption from Chinese jurisdiction. Yet foreign trading nations naturally hesitated to surrender this right until impartial justice was more firmly established in China, and the issue aroused considerable controversy. For a time, Chinese feeling was most active against Britain as the foreign country with the largest economic and financial interest


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U. S. S. R.
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Amur R.
Blagoveshchensk
Khabarovsk
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HEILUNGKIANG
MONGOLIA
Tsitsihar
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(MANCHURIA)
Harbin
Ussuri R.
Taonan
FENGTIEN
HSINKING
(Changchun)
KIRIN
Kirin
Nikolsk
Vladivostok
CHARHAR
Chih Feng
JEHOL
Chaoyang
Jehol
Great Wall
Mukden
Yalu R.
Newchwang
PEKING
Shanhaikwan
KOREA
Tientsin
Taku
CHIHLI
Dairen
Port Arthur
Gulf of Chihli
Chengting
Sea of Japan
Grand Canal
Yellow R.
SEOUL
CHINA
Tsinan
Tsingtao
Yellow Sea
Fusan
Suchow
JAPAN
Nagasaki
NANKING
Shanghai
Hankow
Yangtze R.
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NORTH CHINA
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in China, but then it turned to concentrate upon Japan, largely on account of Manchuria

Japan, Russia, and Manchuria. Japan had been encouraged by western absorption in the war, and China's weakness, to make in 1915 her 'Twenty-one Demands' upon China, demanding amongst other things the succession to German rights in Shantung, special privileges in southern Manchuria and eastern Mongolia, and that China should not lease coastal territory to any other power Although China was forced to concede many of these demands, they aroused bitter antagonism, leading to a boycott of Japanese imports After the war, however, Japan agreed at the Washington Conference of 1921 to restore Shantung, and joined with the western powers in a Nine-Power Treaty which re-affirmed the 'open door' policy in China, though Japan still retained her privileged position in Manchuria Meanwhile the new government of Russia, as it consolidated its power, absorbed the Far Eastern republic set up in eastern Siberia after the revolution, and in 1924 concluded a treaty with China by which Russia recovered partial control over the Chinese Eastern Railway across Manchuria During these years, also, there was taking place a very large immigration of northern Chinese into Manchuria, and the Chinese Nationalist government aspired to regain the authority which it had almost completely lost there

Thus Manchuria, meeting-place of China, Russia, and Japan, and the scene of former controversy between these powers, again became the centre of interest in the Far East In addition to Russia and Japan, other western powers, chiefly Britain and the United States, were likewise interested in the economic development of the three provinces composing Manchuria Japan, greatly concerned at the Russian revival of interest there and the growing Chinese nationalist claims, determined to assert her special claims Accordingly she invaded Manchuria in September 1931, and rapidly extended her operations across Manchuria and into China proper She created the separate state of Manchukuo (Manchuria) and set up the last Manchu Emperor, Pu Yi, who had resigned his Chinese throne in 1912, first as Chief Executive, and then two years later as Emperor of Manchukuo, under Japanese protection

But although Japanese intervention in Manchuria gave promise of greater order, stability, and economic development there, her invasion, and her establishment as dominant power in Manchukuo, aroused wide resentment in China, as well as in Russia and other western states Russia saw her whole position in the Far East threatened, and began greatly to strengthen her defences there To western powers, Japan's action appeared as a violation of the Nine-Power Treaty signed in 1921, as well as a threat to their own interests in Manchuria China appealed

to the League of Nations, but Japan refused to accept the intervention of the League and, as a result, withdrew from it The crisis shook the unsteady structure of world peace to its foundations, and raised issues of world importance as between Japan, now plainly the dominant Asiatic power, and the western world With the mention of this Manchurian question we may fittingly bring our survey to a close For of all the problems of world history, that of the relations of East and West, of European and Asiatic peoples, is perhaps the most important for the future of mankind

For Further Reading

I. Bowman, *The New World*

F. L. Benns, *Europe since* 1914

W. H. Chamberlin, *Soviet Russia*

W. C. Langsam, *The World since* 1914.

P. J Treat, *The Far East*

CONCLUSION

WE have followed the history of mankind over many thousands of years, at first passing through the ages and centuries very swiftly, then moving more slowly as we approached our own day At the end of it we naturally ask—what is the meaning of it all? That is a question which has occupied men's thought from the time they first became reasoning, reflective beings It is worth while briefly to refer to some of the answers that have been given to it.

Some of the Greeks and Romans saw history as a cycle of growth and decay. states and peoples rose, to fall again, so it had been and so, they felt, would it continue to be With the coming of Christianity, however, a new answer was given St Augustine, in his *City of God*, saw human history as a progress from the earthly city of man's making to a Heavenly City, the City of God Although never very clearly expressed, this conception underlay medieval ideas of historical development A thousand years after St Augustine, thinkers of the Italian Renaissance returned to the earlier view of the history of mankind As Machiavelli put it, 'Nations pass from order to disorder, and afterwards from disorder to order, because Nature allows no stability in human affairs' But with the development of human knowledge which followed the Renaissance, the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century developed the idea of the steady and continuous progress of mankind through the spread of knowledge, reason, and justice For example Gibbon, in 1787, closed his great *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* with, 'the pleasing conclusion that every age of the world has increased, and still increases, the real wealth, the happiness, the knowledge, and perhaps the virtue of mankind'

Although Gibbon's complacency must have been somewhat shaken by the fury of the French Revolution, the optimistic reading of human history survived the shock The idealist philosopher Hegel declared early in the nineteenth century that, 'the history of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom' Human history was to him a rational process, showing the development of Spirit, and finding fulfilment in his own day Later in the century the theory of evolution, as elaborated by Darwin and others, gave additional strength,

and a new meaning, to the conception of history as showing the steady progress of the human race in the past, and gave promise of further development in the future 'As natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental endowments will tend to progress towards perfection' was Darwin's conclusion to the *Origin of Species* This conclusion was reinforced by the triumphs of science, and by the marked growth of the humanitarian spirit during the nineteenth century

Karl Marx, once a pupil of Hegel, gave a different reading to history The determining factor in history, to Marx, was the economic framework of society, the organization of the means of economic production decided all other aspects of historical development The driving force was the class struggle Marx, like Hegel, was a theorist rather than an historian He forced all history into his narrow framework because he wished it to serve as a background for the class struggle, inevitable according to him, by which the reign of capital would be overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat be assured Like all such theorists he ignored facts or developments which would not fit into his scheme

In addition to Marxist determinism, other factors have in our day contributed to modify our view of the trend of history The war of 1914–18 showed that the triumphs of western science and technology might not necessarily contribute to human progress The idea of the steady and continuous growth of democracy was shaken after the war by the appearance of dictatorships The triumph of nationalism revealed the dangers and defects of the universal application of this principle The wide and deep economic depression after the war raised insistent questions as to the course of economic development The marked advance in recent years in the study of astronomy has made our little world seem more insignificant in the ever-widening universe now being revealed to us The great increase in our knowledge of earlier civilizations through archaeology, and the development of sciences such as anthropology, have reduced the relative importance of recent western history in the story of the whole of mankind A German philosopher, Spengler, in a recent volume with the suggestive title, *The Decline of the West*, has sought to show that our modern age represents but a final stage in a cultural epoch which had followed, and will follow to its close, the course pursued by other, earlier cultures, the Chinese, the Indian, the Arabic, and the Classical

Thus does the present affect our view of the past. But although there is no dividing line between past and present, or indeed between present and future, the historian is concerned not to predict the future but to study and interpret the past. In the deep valleys of the Dordogne

river in Southern France, as indeed elsewhere, we may still see the caves in which men lived in the Stone Age, some fifteen to twenty thousand years ago, their rude stone implements, the pictures of animals they painted on the walls of their dark and narrow dwellings. How, in the sum, has mankind changed over the many centuries since that time? Properly to answer that question we should require to go over again the ground covered in this history, and indeed at far greater length. Certainly material life has changed beyond all measure. Imagine yourself trying to explain the articles you daily use, how to write or read, the machines all about us, to a boy or a girl of the Stone Age. The vastness of the change there needs no argument

The organization of human society has clearly changed also. In cave-dwelling days you would be a member of a little family group, outside of which there would be no place for you To-day, with a world whose population has enormously increased, life is infinitely more complicated Whilst we are still organized in families, we belong in addition to all sorts of other economic and cultural groups, such as factories, offices, churches, and universities. Many of us live in large cities, very complicated in their organization And all of us are members, citizens, of larger groups which we call nations, occupying a certain defined area of the globe, usually speaking the same language, with common laws, a common economic framework, and subject to a common government

Our ideas have changed enormously too The Greeks gave to us of the western world an ideal of beauty in art and literature, and they developed the art of reasoning on every subject under the sun to an extent which would have been entirely incomprehensible to our cave-dwelling ancestors. Not least, they sought to discover what was the best and justest form of government for mankind Christianity gave us a new ideal of behaviour towards each other, and a more definite conception of a future life. Science showed us how to explore the earth and to spy out the heavens, how to control the natural world in a great many ways Thus we have ideals, knowledge, and the power of reasoning, far beyond the dreams of the simple-minded cave-dwellers, whose concerns were mainly with the simplest of things, life itself, food, and warmth If history could be written from ideals, or from the sum of reasoned knowledge, we should long ago have been living in one of the varieties of Utopia which Plato, Sir Thomas More, and many others have outlined for mankind.

But history must be written from actual happenings: 'as it actually occurred,' as Ranke, the greatest German historian of the nineteenth century, put it. It is true that, in general, human life has become more

valuable, safer, more surrounded by comfort Slavery of the old sort has gone, and also the serfdom of the feudal age Within our national states we have more security, juster laws, better redress against ill-treatment We have learnt to live in comparative peace with our fellow-citizens And this development applies not merely to men, but also in an increasing degree to women and children Yet we have not eliminated hunger, poverty, and misery. Our laws do not prevent all sorts of abuses, our economic system does not provide that all members of society shall live in safety and comfort And we have not yet solved the problem of settling disputes between nations without recourse to war and destruction, thus threatening all the benefits so laboriously won Our own age has attempted to find a solution to this last problem by setting up an international court of law, and a League of Nations But these are very young as yet, and have the weakness of infancy. On their growth however, and on the growth of the spirit behind them, rest the future of peace between nations, and with that, to no small degree, the solution of many other problems agitating humanity

Whilst the tale of history has been growing longer, the world has been growing smaller To-day, men girdle it by messages in a moment of time, and can even fly round it in a few days There are now no portions of its surface which are entirely unknown, from North Pole to frozen Antarctic and back again And this new linking up of all parts of the world inevitably affects our view of history. In a sense, world history has just begun Before, it was the history of more or less isolated groups, the family, the tribe, the city state, the nation, at most the continent. Now we must think in wider terms Just as, in Plato's *Republic,* his citizens had to emerge from their caves to see the real world, or, as in real life, our ancestors had to emerge from their caves to develop into Greeks and Romans, and into the men and women of modern, western civilization, so we, too, must emerge from our nation-caves into the wider world of to-day and to-morrow.

For whether we like it or not, the history of the world goes on, just as the globe itself whirls ceaselessly in its endless journey through space 'The world,' as a modern scientist reminds us, 'is now faced with a self-evolving system, which it cannot stop.' And the rate of the change has increased also In former days men could think of their narrower society as changing, indeed, but over long periods, slowly and almost imperceptibly Now we are compelled to think of change on a wider, a world scale, and at a quickened rate Only through a broader knowledge of world history can we hope to adjust ourselves, and society, to this newer scale and this quickened rate

INDEX

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION

a	*as in* last	oo	*as in* loot
ă	*less prolonged, as in* far	ow	*as in* how
ā	*as in* mate	oi	*as in* voice
ȧ	*less prolonged, as in* may	u	*as in* rut
a	*as in* cat	ū	*as in* mute
aw	*represents vowel sounds in Saul, fall*	u	*as in* put
e	*as in* get	u	*represents* French *u*, German *u*
ē	*represents vowel sounds in* meet, meat, police, Caesar	ẽ	*as in* French jard*in*
ĕ	*less prolonged, as in* select	ã	*as in* French m*on*t and bl*anc*
ee	*as in* leer	ũ	*as in* French *un*
e	*as in air*, there	g	*as in* got
ə	*as in* her, also French *eu*, German *oe*, *ö*	ḡ	*as in* measure, also represents French soft *g*
i	*as in* hit	j	*represents consonants in jam*, gentle
ī	*as in* pine	s	*as in* mass
o	*as in* got	z	*as in* jazz
ō	*as in* mote	kh	*represents* German a*ch* or Scottish lo*ch*
or	*as in* for	ch	*as in ch*oose

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